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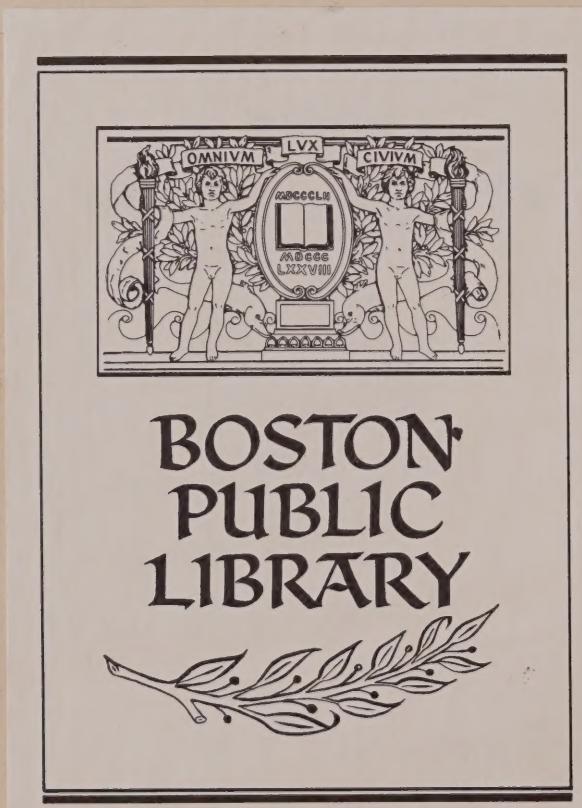

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1880.

The Week.

THE Democratic nomination we have discussed elsewhere. The candidate for the Presidency is an officer of the regular Army, of the highest character, who much distinguished himself in the late war, and particularly by bearing the brunt of the day at Gettysburg, where he repulsed Longstreet's assault in the Cemetery. He first attracted the attention of the Democrats as a possible "standard-bearer" by a general order issued on assuming command of the military district composed of Texas and Louisiana in 1867. In this he announced that the rebellion was over, and that "the military power should cease to lead, and the civil administration resume its natural and rightful dominion"; that "trial by jury, habeas corpus, the liberty of the press and of speech, the natural rights of person and rights of property should be preserved," and that crimes should be tried by the regular civil tribunals. As this order was issued in the midst of the quarrel between President Johnson and Congress, when the latter was disposed to treat the South as conquered territory, it naturally seemed as ill-timed to the Republicans as it seemed judicious and seasonable to the Democrats. He supplemented it by a letter to Mr. Pease, the carpet-bag Governor of Texas, who had complained to him that the Texans were in a bad state of mind, and did not like the reconstruction laws or love the United States Government, and were lax and remiss in punishing crime through the courts, and that all these evils were aggravated by the general order, and who suggested the cure of these evils by military rule. General Hancock's reply was a very neat and forcible exposition of the mode prescribed both by American principles of government and by the experience of mankind for dealing with discontent.

The nomination seems to be generally received by the Republican press as a strong one for the Democrats to make, and one which it is not easy for the Grant men to assail without being guilty of great inconsistency, or without taking up the position that the Democrats have no right to be good. It is, for instance, somewhat amusing to find the New York *Times* objecting to Hancock on the ground that he

"is utterly without civil training or experience. So far as questions of policy and administration are concerned his mind is a blank. Placed in a position of high responsibility and civil power, he would be absolutely dependent on those surrounding him. Whatever his desire or purpose might be, he would be incapable of commanding the situation, with whose elements and conditions he was unfamiliar."

This is true; but, esteemed contemporary, how have you the face to utter it? One Democratic paper has commended Hancock already for the familiar reason that, "if elected, he will see that he gets the place." Only one bucket of "mud" seems to have been prepared for him thus far, and that consists of the charge that he took an inhuman delight in hanging Mrs. Surratt, and treated her daughter in a brutal manner when she came to ask for a delay. This, we believe, was not thought of before the nomination, but since that it seems as if it must be true.

The concluding proceedings at Cincinnati were marked by a boisterousness rivalling the tumult at Chicago, but quite in character, and not interfering with the substantial harmony ensured by the general desire for an available candidate. The New York delegation seems to have counted for little or nothing in the deliberations, and its spasmodic and unavailing support first of Payne and then of Randall served only to illustrate the inability of Tilden to nominate his "devisee"; its sole accomplishment was the almost unanimous exclusion of the Tammany so-called delegates, which, however, was of course from the first and in the nature of Democratic things inevitable, though there was a long wrangle over it. After the permanent organization, with ex-Governor Stevenson, of Kentucky, for chairman, six candidates were put in nomination by various orators, among whom Mr. Dougherty, of Philadelphia, in nominating Hancock specially distinguished himself in a speech which almost casts into the shade the now historic rhetorical effort of Senator Conkling at Chicago. Twenty-one names, nevertheless, were voted for on the first ballot, of which the leading ones received the following vote: Hancock 171, Bayard 153½, Payne 81, Thurman 68½, Field 65, Morison 62, and Hendricks 50½. The Convention then adjourned, and on reassembling the next morning nominated Hancock by a vote which would have been unanimous but for the fidelity with which Indiana stuck to Hendricks, and three scattering votes. The Kelly men thereupon appeared, and there was a reconciliation scene of a somewhat galvanic but evidently affecting aspect. The unopposed adoption of the platform and the unanimous nomination of Mr. William H. English, of Indiana, for Vice-President concluded the labors of the Convention.

The platform is a singular document, and suggests the conclusion that all the conventions have now begun to treat the platform as a joke. It appears to have been the composition of Mr. Watterson, of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, and reads like a highly inflammatory "editorial" from that paper. It pledges the party to its constitutional doctrines and traditions; promises opposition to "centralizationism," "the dangerous spirit of encroachment," and the consolidation of the power of all departments in one; declares there must be "no sumptuary laws," and insists on "the separation of Church and state," a somewhat startling proposal. It calls for "home rule," without defining it; and "honest money," but evades the silver question; and demands a tariff for revenue only. It insists on the subordination of the military to the civil power; on "a general and thorough reform of the civil service," without saying in what such a reform would consist; and on a "free ballot." It castigates the Republicans in the usual style for the exercise of "corrupt and despotic power" at elections, for fraud in 1876–7, and "execrates" the Administration for "making places in the civil service a reward for political crime"; demands legislation prohibiting in future the "billeting of villains on the people"; glorifies Samuel J. Tilden, and bids him good-by; denounces Chinese immigration except for "travel, education, and foreign commerce," and suggests the use of public money for public purposes only; pronounces the Democratic party the protector of the laboring man from "the cormorants and the Commune," an alliteration which must have greatly tickled the author, but the meaning of which is painfully uncertain; and, finally, congratulates the country on "the honesty and thrift" of the Democratic Congress. The reading of it, except the plank about the "*billeting of villains* on the people," is said to have received but little attention.

The truth is that in this, as in the last Presidential campaign, the platforms of both parties have no hold upon the memory or consciences of the constituencies. They will not determine the character of the stump-speaking nor influence the conduct of the new Administration. There is not a single article in them for whose embodiment in legislation hereafter anybody is responsible, or whose relative importance in the party policy is clearly indicated. The candidate is no longer expected to pledge his adherence to each plank in its order, but is virtually left to frame his own platform in his letter of acceptance. To this he can be, and ought to be, held strictly accountable. We have not much to learn from General Garfield's letter, but General Hancock's may easily throw light on his mental attitude towards the more important questions which should occupy the public during the next four years.

The Democratic nomination for Vice-President was a surprise in a different way from the Republican. Mr. English has had no part in national politics since the war, and his notoriety belongs entirely to a former generation, to whom, indeed, his name was for a brief period familiar enough. He was the author of a compromise measure called the English Bill, which, in the exciting spring of 1858, broke the dead-lock between the Senate and House of Representatives on the

question of the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution, by permitting the people of that Territory to vote upon the constitution, and offering them a land-bribe to accept it, but refusing them admission if they rejected it. The bill was passed amid a storm of opposition, including that of Senator Douglas himself. As everybody knows, Kansas preferred remaining a Territory to adopting a pro-slavery constitution not of its own making, and the only effect of the English Bill was to hasten the disruption of the Democratic party and pave the way for the civil war—and for General Hancock. Mr. English was a member of the Thirty-third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Congresses, and is well qualified to preside over a legislative body. He was a "war Democrat," has been a very successful banker, is reputed the wealthiest man in Indiana, and has been a prominent opponent of inflation and of loose and dishonest doctrine about the currency.

Of the literature of the Convention a despatch from Forney to his "dear old friend" Dougherty is probably the most spirited, as in other than rhetorical regards it is the most singular. From it Forney's position appears to be unique. He announced that "the living hero of Gettysburg, the Murat of Pennsylvania," would deliver Pennsylvania "from the terrible curse that has polluted its fair fame, destroyed the hope of its young men, and enriched its insolent politicians." His disgust at the selfish greed of the Cameronian clan may be entirely explicable and excusable, but why did he proceed to allude to "Grant's sacrifice at Chicago" as "the unspeakable ingratitude of the age"? Surely the "insolent politicians" of Pennsylvania are so much at one with Forney in this opinion that Grant's election would have done little to rescue the fair fame of their State from persistent pollution; unless, indeed, Grant should have himself proved unspeakably ungrateful. Forney's adding that "hundreds of thousands of Democrats" feel as he does about the Chicago result still further complicates the matter. All that is certain is that it is hot weather and that Forney is for Hancock.

The Springfield *Union*, in reply to our suggestion that the secret of the process by which General Grant was to prevent the Democrats from counting him out should be communicated to General Garfield, declares "there is not the slightest objection in the world to communicating it," but that it would be of no use to anybody but General Grant, because it lies in his great popularity, which "would have secured him such an overwhelming majority against any candidate the Democrats could put up, that it would have been a hopeless task to count him out without nullifying the election entirely." This shows that the *Union* is guilty of a mild attempt at imposture in offering to communicate the secret, and confirms our belief that the Philadelphia *Bulletin* is the only paper which really knows it. Mr. Conkling, at the Utica Convention in this State, urged General Grant's candidacy on the ground that even with him the election would be close, and if it turned on the vote of one State might be thrown into the House, where it would be in the hands of the Democratic majority. It was to frighten the Democrats from playing tricks with the certificate of a single State, therefore, that General Grant was to be nominated as the man possessing the secret. This being the case, it will probably be as needful to General Garfield, in the contingency described by Mr. Conkling, as it would have been to General Grant. But as the *Union* evidently knows nothing about the matter, let it "hush," as Emerson says.

If it be true, as is alleged, that the Republican Congressional Committee has begun to levy contributions on the Government employees in Washington, and in particular on the women in the Treasury Department, under threats, there ought to be a prompt stop put to it. General Garfield himself can readily repress this form of electioneering activity if he pleases, and he will find it to his advantage to do so. Nothing is more certain than that the days when the Presidential candidate sat apart as a sort of Grand Lama during the canvass, without any responsibility for the doings of his wicked followers, are gone by, and we are glad of it. If the wicked followers care nothing about the party platform, he must remind them of it, and remind them, if necessary, that he must be elected, if at all, in defensible ways. It will not do any more for either party to get hold of the Presidency *any* how, and then cry out to let bygones be bygones. There has been, as the Republican platform in 1876 said, considerable quickening of the public conscience concerning political affairs, and neither party is so sure of its ground this time as to be able to disregard it.

The National Republican League, heretofore contemned by the Machinists as scratchers and bolters, prove their title to be considered stanch Republicans by an address to the "conscience vote," dated Philadelphia, June 26. "Simple acquiescence in the Chicago ticket," they say, "is not enough In the coming canvass there is no place for lukewarmness or indifference." They go on to enumerate the evils of Democratic success, infer from the example of Maine a readiness on the part of the Democrats to count out the lawfully elected Republican candidate, and apprehend the failure of any reform movement hereafter if General Garfield is defeated. They insist also upon the necessity of a Republican House of Representatives. Though they anticipate, under a Democratic régime, "events which will strain our institutions to the utmost, and lead to dangers which no lover of his country can contemplate without the gravest alarm," they do not specify the most serious danger—namely, the blow which the civil service would receive from a general redistribution of the minor Federal offices. The address, of course, censures the Democratic nomination of a man "whose only training has been that of the Army, and whose reputation, solely military, is the precise measure of his unfitness for the highest civil position in the gift of the people."

Every week, and almost every day, has now its tale of disaster to those who travel on our inland waters. The collision of the *Stonington* and *Narragansett* was followed at a short interval by the running down and sinking of the *Adelaide* by the *Grand Republic*, in the North River, happily without any fatality; and to the burning of the *Seawanhaka* in the East River succeeds the next day a collision of the *Long Branch* with an oil-barge, endangering the lives of hundreds of Sunday-school children. The fate of the *Seawanhaka* alone is mysterious, the other two "accidents" being known to have been avoidable. What is remarkable in its case is the large number of those who perished from fire or drowning when all the circumstances conspired to make rescue almost certain. The explosion, which as yet remains unexplained, occurred in broad daylight; the captain heroically kept the wheel until he had grounded the boat on a sunken meadow, ensuring the safety of those forward; life-preservers were not wanting; numerous steamboats and other craft at once hastened to the spot; physicians from the hospitals on the adjacent islands received the unfortunates as they were brought to land, and did their best to resuscitate them; and still the list of men, women, and children destroyed is a sadly long one. The small boats of the *Seawanhaka* were, as usual, of no sort of benefit to the terror-stricken passengers; the life-preservers, of but little.

The continued large increase in the value of exports and domestic products, without a proportionate increase in the imports of foreign goods, is the main reason for the weakness of foreign exchange and the three reductions in rates which were made during the week by the leading drawers of sterling bills. Whereas a few weeks ago it looked as if gold would be exported, there is now a fair chance that gold may be again imported in the latter part of the summer. This changed condition has had the effect of reducing the rates for long-time loans in this market, and of inducing large purchases of the better class of Stock Exchange securities; this in turn started a sharp speculative rise in inferior shares, which advanced ½ to 10½ per cent. As the week closed there was a downward reaction to this speculation on the reports that the Treasury will stop buying bonds for the sinking fund, and that Gov. Cornell has decided to sign the bill taxing the loans of foreign bank agencies.

The long-range rifle-match between Irish and American riflemen which came off at Dollymount on Tuesday, and in which the Americans beat their opponents by twelve points in a score of nearly thirteen hundred, was in the nature of a friendly and not a championship con-

test. Even for this era of sharpshooting the scores were remarkable, the target being missed but once out of 540 shots, and, as heretofore, the Americans won by their superiority at the longer ranges—though even at the 800-yard range they tied their opponents. Their continued success is of course very gratifying to their countrymen, and we should say might fairly be referred in good part to the superiority of their breech-loaders. It is hardly likely that each successive American team should be composed of better marksmen than any of their foreign rivals; and though they are said to be unapproached in their ability to "pull together," we imagine that the difference between the scores for the different ranges attests strongly the greater accuracy of their rifles. One of the Irishmen, and but one, stuck to his muzzle-loader, by the way.

The extraordinary absurdity of the performance of the majority in the House of Commons in the Bradlaugh affair, and the judiciousness of Mr. Gladstone's course in abstaining from any direct attempt to stem the tide, have been made manifest sooner than was expected. The Tories joined the Irish Home-Rulers in the refusal to permit Bradlaugh to take his seat, solely for the purpose of making trouble for the Government, though one of their hysterical newspapers says it was for the purpose of "protecting God from insult." They were thus driven by the logic of events into sending him to jail for trying to assert his undoubted constitutional right, and, having got him in jail and made a martyr of him, and associated him in the minds of all the extreme Radicals with the cause of freedom of opinion and representation, they perceived their folly and had to let him out. They could not have been convinced of this by any speech from the Ministerial side of the House, and, indeed, tried to drown Sir William Harcourt's words of soberness and truth by catcalls and groans. They were convinced of it by actual experiment, and now the Ministry will have no difficulty in providing by legislation a form of affirmation which Bradlaugh can make in lieu of the oath. In the meantime, however, Bradlaugh has been saved by Tory folly and rancor from dropping into the obscurity which so rapidly overtook Dr. Kenealy when he entered the House.

The Tichborne Claimant has had a writ of error in his case argued before the Lords-Justices of Appeal, in England, in which he made the claim, and supported it largely by the decision of our Court of Appeals in Tweed's case, that his two sentences of seven years each for two perjuries ought to have been concurrent, and that therefore he was entitled to deliverance in seven years, or in February, 1881, instead of starting on a fresh sentence of seven years. The court apparently thought it fair to infer from the argument of Mr. Benjamin, his counsel, that he meant to maintain that when a man committed one perjury he could afterwards commit as many more as he pleased, because his punishment for all would have to commence on the same day and be identical throughout. Seven years more of confinement will, of course, greatly reduce the number of the Claimant's admirers, but his imposture will probably long remain the most remarkable on record, both for the measure of success it met with and the curious composition of the sympathy it called forth; for he won popular favor in England as a butcher-boy who was kept out of his rights as a baronet, and yet if he really was a butcher-boy he had no rights as a baronet, and was consequently entitled to no sympathy.

The Conference at Berlin has, without waiting for the Technical Commission to visit the ground, decided on a frontier line between Turkey and Greece. It differs from the line originally recommended by the Treaty of Berlin in this: that one, like the present one, started at the mouth of the Salambria River, but it then turned slightly to the southward, and, leaving Turnavo to the Turks, went across straight to the Straits of Corfu, at the mouth of the Kalamas. The one now traced does not turn southward, but goes straight across the country from the north side of the valley of the Salambria, and takes in both Metsovo and Janina, an important gain for the Greeks. This decision of the Conference is said to be peremptory, and will be signified, or has been signified, as such to the Turks, who will, however, be compensated in some way for their increased loss of territory—most probably, it is said, by some European help in setting their finances in order. The Porte has anticipated the formal communication of the decision by a note reminding the Conference that its powers are mediatory only, which means that the Turks would like it to recommend something which they could reflect upon for two or three years more. They have, however, announced their intention of recovering for Montenegro the territory seized by the Albanians as soon as the agitation among the latter subsides.

The attacks of O'Donnell on M. Challemel-Lacour have had the effect of spreading this gentleman's fame in a way which must be as gratifying to him as it is unexpected. He appears from the details of his biography now given to the world to be above all things a literary man. He was a professor of philosophy at 22; was imprisoned by the Bonapartist conspirators in 1851, and expelled by them from France in the following year; was a popular lecturer in Belgium and a college professor in Switzerland during his exile; returned to France under the amnesty in 1852 and became a contributor to the *Temps*, the *Revue Nationale*, the *Revue des Cours Publics*, then editor of the *Revue Moderne*, and finally manager of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. During all this time he occupied a foremost place as a critic and thinker, without ever losing his interest in politics or ceasing to be an object of suspicion and persecution to the Bonapartist police. After the revolution of 1870 he was made a prefect of the Rhone, but was momentarily overcome and imprisoned by the Lyons Communists, and it was during this period that the plunder of the convent which O'Donnell laid to his charge occurred. The alleged "massacre" of Mobiles, it seems, never occurred, nor did the German Government ever refuse to receive him. He is probably the most accomplished French ambassador whom this generation has seen in London, and has one of those sound and apprehensive minds to which new and unfamiliar work comes easy—such, for instance, as the negotiation of the new Commercial Treaty—for he has made no mark in political economy.

The triumph of the Clericals in the municipal elections in Rome is due to the release of the faithful from the restrictions as to political action imposed by the late Pope, and known under the formula *Ne eletti, ne elettori*. According to the *Voce della Verità*, it has now been determined that the pious may vote, as a means of giving weight and force to the opinions of the Vatican on Italian affairs. Their participation in the municipal elections at Rome was in the nature of an experiment, and its complete success is said to have determined the Pope on calling his forces into the field at the elections all over Italy. Judging from what has happened, the influence of this change of policy on Italian politics may be very considerable. Among the candidates badly beaten in Rome was Garibaldi.

The Grand Council of Geneva has passed a law, or rather constitutional amendment, which has still to be submitted to the people, abolishing the connection between Church and state in the canton. It provides that no minister of religion is hereafter to receive any salary from the state, and no tax can be imposed for the maintenance of any form of worship. Such churches as are the property of the communes are to pass into the category of other communal property, but are to be inalienable for thirty years from the passage of the law; but no Protestant church is to be used for Catholic worship, and no Catholic church for Protestant worship. The endowments now belonging to the Protestant Church at Geneva are to be administered like those of charitable institutions. The bill was carried on the third reading by a majority of 55 to 46. The majority represent the rich Catholics and Protestants and free-thinkers, and the minority the poorer Catholics and Protestants who think they cannot maintain any form of religious worship without state aid. There is a strong feeling out-of-doors, however, that the Catholic Church will be the only gainer by the change, and that the Protestant interest will be ruined by it, owing to its divisions and want of organization.

THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION.

THE nomination of General Hancock by the Democrats would have been most seasonable and appropriate in 1872 or in 1876. In both those years there lingered among the party in power a strong tendency to apply military methods to the government of a considerable portion of the Union, and to tolerate, if not countenance, the elevation of the military above the civil authority, for a variety of objects, vaguely described under the general term of "saving the results of the war." This tendency was represented, too, by the presence in the Presidential chair of a man who was a soldier and nothing but a soldier, and who had given repeated proofs that he looked on the Presidency as an essentially military office. The Democrats were greatly hampered in their efforts to resist this tendency by their supposed sympathy with the enemies of the Union, by the presence of the great body of the "ex-rebels" in their ranks, and by the suspicion that they really desired to weaken the general Government. No way of meeting this would have been so effective as the nomination of a soldier like General Hancock, whose services to the Union on the battle-field were incontestable, who had at the same time given unmistakable proof of his dislike of military interference with the regular working of the Constitution and the laws, and who might nevertheless be relied on for full as much vigor in the execution of the laws as General Grant. Instead of this, however, they nominated in 1872 a candidate from whom nobody looked for vigorous administration, in whose discretion nobody believed, and who had made all his fame by the doctrine that almost anything was justifiable which kept Democrats out of power. In 1876 they nominated a candidate who had all along opposed the war, and was suspected of having encouraged the rebellion. Now, when the controversies created by the alleged unlawful use of military authority have passed away, and when there seems to be a general acquiescence in the supremacy of civil authority everywhere, they come forward with a soldier whose opinions on civil affairs are, for the most part, unknown, and whose one excursion into the field of civil jurisprudence was made fifteen years ago in the South, by a refusal to allow the troops to take entire charge of a State Government. General Hancock's utterances in Louisiana in 1867, creditable as they were to him, bore on a state of things which has wholly passed away, and were made in a controversy which has absolutely ceased, and indicate nothing whatever as to his attitude towards the problems by which the country is now beset.

His nomination comes, too, just as the Republican party has finally discarded military ideas and military methods, and has nominated a man whose fame is almost wholly based on his career as an economist and legislator. And yet the Republican party has not hitherto stood for administrative reform and legislative enterprise. It has been essentially a war party. It has to no small extent thrown discredit on peaceful agencies in the work of renovation and pacification. *It* is the party which one would naturally expect to cling to soldier government and "strong man" government. It is, therefore, more than surprising to find that no sooner has it returned to the paths of peace, and produced a candidate whose triumphs have been almost all legislative, than the Democrats, the great friends of government by discussion and persuasion, and of policemen as against soldiers, the great enemies of attempts to work on opinion through the revival of war-memories and passions, should throw all their civilians aside, their lawyers, their statesmen, their financiers, and appear on the scene with a major-general in full uniform, and begin to tell us of the battles he fought, the guns and prisoners he took, and of the mildness and good sense with which he exercised the powers of a military dictator over large bodies of the American people half a generation ago. Of course the object of this is well known. It is meant to meet the suspicion of Democratic sympathy with the rebellious South; but it must be admitted that a great political party is in a bad way when it has no better mode than this of commending itself, in time of profound peace, to a public much sobered by unhappy experience of administrative and financial disorder, and reasonably anxious for a careful adaptation of the governmental machine to the needs of a rapidly increasing population and to a growing complexity of interests and responsibilities, both material and moral.

There is not a word to be said against General Hancock personally. He is a gallant soldier and honest gentleman.

"A better and a braver man
Never rode in battle's van."

Soldier for soldier he is vastly preferable to General Grant. He has not won as many fights, but he has won enough. We are sure he would keep better company and take a much higher view of his own official responsibilities. But he has just as little political experience as General Grant had, and is considerably older than General Grant was when the latter was elected to the Presidency. He would probably make a more discreet use of "troops" at the South, but there are no troops to use at the South any longer. He would be beset at Washington by problems more serious than those which beset General Grant, and there is no reason to be found in his experience or pursuits or studies for supposing he would be any more competent to deal with them. There is every justification for believing that he would pass very rapidly, as General Grant did, into the hands of a "Group" or "Syndicate," who would undertake to deliver him from the "theorists" and "idealists," and show him how earthly governments have in the present condition of human nature to be carried on. It would not be the old "Group" which carried General Grant through his difficulties, but does any reflecting man who knows anything of the ruling influences in the Democratic party suppose it would be any better? Can any one think without alarm of the results of a "clean sweep" in the administration effected under its auspices? Would it be any consolation to us to know after General Hancock had surrendered himself to its guidance that he had held the Cemetery at Gettysburg? Does any rational man want to go back to the régime under which the country was forced to rejoice because the soldier-President when he sat down to approve the inflation bill, which would probably have ruined the national credit and disordered all private business, by a happy stroke of luck changed his mind while he was writing the message, got more paper, and composed a glorious veto? Is this the kind of government of which a great commercial people, fifty millions strong, wants a continuance? It would not be good enough for Turks; is it good enough for Americans?

The Grant movement, happily defeated at Chicago, showed what a powerful lodgment Bonapartism had made in our politics, for the passion for putting successful soldiers in high civil positions is the essence of Bonapartism. It is based on the assumption either that high office ought to be used as a reward for military service without regard to the candidate's fitness, or that the Government may have to rest on military force instead of on discussion. It has gone far enough among us. It is now high time to have an end of it. The Republican party has discarded it; the adoption of it by the Democrats does not put any better face on it. It is needless to say to most of our readers that the few precedents we have had say nothing for it. The Union over which Washington and Jackson and Harrison were called to rule was a very different community from that which is to elect the next President. It has changed from a simple and small agricultural population strung along the Eastern coast, and managing almost all its affairs through local self-government, into an immense nation covering a continent and competing with the world in all the industrial arts, with a vast civil service, vast accumulated wealth, powerful corporations, a thousand conflicting interests, and with a momentum in its progress which makes the slightest error in direction capable of tremendous mischief. Taking the very narrowest view of the functions of the executive, the President of such a republic needs to be not simply an able or honest man, but one of the master politicians of the time. There is not much likelihood of such politicians finding election to the Presidency easy in our day, but we do sincerely believe a strong move in that direction has been made in the nomination of General Garfield, that he belongs to an order of men whom the people have to be persuaded to favor and elevate, and that the selection of another soldier now would be a distinct step backwards towards a somewhat barbaric theory of government. Is it not time "the war-drum throbbed no longer and the battle-flags were furled," even though the "Parliament of Man" be still some ages distant?

We wish it were possible to say all this—and we fear it is not—without seeming to disparage General Hancock and the class of gallant men to which he belongs. None of those, we venture to say, who like to "run" them for the Presidency has half the respect for them that we have. We wish they were ten times more numerous in this community than they are. But the example which they exhibit of sim-

ple and loyal devotion to duty, of toil and sacrifice for other things than gain, precious and fruitful as we believe it to be, retains its force only so long as they follow the calling to which they were bred and which they understand. They could not be as good soldiers as they are if they were fit candidates for the Presidency. Not one of them ever enters the political arena without losing much if not most of what makes him really valuable to his country.

GENERAL GARFIELD AND THE DE GOLYER & McCLELLAN CONTRACT.

THE accusation regarding the De Golyer contract against General Garfield is made in various ways. It includes the charge that, when chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the House, and knowing that appropriations for such improvements as this De Golyer contract covered would be pressed upon the Committee, he accepted a fee of five thousand dollars, ostensibly for legal services for the purpose of procuring the contract from the Board of Public Works, but really for his influence as chairman of the Committee; that he thus made himself the advocate of a contract which was bad in itself, and thus also took a bribe to affect his action in his Committee in favor of this and like contracts; or, if it was not on his part the taking of a bribe, that he must have known that the motive with which the money was paid him was to secure his influence as such chairman in favor of the appropriations to pay for this and like contracts. Such is the substance of this accusation in its various forms and phases.

In order that the public may properly judge of it, it is necessary to know the following facts, which can easily be verified by reference to the public laws, the records of the District of Columbia, and the testimony that has been taken by two investigating committees of Congress.

February 21, 1871, Congress passed an act creating a government for the District of Columbia, just such a government in general as is organized in the territories by Congressional action. This act provided for a Governor, in whom was vested "executive power and authority"; a Legislative Assembly, in which was vested "legislative power and authority"; a Board of Public Works, to which was given control of the streets, avenues, and sewers, and all other works that the Legislative Assembly might entrust to it. It also provided that the Board of Public Works should have "no power to make contracts to bind said District to the payment of any sums of money except in pursuance of appropriations made by law, and not until such appropriations shall have been made." This has reference wholly to appropriations made by the Legislative Assembly. The government having been thus created, and with this restriction on the Board of Public Works, on the 20th day of June, 1871, the Board submitted to the Legislative Assembly a plan for the improvement of the cities of Washington and Georgetown, and the roads outside these cities, embracing nearly all the streets and avenues and roads, and in the submission of this plan estimated the entire cost to be $4,358,598, recommended the adoption of this plan, and submitted to the Legislative Assembly a bill to provide "the necessary means for the execution of the work."

On the 10th day of July, 1871, the Legislative Assembly passed this act, appropriating $4,000,000 to do the work referred to in the plan, or, to use the language of the act, "to be used and expended, . . . as fully as may be practicable and consistent with the public interest, in conformity with the plan of improvement submitted to the said Legislature by the Board of Public Works of said District in its communication bearing date June 20, 1871"; and in order to procure the money thus appropriated it was provided in this act that bonds of the District to the amount of $4,000,000 should be issued, and also provided for levying a tax on the property in the District to pay the interest on these bonds, and to provide for the gradual reduction of the principal. It was further provided that the Board should "in no case enter into a contract for any work or improvement the cost of which shall exceed the amount estimated therefor in its aforesaid plan, less twenty per cent. of said estimates." May 8, 1872, Congress approved the act of the Legislative Assembly above alluded to, and in connection with it enacted that the debt of the District, including the debts of the late corporations of Washington and Georgetown, "shall at no time exceed the sum of $10,000,000, unless an increase over the said amount shall have been previously authorized by act of Congress." At the time the new government came into existence the debt of the District, including the corporations of Washington and Georgetown, was in the aggregate $5,520,626 02, so that the $4,000,000 loan brought the amount of indebtedness up to within $479,373 98 of the limit that was fixed by the act of Congress above alluded to.

From the foregoing the following facts will be observed:

1st. That Congress had turned over the control of the streets, avenues, and roads to the government of the District of Columbia.

2d. That that government adopted a plan of improvements.

3d. That that government provided the money with which to pay for those improvements.

4th. That the Board of Public Works was prohibited by Congress from making contracts before appropriations were made, and prohibited from contracting in excess of appropriations.

5th. That the Legislative Assembly restricted the Board in making contracts to 80 per cent. of the $4,000,000 loan.

6th. That Congress had fixed a limit to the entire indebtedness, which limit the $4,000,000 almost reached.

7th. That the money to pay for this work was not to come through appropriations by Congress, but was to be derived by taxation of the property in the District imposed by the Legislative Assembly.

In September, 1871, the Board of Public Works, instead of adopting the policy of letting contracts to do the contemplated work to the lowest bidder, fixed a scale of prices that would be paid for various kinds of work, that is to say: a specific price for grading per cubic yard, a specific price per square yard for concrete pavement, for wood pavement, for stone pavement, and so on; so that when they determined to lay a particular kind of pavement on a certain street or avenue, whether of wood, stone, or concrete, the price was already fixed, and the open question was which kind of wood or stone or concrete should be laid; and hence there was a struggle before the Board by the owners of the various patents for pavements to have their respective patents adopted for use, and this brought in question the merits of the respective patents. It made no difference whatever as to the cost, whether one patent was used or another of the class of wooden or concrete pavements; the price was precisely the same.

De Golyer & McClellan had a patented wooden pavement. Others had patents for wooden pavements, and between these there were contests as to merit. There was also the question of merit as between wooden and concrete pavements. De Golyer & McClellan employed Mr. Parsons as their attorney to procure the adoption of their pavement, by showing to the Board its superiority over others. This was the *only* question to be considered—the question of price having been settled months before, by the adoption of a schedule of prices. The hearing before the Board as to the merits of these various patents was about to be had, and Mr. Parsons was called away from Washington. He asked General Garfield to take his place as attorney to argue the merits of the De Golyer patent. As above shown there was nothing else to argue. General Garfield appears never to have seen De Golyer or McClellan or anybody else in relation to this employment, excepting Mr. Parsons, and at the latter's solicitation he examined the various patents and made his presentation of the case to the Board, was paid a fee for it, and there his relations to the subject entirely ended. He had nothing whatever to do with making or shaping the contract under which the pavement was laid. Now, the money having already been provided to pay for all the improvements that the Board was authorized to make, it seems impossible that it could have been contemplated by General Garfield or any one else that appropriations would be asked from Congress with which to pay for any portion of them.

In order to make good the accusation against General Garfield the following must be assumed: 1st. That the Board contemplated at that early period of its career violating the law prohibiting the making of contracts in excess of and prior to appropriations. 2d. That it then contemplated violating the law restricting it to 80 per cent. of the $4,000,000 loan. 3d. That it then contemplated the violation of the law limiting the indebtedness of the district to ten millions of dollars. 4th. That General Garfield had knowledge that the Board so contemplated.

In the absence of these assumptions the case is in brief this: The

money had, long before General Garfield's employment, been provided by the District government to pay for the improvements; the prices to be paid had been established; no appropriation by Congress could have been in contemplation; the question and the only question was whether this or that kind of pavement should be used, and General Garfield as an attorney argued in favor of the De Golyer patent.

The impression has entered the public mind that the De Golyer patent is worthless, but this is wholly erroneous. No one familiar with the subject has questioned that it was at least as good as any other process of laying wooden pavements, and no question of that kind has ever been made before the Committee or elsewhere. The impression, too, possibly prevails that there was something fraudulent in the contract as to prices, etc. But this is wholly without foundation. The Board having adopted a schedule of prices long before, when the decision was made to lay this pavement to any extent it was at the price already fixed. If any other pavement of wood had been adopted in preference to this the price would have been the same; so that the use of this pavement involved no more expenditure than if any other had been adopted.

It may be asked, Why, then, all the criticism that has appeared in regard to this De Golyer & McClellan contract? The answer is this: it is maintained by those who were assailing the Board of Public Works that the prices paid for work were unreasonable and excessive, and to show this the proof was presented to the Committee that for a quantity of work which would amount to about $700,000 the parties were willing to pay and agreed to pay $97,000 in commissions and attorneys' fees; consequently, it was argued, the Board in fixing the schedule of prices had fixed them too high, and thereby had violated their duty. But these prices would have been paid if any other wooden pavement had been used, and were paid to every other contractor where wooden pavement was used; and every other contract for wooden pavement was and is amenable to precisely the same criticism. The De Golyer contract is no more fraudulent than every other that was made to lay wooden pavements. To establish the same fact—viz., that the Board had fixed its schedule of prices too high, and thereby had unnecessarily burdened the taxpayers—proof was adduced that it was quite common to let a contract to lay a pavement, and the contractor would at once sublet at a rate twenty-five cents less per square yard, giving a profit or bonus of twenty-five cents per square yard for doing nothing. The De Golyer & McClellan contract differed in no respect from all others, and it only became conspicuous because it showed the amount that the Board was paying by its schedule of prices in excess of what should have been paid.

The sum and substance of the whole matter, as regards General Garfield, then is, that at the request of a friend of his, the attorney for the De Golyer & McClellan Paving Company, he examined the evidence in favor of some forty kinds of pavement, prepared the required brief, which was intended for the Board of Public Works, made known to Mr. Shepherd, then President of the Board, his favorable opinions, and expressed the hope that he would give these Western men a chance. No price was agreed upon for the service, but Mr. Parsons paid him $5,000, saying that he had received a large fee and would share it with him. The disproportion of the fee to the work performed may be attributed to the large interests involved and to the friendly intervention of Mr. Parsons. But the case, nevertheless, exemplifies one of the gross abuses prevalent in public life which the friends of good government can have no difficulty in condemning. We refer to the practice of seeking and giving weight to the opinions of public men on subjects of which they know no more than any one else, and in legal cases paying fees in proportion to their influence. We should have liked it much better if General Garfield had told his friend that there were scores of people much better qualified to form a reliable opinion of pavements; that his official position would give a factitious importance to his opinion which he did not wish it to have, and that the services of the best experts should be sought for rather than his own. We do not think, therefore, that the motives of Mr. Parsons and his clients in employing Mr. Garfield are above suspicion. It is not improbable that they sought in so doing something more than his services as counsel, but we can discover no trace of anything worse on his part than indiscretion. With this we think he may be fairly charged, and although the character of the Board of Public Works was not as well known then as it was afterwards, there must have been enough known about it to suggest to a prudent public man the impropriety of taking a hand in influencing it in any matter, and especially in a matter in which he had no claim to be considered an expert. General Garfield has been severely assailed, too, because he made no formal argument before the Board as a whole, and the inference has been drawn from this that he knew he did not render full service for his fee. But an oral argument would hardly have added anything to the value of his brief, and having made the brief, we think he was fully justified by forensic custom in thinking that he had done enough. Let us say finally that in judging him on the charge of indiscretion it is not fair to judge his conduct in 1871 with the light of 1880. There is not one of us whose views about discretion touching the relations between politics and money have not been greatly clarified by the events of the past nine years.

THE INNER LIFE OF GUIZOT.—III.

PARIS, June 11.

WHEN M. Guizot fell from power in 1848 he was obliged to find a retreat in England. Whatever may have been said of the corruption of the régime of 1830, Guizot, who had been for several years the first personage after the King, found himself as poor in 1848 as on the day when he undertook the difficult task of running the constitutional machine—between the Republicans, the Legitimists, the Bonapartists, in a country where there were not two governing parties ready to take each other's place—without any violent commotion. He arrived in England without any means. One of his daughters, who was with him, wrote at the time to one of her English friends, who asked her if she went often to the Park: "No, because the omnibus, which is our carriage, does not go through the Park." It was well for M. Guizot and for his children to have been brought up in those severe principles which place man above the accidents of fortune. On the 24th of February M. Guizot had resigned, and he had himself conducted his successor, M. Odilon Barrot, to the Ministry of the Interior. The movement which had begun with the cry of reform had rapidly become a revolution, and M. Guizot, who was hunted by the insurgents, had been obliged to conceal himself in the lodge of a portress of a house in the Rue Vanneau. Madame Duchâtel, the wife of one of M. Guizot's colleagues, had found this place of refuge for him. In the evening, Madame de Mirbel took M. Guizot to her own house and concealed him till the 1st of March; on that day he left for Brussels, with a friend, and crossed the sea from Ostend to London. He met his children in London, and soon afterwards his old mother rejoined him. He found a little house in Brompton, where he established all his family.

"I am well received here," he wrote M. de Barante on the 13th of March, "as if nobody had ever been out of humor with me [this is an allusion to the Spanish marriages and the discontent which they had produced in England]; but I am profoundly grieved. What a spectacle! What a future! Notwithstanding my optimism, I have always thought that the evil was very great, and it was one of the causes of my ardor in the struggle. But I did not think it as great as it is. . . . There is to-day at Kennington, near London, a great meeting of Chartists, twelve or fifteen thousand, who meet in order to ask about half of what the Parisian Communists demand. The walls are covered with a police placard forbidding any meeting, any procession; exactly the *ordonnance* of Delessert, three months ago."

Many offers were made to M. Guizot, inspired by a desire to help him in his difficulties; he was determined to refuse them. He was advised by one of the leading firms of London that a French gentleman, who wished to be unknown, had opened an unlimited credit for him; he never used this credit. He undertook at once a series of literary works, and accepted the collaboration of M. Lenormant, who had been his assistant in the Faculty of Letters. To him he wrote on the 24th of March: "Here are my projects: I am going to work again at (1) my 'History of the English Revolution,' . . . (2) my 'History of France told to my Children,' (3) my 'History of Civilization in France.'" A few days afterwards Madame Guizot, the mother who had followed her son into exile, died quietly in Brompton; she had been the best of mothers to him, and had given him with her religious sentiments the unflinching courage of the old French Huguenots. This is how Sainte-Beuve describes her:

"I think I see her still; and who, among those who have had the honor of seeing her even once, will ever forget her? The venerable mother of M. Guizot, with her antique and simple dress, with her strong and profound physiognomy, tenderly austere, which made me think of the mothers of Port Royal—this mother of the time of the Cévennes, to whom her son always remained most submissive and deferential—I think I see her still in that drawing-room of the minister . . . . . where she represented faith, simplicity, the persistent virtues of persecution and of the Desert."

Madame Guizot was buried in Kensal Green, in the ground reserved for dissenters. M. Guizot found some consolation in the lessons which he gave to his son Guillaume; he read with him Homer and Thucydides, Virgil and Tacitus. His daughters were a great comfort, active, cheerful, extremely intelligent. He saw but little of the outside world; he took some pleasure in his 'History of France,' which was cast in the form of lectures to his own children; he continued, as he had written to Barante, his 'English Revolution' and his 'History of Civilization.' He spoke without anger of France; he wrote, for instance, to his son: "You are interested in what is going on in France, and you are right. You must love your country and devote yourself to it, even though it be blind and ungrateful. Your generation will have much to do in France and for France. You will not fully succeed. I hope, however, that your portion of success will be larger than ours, and that it will not be bought at so dear a price."

After the terrible socialistic and communistic revolt of June, 1848, which ended in the victory of the National Assembly and of General Cavaignac, M. Guizot wrote to Madame Lenormant: "France needed to convince herself that she was still alive; the proof is made. A society which, after having shown itself unable to defend its institutions, can still defend itself in this way is not dead and will not die. They say here that it is still of some account. People begin to say that after having thrown Europe into the abyss France may show her how to come out of it." General Cavaignac had conquered the Commune of 1848 and put an end to social anarchy; political anarchy still continued. M. Guizot was urged at various times to come forward and to try the power of his marvellous eloquence with universal suffrage; he had been opposed to the extension of the suffrage, and he refused to offer himself as a candidate in the elections, saying in a letter to his friends in Normandy that he could not change himself; that he continued to be, as he always had been, a friend of constitutional monarchy.

The trial of the ministers of Louis Philippe had been a perfect farce; an "ordonnance de non-lieu" was rendered in their case, and Guizot returned to France immediately afterwards. He went to his place in Normandy, the Val-Richer. In a little while he wrote to his friend Mrs. Austin:

"Do not fear for me discouragement or sorrow. . . . I believe that our society, like many others, is very ill and that we are in a painful crisis of its malady; but I will not believe and I do not believe that *this* can be the end of the glorious history of France. . . . As for myself personally, I have had so much happiness, public and private, in the course of my life, which is already long, that I feel that I have no right to complain. One of your cavaliers, the Duke of Ormond, said after the death of his son, Lord Ossory: 'I prefer my son dead to another son alive.' I can say as much of my happiness. In my public life God has done me the honor to employ me in three great things—the education of the people,* the foundation of a free government, and the maintenance of peace. Of these three difficult works the last has succeeded beyond my expectations; . . . the two others, I must confess, seem much compromised. I am convinced that they seem so more than they are. We are going through an orgy. I am confident that the ideas which I have tried to spread, the institutions which I have tried to establish, will not perish, but will be purified. I shall probably not witness their success, but I have kept watch near their cradle."

As for his inner life, Guizot had always the satisfaction of being surrounded with the purest and sincerest affections. Madame de Witt's book shows conclusively that under the stern surface of the statesman there was a great tenderness of heart, an exquisite delicacy of feeling. His two daughters had married two brothers, MM. Conrad and Cornelis de Witt, who had really become his sons. "I really envy but one man," said he, "the man who has well married his daughters." He had himself become that man. He persisted in keeping himself completely out of the turmoil of politics. This is what he wrote in 1850 to his friend Piscatory, who had been a long time French Minister in Greece: "There are two men whom I know as well as if I had spent my life with them: Cromwell and Washington. Be sure that neither the one nor the other would have believed in the least in a republic such as that we have. One would have overthrown it; the other would have let it alone." The President was then Louis Napoleon. "He can wait for 1852; he will be re-elected, for he alone can be elected. We also used to say in 1830 'the king of our choice.' Once re-elected, it may be that he will not remain what he is now, and will become something else." Napoleon did not wait till 1852, and he did become "something else." M. Guizot did not reappear in public before 1852, when he received M. de Montalembert at the French Academy. Montalembert denounced the Revolution; M. Guizot stood by it in a measure; he wrote at the time to his daughters:

"M. de Montalembert has been unjust towards 1789 and the Constituent Assembly. All he said is true, all the reproaches which he addressed to that period are well founded; but he omitted to say three things equally true: (1) Good and evil are so profoundly mixed in all human acts and human events that in the best and most salutary ones evil abounds, moral as well as material evil; (2) in 1789, in the midst of false ideas and of the corruption of manners, good intentions were dominant—an extenuating circumstance which ought always to be present to the mind in any judgment passed on that period; (3) 1789 was not so vain, the Constituent Assembly was not so powerless, so barren, as M. de Montalembert says; there is much of its work in the present state of our society, and in what it retains of justice and humanity in the midst of its miseries. If we were suddenly brought back to the France of one hundred and fifty years ago we would not tolerate all we should find in it that was iniquitous, absurd, and oppressive. The evils from which we are suffering must not make us forget the evils from which we have been delivered."

This calm serenity of the historian, introduced into the circle of family life and becoming a lesson for the children and the grandchildren, has in itself something touching. We all know the fine picture of Guizot by Delaroche, where he is represented with the proud and almost fierce attitude of the man who calms the revolutionary waves—"Quos ego." It has been my privilege to see another Guizot in his family circle, amiable, smiling, kind to everybody, anxious to please everybody. His modest apartment received the most illustrious visitors; but he was as attentive to the rising young lawyer, to the timid artist, to the young girl, to the boy who was still at school, as he was to the ambassadors and the princes. His heart was gentle, his spirit was proud; and perhaps his gentleness was also a part of his pride. The last years of Guizot were happy; he had raised his soul above the accidents of political life, he had reached before death the calm of death.

* M. Guizot was the author of our law on primary schools.

THE NATIONALITY QUESTION IN AUSTRIA.

VIENNA, May 31, 1880.

THE first session of the Austrian Reichsrath under the coalition Ministry of Count Taaffe has just come to an end. The relations between the Ministry and the House of Representatives have been of that peculiar kind which, in the splitting up of parties into small fractions, seems to be becoming the rule in constitutional government on the Continent. The Ministry has had its majority, and has with it transacted the business of the country; but its members are not the leaders of the majority; it is not the ministry of the majority; it has pretended to be something beyond and independent of parties and majorities. The majority in the House consists of all the varied elements which do not belong to the Constitutionalist party, now in the minority—that is, of the Conservatives of more or less reactionary tendencies, the Clericals, the Poles, the Czechs, the Slavs from Carinthia and Carniola—in short, of the members of the Right and the Federalists. This majority has been a very precarious one, and in the latter part of the session resorted to some sharp practice in its own interest by annulling the elections of three Constitutionalist members from Upper Austria. It will be remembered that on one question—that of granting the Ministry an allowance of secret-service money for irresponsible use, practically a campaign fund, an allowance which Austrian parliamentary practice has sanctioned for a number of years—the majority did not prove firm enough to prevent a disagreeable defeat of the Ministry. The Ministry meanwhile consists not only of Conservatives, with the addition of one Pole and one Czech by way of sop to these nationalities, but of three Constitutionalists, whose party is now in vehement opposition. It is proposed now to dismiss these latter, and so bring the Ministry more completely in agreement with the majority of the House. It may be doubted, however, whether this would make the political situation any clearer. Probably before long either the Reichsrath will be dissolved, or a new ministry with a more definite programme be formed.

Such as it is, the present Ministry set for itself at the beginning of this session the task of solving the two great questions of Austrian politics, namely, the reform of the finances in such a way as to open some prospect of getting rid of the large and increasing deficit, and the establishment of a permanent amicable *modus vivendi* between the different nationalities of Austria. As to the finances, absolutely nothing has been done, except that the military law passed last December has considerably increased the burdens of the budget, otherwise unchanged from that of previous years. Indeed, the incapacity of the Minister of Finance is so notorious that it is hardly possible for him to retain his office much longer. But it was the nationality question which it was especially proposed to bring to some solution. An era of peace and reconciliation was to arrive, the national feuds were to be put an end to, the demands of the Czechs, and Poles, and Slavs of the southern districts satisfied without endangering the integrity of the Empire. Certainly the era of peace and reconciliation has not yet come, for never has the discussion been more heated, the jealousy of the Germans greater, the importunate demands of the different Slav nationalities more loudly expressed, than during the past six months. The matter has advanced a stage in that the Federalists have members in the Ministry and are necessary to keep up the Government majority; and something tangible has even been done by the ministerial decree issued toward the end of April in regard to the use of the German and

Czech languages by the administrative and judicial authorities of Bohemia, to which we shall recur.

It is Bohemia which now stands in the foreground in the nationality question. The present movement among the Czechs, which has in the course of the past generation been accompanied, partly as cause and partly as effect, by the resurrection (for such it may be called) of Bohemian history and literature, is on its political side decidedly the most important question in Austrian politics. The final object of the Czechs is to have the relation between Austria and Bohemia made a federal one, more or less like the relation now existing between Austria and Hungary. But for the present their efforts are directed mainly to having the Czech language placed on an equal footing with German in Bohemia. In the memorandum presented to the Emperor last December they ask for the removal of "the violations nearest to hand and most oppressive of the principle of equality of nationalities," a principle fixed and expressly enunciated by the Constitution. They ask for the establishment of more elementary and grammar schools conducted in Czech; for more artisan and industrial schools; for equality of languages in the University of Prague—so that, for instance, a candidate may get his doctor's degree, or a "docent" his appointment, for a dissertation in Czech; finally they ask for equality in the administration, for the use of Czech not only in the intercourse between the administration and the public, but also within the administration, in communications between the members. The last two are by far the most important of these demands. The University of Prague, as readers of Bohemian history will remember, has been a bone of contention between Germans and Bohemians from its foundation. Since 1848, when there was only one lecturer in Czech in the University, a great many concessions have been made to the Czechs, and as more has been conceded more has been asked. Ten years ago they asked for an independent Czech university; now they only ask for greater freedom in the old, which is already half Czech, and which they are confident of making wholly their own if the legal obstacles are removed. But the point practically most important for the moment, and permanently too, is that in regard to the civil service and the administration. It is here that the support of the Ministry by the Czechs has been rewarded by a practical result in the shape of the decree as to the use of the Czech and German languages already referred to. This decree, which has produced great excitement, especially among the Germans in Bohemia, orders that the administrative and judicial authorities in Bohemia and Moravia shall answer all verbal or written communications from the public to them in the language of such communications; and where they at first hand communicate with the public, they shall use the language of the parties they address, in case of doubt using their discretion in choosing the language such parties presumably speak. This seems innocent enough, and in part is so, in so far as the decree only legalizes the usage prevalent in the greater part of Bohemia. Its danger for the Germans becomes apparent when it is considered that in consequence the judges and civil-service employees will have to know both German and Czech; that while every half-educated Czech learns German as a matter of course, comparatively few Germans learn Czech; that thus, even in districts almost exclusively German, as in the northwestern districts near Eger, Czechs will be appointed to the Government service; finally, that when once this has happened, there is danger of the abuse of the discretionary power given by the decree for communications at first hand. Last, but not least, this is only a very small part of what the Czechs want: in the memorandum, which again only mentions their immediate grievances, they ask, for instance, that a judicial proceeding begun in Czech shall be continued in that language in case of appeal even to the court of highest instance.

It is impossible not to feel some sympathy with the Czechs in their enthusiastic efforts for their race and country. Their history, during the last three centuries, entitles them to all possible sympathy, and in the revival of letters and literature during the past generation they have shown a vigorous national life that must command great respect. They outnumber the Germans in Bohemia in the proportion of three to two, in Moravia in that of three to one. Yet, politically, the German element has the upper hand, controlling a majority both in the Bohemian Landtag and in the delegation to the Reichsrath of Austria. In the elections of delegates from the Reichsrath to the Delegations for Austria-Hungary the German majority of the Bohemian members of the Reichsrath chose only German Deputies. So great, indeed, has been the sense of injustice among the Czechs, that they have pursued a policy of secession, and only in the present session of the Reichsrath attended the meetings. Nevertheless there are some features in the movement which make one stop and think before following the fashion of the day of wishing success to struggling nationalities. The Czech movement is entirely under the control of the feudal reactionists and the clericals. The Old Czechs, comprising these last, are in a decided majority over the Young, the liberal and enlightened, and it is said are even going to deprive the latter of the minority representation they have hitherto been allowed in the Czech delegation to the Reichsrath. Apart from the nationality question, no friend of progress can sympathize with the ideas and objects of the Old Czechs; and the Young, even if they had the direction of the policy of their party, seem to be, like most Slavs, lacking in genius for practical politics, are rash, impulsive, hot-headed, and apparently not at all sure exactly what they want. As a climax, the question arises, What is it all to come to? Although only a part of the Czechs —mostly the Old Czechs—are avowedly federalists, the efforts of all tend toward greater looseness in the political connection of the different parts of the Empire. If the Czechs get what they want, the Poles of Galicia, the Slavs of Carinthia and Carniola, the Italians of Tyrol, will follow suit. No one can blame the Germans of Austria, least of all accuse them of oppression, for opposing to the utmost all efforts to make the Empire a federal league. And if Austria-Hungary is to continue a state, and not become a league, it must be a German state, with German as the state language; hence, the immediate danger of the decree on languages in the eyes of the Constitutionalists—*i.e.*, those faithful to the present constitution. This constitution is already quite loose enough for the emergencies of the continental state nowadays, and it may well be doubted whether Austria, as a great Power, would survive its further weakening.

Correspondence.

SOUTHERN LABOR SYSTEMS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your issue of the 10th instant includes an article upon the "Distribution of the Blacks." It is characterized by your usual moderation, and is very welcome reading after many of the strictures which so often appear upon this subject in the Northern press. On one point, however, I think you are laboring under a misapprehension, which I would crave a few lines of space to correct. Upon reading this article one would be led to believe that all the plantations in the South were run upon the share system, the laborer's supplies being advanced to him under a lien upon the growing crop at exorbitant rates of profit. It is true that this system is in use throughout a large area, though not the entirety, of the cotton-growing country. In Louisiana, however, on the sugar-growing estates, this is not the case. Here the labor is paid in cash. I am interested in a place where the hands have free quarters, with little gardens, free firewood, and eighty cents a day paid semi-monthly, as in a city factory. On these terms one hundred hands might turn out in the field six days in the week, and in grinding season double that number would be welcome at our price of one dollar per day. They buy their supplies in our store, but this is in no way compulsory, and as they are near enough to New Orleans, if our prices were unreasonable they would make their purchases in the city. With the negro working on these terms, I am inclined to take issue with you when you advocate his emigrating. I hold that in no country could he do as well as here, or average such cash wages for the year's work. As you have told us in this same article, the "negro problem" must be solved aside from politics, and the only solution can be for the blacks to stay where they are and work six days in the week, instead of three, until they are able to find a State where permanent labor will command better prices, and in sufficient quantity to guarantee their emigration.

W. J. T.

New Orleans, June 23, 1880.

THE VENUS OF MELOS ONCE MORE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: As I write from within sight of the locality in reference to which so much has been said in and out of your columns—viz., that where the so-called Venus of Melos was found—I venture to ask a little space to report the result of a careful examination of the ground in company with Mr. Brest, the well-known son and successor of the former agent of France, writing immediately after the visit of two or three days spent in his company, and with the notes taken down before me. The place has somewhat changed since I was here last in 1867, and the slightly-put-together niche I then saw where the statue stood when found has disappeared; but there is no foundation wall nor vestige of any regular building nearer than the old citadel wall above it, and a hundred yards away. There are amongst the amazing piles of rubbish thereabouts no pieces of stone which suggest a temple, and no trace of substructions which invariably survive the clearing up of these fields, and are generally utilized as part of the dividing walls of them. The examination of the ground assured me, as did Mr. Brest in the most explicit terms, that there was never any construction resembling what the pamphlet of M.

Doussault describes. There was not even a stone substructure where the statue stood.

The site of Melos was a steep hill, only to be ascended by a zigzag road, and it is now—and probably was when the city stood there—a series of terraces, at present supported by interminable and enormous walls of the *débris* of the city, mostly fragments of the volcanic rock of the island, with only here and there one of marble; and the narrow strips of cultivable land are made the most of. Around the top of the hill are traces of the walls of the citadel or inner city, which was not on the high point now occupied by the successor of the ancient city, but on that below it. The road runs along the terrace immediately under the citadel wall, and on the one below this stood the statue. The field belonged to Theodore Kentrotas Botoni, who, finding it greatly encumbered with rubbish, cleared away that which lay on the upper side so as to enlarge it. As he dug away the base of the pile of stones the upper portion rolled down (*croulait*, to use Brest's word), and showed the statue standing upright in the pile of rubble. I remember a sort of niche of rough stones which has now been dug away, probably in the search for more statues, or the lacking parts of this; but Mr. Brest tells me that the statue was not in it but slightly in advance of it, standing on its base in the open field. There is no vestige of a vault or subterranean chamber of any kind, and I have a very distinct impression that on my former visit Brest said to me that it was evident that the place was prepared for concealment. He is now sixty-six years of age, and a very vigorous man, mentally and physically, as showed our walk and talk over the hills which once held Melos, its necropolis and acropolis, and the modern city as well—a hard walk of several hours. He remembered my short and only visit to him twelve years ago, and even my name, which probably never has fallen under his attention since; so that though he was a mere child when the statue was found, he must have a very perfect memory of what he had heard from his father and others in his youth.

I propose elsewhere and at length to enter into the discussion of the unsettled points about the statue, but desire to put these facts on record while perfectly fresh in my mind, and will add certain details as to the finding and preservation of this priceless work, now told me by Brest, and which have been differently stated. The arms, it appears from a despatch of Brest, senior, to the ambassador at Constantinople, brought to light in the more recent investigations were not with it, in any relation at least which permitted identification; many fragments and some arms were found, however, and four Hermes, possibly accessories to the statue. Brest supposes the arms, etc., to have been *ex-votos*. The arms of the statue were apparently originally of separate pieces of marble, and the body of two others. The finder acquainted Brest with his discovery, and the latter purchased the statue for five hundred piastres (then about as many francs) and a complete dress. He wrote to the consulate-general at Smyrna and the ambassador at Constantinople announcing the facts. In the meanwhile a priest of Melos, Economos Vergi, wishing to make friends with Murusi, dragoman of the arsenal at Constantinople, informed him of the new find, and he sent a brig to bring it away. The local authorities were divided as to the expediency of obeying Murusi or defending the rights of the French agent; but force prevailed, and the statue was seized and one-half already half embarked when the French man-of-war, the *Estafette*, arrived and took by force from the brig the half they had already on board, and embarked the other. The dragoman in his anger fined the party of the authorities who favored Brest's claims twelve thousand piastres, which were repaid them by France.

These details differ slightly from those I once sent the *Nation*, but since then there has been a thorough search into the correspondence and records relating to the affair, and the younger Brest found that there had been new light thrown on some details of the questions involved. I may also have incorrectly related some, owing to the lapse of time between seeing him and writing down my impressions. This must account for the discrepancy as to the arms which Brest then believed to have been shipped on the Turk.

Yours respectfully, W. J. Stillman.

Melos, May 24.

THE CASE OF GARFIELD—THE "LOAN" HYPOTHESIS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: You seem to think that, assuming the memory of Ames to have been treacherous, the most likely supposition is that Ames did loan Garfield money, with the understanding on the part of the latter that if he did take the stock the adjustment should be made when he took it, and that he never did take the stock, but repaid the loan. And this you think is consistent with all the facts proven in the case.

Let us look at it.

(1.) Did Garfield receive $300? If so, then the memoranda relating to Garfield must be construed as having been made up by Ames with the expectancy that he would take the stock and dividend balance; that in June, 1868, when Ames offered $329 he took but the $300 as a loan, and left the question of acceptance of stock in abeyance; and that Ames left his memoranda standing as made, *without any figures as to the* $300 *whatever*. Besides, on *what footing* was Garfield to take the stock, if he did, ultimately? Did Ames intend (secretly in his own mind only) to let Garfield have it *as if* he had bought in July, 1867, and *had paid* for it "7 mos. 10 days" thereafter—so that when it *should* be "settled" Garfield should get the stock, its dividends "earned" *after* June, 1868, and $29 in money (being the overplus to which he would be entitled in reference to the $329 balance) due in June, 1868? Did Ames *and* Garfield so, *then*, understand it? Why, then, is there not a figure accordant with such a fact? Why is there not a figure as to a "loan" of $300? What did Garfield *then* (June, 1868) understand he *was to pay*, then knowing (see his own evidence) that it was worth (about) *three times par?* Or did he think Ames was a kind, benevolent Jupiter, convenient in the air above, ready to descend in golden drops?

There is, however, an especial memorandum (to which, by the way, you did *not* refer in your article on the subject), which cannot be included within the circle of the $300 "loan." I refer to the general list (page 445 of the evidence "Reports of Committees: Crédit-Mobilier Reports . . . 1872–73"). This list was made before payments, *but the cross* × *was put after payments made* (p. 450). In this list appear the following names: Dawes, Scofield, Patterson, Painter, Wilson, Colfax, Bingham, Allison, Kelley, Wilson, *Garfield*, and opposite "Dawes, Kelley, Wilson, Garfield" are set "× 329."

(2.) Did Garfield receive $329? Then the further irresistible question occurs, Which supposition best concurs with the *used* check (p. 353–4), the memoranda (pp. 445, 453), the statement (shown to each person of ten shares, pp. 454, 459) and Garfield's account (p. 459)—*Garfield's* as to a loan of $300, or Ames's as to a balance of dividends after paying for the stock?

(3.) Again, as to any loan whatever. You treat Ames's evidence as fluctuating. But what did he say *Garfield said* since the investigation commenced? "A part of the time he thinks it was a loan; sometimes he thinks he has repaid me; and then again he is in doubts about it" (p. 357). "He did not claim that" (loan of $300) "with me." . . . "He thought he had repaid it. I don't know; I can't remember" (p. 357). And see the very remarkable evidence as to $400 received from and given back to Garfield (since investigation began) on page 297. *Garfield never contradicted Ames in these respects*, nor did he give any evidence as to the memoranda said to have been shown to him.

(4.) But suppose the $329 was advanced as a "loan"; how stood the agreement as to stock then and there, or Garfield's state of mind thereon? Set it out in full, plain words, and see how it looks to you when so stated. "Adjusted" is good; but give *particulars* and see to what conclusions it inevitably leads, remembering that *then* the stock was three times par (about).

(5.) Finally, the burden of proof in this discussion is with Garfield and his friends. The popular verdict sought is, "He is to be trusted." And to find such a verdict the evidence must be inconsistent with every other hypothesis than that of innocence, beyond the possibility of a reasonable doubt. To punish for a crime is one thing, to put in a post of high responsibility and trust is quite another, and the burden of proof is very different in the two cases. Do we want a President with a Scotch verdict "not proven" tacked on to him? I trow not. J. B. W.

Morristown, N. J., June 25, 1880.

[1. We think Garfield *did* receive $300. That Ames thought he would eventually take the stock we infer from his (Ames's) holding on to it so long; but that his expectation was not strong we infer from his admitted failure to offer it to Garfield, or to pay him or offer to pay him any of the dividends which accrued on it after the $329 (June, 1868), although he did pay these dividends to others during this period. Ames's understanding or expectation, however, does not bind Garfield unless there was something said or done by Garfield to support it. We find nothing of this kind. On the contrary, Garfield acted during this period in his management of his affairs as if he had no money or money's worth in Ames's hands, and expected nothing from him, and Ames acknowledged that during this period (1868 to 1872) he had received no communication from Garfield with regard to the stock or dividends (Poland Report, p. 296). We are therefore driven to the conclusion either that Garfield did not understand that he owned the stock and was entitled to the dividends, or that he is so peculiarly constituted that he, being a poor man, preferred borrowing money to using his own funds. As regards the "especial memorandum or general list," which our corre-

spondent thinks of such importance, it is easily disposed of. In the first place, Ames acknowledged that he had at the time of these transactions no bookkeeper, and used "to keep all his own matters in his own way, very carelessly he admitted." In the next place, the names in the list were put down before payment "he thought"—"about the time of payment, probably before"; so that the list was really a list of persons whom he expected to have to pay. He put crosses against the names of those he had paid, Garfield's being one of those thus marked; but he would naturally have done this on cashing the check which he says he intended for Garfield. But what sort of evidence is this? How would it work if every man's reputation were held at the mercy of memoranda in another man's pocket-book, and if A.'s drawing money on his own check for B.'s intended benefit, without any sign of B.'s cognizance, were to be taken as proof that B. got the money?

2. We conclude that Garfield did *not* receive the $329, (1) because Ames had no receipt to show for it, although he had taken receipts for stock and dividends from five other members; (2) because he said he paid it by check, but the check produced was not made payable to Garfield's order, nor did it, as in three other cases, bear any initials, or memorandum, or sign of any kind connecting Garfield with it. Moreover, the memorandum-book gives this payment as made on the 19th of June, whereas the check is dated the 22d of June. Ames first said he paid this dividend "in money"; he then said he "presumed" it had been paid by check; a week later he said he "could not tell who had the benefit of this check" (p. 353); that he "had no idea whether he received the money on it himself or not"; that "he might have drawn the money and handed it to another person"; that "he had no memory as to that particular check"; and, finally, "that he was not sure how he paid Mr. Garfield" (Report, pp. 353–4). Later still he said that "he put Mr. Colfax's initials on the check, while he put no initials on Mr. Garfield's, and he might have drawn the money himself" (p. 471). The cashier of the Sergeant-at-Arms was also examined, and swore "that he had no doubt himself that he paid that (the check in question) to Mr. Ames."

Garfield published in the newspapers at once the letter he wrote to Ames with Ames's endorsement on it, and this appeared before Ames's testimony about it. Garfield fully explained in his pamphlet the circumstances which led him to send Ames the $400. It was due to a report brought him in the House that Ames had just testified before the Committee that the loan "was $400 and not $300, and that he had never been repaid." Garfield in a moment of excitement rushed off and sent him a check for $400 with an indignant letter. The report was untrue and Ames returned the money. This was an indiscretion on Garfield's part, but we cannot see any sign of guilt in it. He was not summoned before the Committee for examination as to this part of Ames's testimony, and any one who reads it can easily see why. He gave full explanations on the points raised by it in his pamphlet. We quite agree with our correspondent that the burden of proof in the case of a candidate for high office accused of dishonorable conduct lies on the candidate and his friends. On the other hand, the laws of proof are the same in the case of a candidate as of any other man. We have no right to balance probabilities in judging a candidate in a way which we should consider unfair or untrustworthy in judging a private individual, and we repeat that, in coming to a conclusion about a transaction affecting any man's reputation, of which two explanations are possible, we are bound to take account of the general tenor of his life and character; in other words, no charge is equally probable against all men. Finally, let us add that if inability to refute *completely* any charge brought were to be held fatal to a man's fitness for the Presidency, no man in the United States would ever get the office. The Independent voters, on whom General Garfield must largely rely for his success, will, we are sure, judge his record rationally and calmly, as they would any other matter, without being carried off their feet in either direction by the usual campaign foam.—Ed. Nation.]

THE INDEPENDENT REPUBLICANS AND THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The Presidential campaign is now fully opened, and it is generally recognized that the absurd "scratching" movement of last fall has had perhaps as much practical effect in obtaining for the Republicans a possibility of victory as Secretary Evarts's speech on "voting in the air," or Mr. Beecher's eloquent comparison of the Republican party to a case of measles. It is chiefly to be remembered as practical proof that in times of organized party tyranny, against all sorts of odds, and with no capital except pluck, a sense of doing the right thing, and some faith in the application of ordinary common sense even to political matters, the leadership of younger men, "unknown" and untrained in politics, was able to gather a resisting force sufficient to cope even with party "discipline"—in a word, proof that American private citizens still possess the independence and organizing power to take care of their own affairs.

If we are to believe the New York *Times* (of the present month) "the Independent Republicans of New York control the State, and this State will undoubtedly determine the next Presidential election. . . . The Independents are quite numerous enough to move the balance." It is indeed a matter of surprise how numerous they are. It was not suspected, for instance, until Mr. Choate made the announcement the other night, that Mr. Gedney's Republican club was an army of hitherto disguised "scratchers." Noble men they are, too, if we may again credit so competent party authority as the *Times* (of June 13), for they constitute an "honorable feature" so creditable as necessarily to be "unknown to the Democratic party"; young men, indeed, who "correspond in their enthusiasm and purposes of reform to the youthful reformers who founded the Republican party." It is to be hoped that in the conflict of statement between the *Times* and that trusty boomster, Mr. H. C., who has for some time conducted its opinions, it is the latter who is mistaken in asserting (*Times*, June 17) that the "namby-pamby, goody-goody gentlemen who call themselves 'Independents'" and "sip cold tea" (the most dreadful of political crimes) are "in reality assistant Democrats in disguise," since in that case, by the *Times*' showing, the Republican party must lose New York and the election. It may be observed, however, that the correspondent's letter was *dated* June 12, and it was possibly on the Saturday night of purification intervening that the miracle occurred by which these persons became so changed in character.

If this certificate were intended as coaxing, it was unnecessary, nor are Independent men to succumb either to flattery or abuse. So far as I know—and I speak from personal intercourse since the Chicago Convention with leading men of the affiliated Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and New York organizations—the men who really were Independents when that meant party ostracism earnestly desire the election of General Garfield, and mean to work actively for the Republican ticket. To do otherwise would be indeed to win the victory and lose, not "the spoils," but its fruits. These men have worked only as Republicans, and it was only as they found their own party captured by traitors to its principles that they proposed its true banner should float, if need be, over another camp.

The Independent conference which was in daily session at Chicago during the Convention saw indeed the realization, in the first steps, of what had before been only a snare—"reform within the party." This conference was not without its effect upon the Convention. The efforts of such men as Wayne MacVeagh and Wharton Barker, from the Pennsylvania League, were largely instrumental in bringing about the Pennsylvania defiance of the unit rule and confirming independence inside Mr. Conkling's own camp; the New York Independents were able to show a 20,000-vote-power revolt against Conkling and Grant and Boss government in New York—the one *fact* against the wild assertions of the boomsters; while the Massachusetts Young Republicans, through the active sympathy of their State delegation in the Convention, were able to obtain the declaration in favor of civil-service reform, which would not have been forced into the platform but for the persistent exertions of the Independents in conjunction with the Massachusetts delegates. It may be worth the *Nation's* while to put on record, as a cardinal and specific article of faith representing an especial aim of the Independents within the party, the plank originally drafted in that conference, which was afterward modified into less distasteful form by Mr. Barker, of Massachusetts, and finally carried through the Convention, after it had received but three votes in the Committee on Resolutions:

"The Republican party responds to the demand of the people for civil-service reform, and pledges itself to continue the work of putting that reform into practical effect. Fitness; not partisanship, should admit to the public service, under such practical tests in each department of government business as may be provided for by a civil-service board, or by equivalent means. Tenure should be permanent during good behavior, except in those offices through which the distinctive policy of the party in power is carried out. This requires the repeal of the law vacating certain business offices every four years. Executive officers must be held responsible for the conduct of officials under their control, with full power to remove for cause. This requires, for Presidential appointments, the repeal of the Tenure-of-office Acts, and the ful-

filment of the declaration of the Republican platform of 1876, that 'Senators and Representatives, who may be judges and accusers, should not dictate appointments to office.'"

Though the modified declaration was itself shorn in the Convention, it still contains the specific demand for legislative co-operation which, by those who know most about civil-service reform, is considered a decided advance in the record of the party on this point, which is the key to the final triumph of "Independent" principles. The overthrow of the designs of the "Senatorial Seizers" in the National Committee; the final defeat of the unit rule; the utter rout of the Bosses on the floor of the Convention; the rejection of Gen. Grant and the third term, and finally of Mr. Blaine, were all triumphs of "Independent" principles—to whose victory there were but two exceptions.

These were the pusillanimous adoption, at the bull-dozing of Mr. Conkling, of his gag-rule, in which it was left to West Virginia to show to Massachusetts, with the splendid record of her State conventions, what liberty means; and the temporary aberration of mind which produced the nomination of Mr. Arthur. This last, of course, weakens the ticket to Independents, because it is a slap in the face of the Administration and the particular reform which they support, but it is so small a spite that they can afford to ignore it. Civil-service reform can safely be trusted to Gen. Garfield and to an awakened public opinion—better than to the too willing Democrats; and Independent Republicans ought to, and will, support the Republican ticket. It may be counted as certain that the plan suggested for combating this portion of the ticket inside the electoral delegation of safe Republican States will not be carried out if it involves any danger to the head of the ticket. It is a sad commentary on the personal honor of the defeated Bosses that while it was thought necessary to "shadow" Mr. Cameron at the desk of the Convention, it was found desirable to induce Mr. Conkling by this sop to carry out the pledge he had imposed upon other delegates.

The Presidential nomination presents a man who, perhaps beyond all others, typifies the principles of the Independent movement. Mr. Edmunds was "the ideal candidate," but to him civil-service reform was a piece of new-fangled "idealism"; Gen. Garfield has from the beginning practised it in his relations with his district. On finance, what he has done speaks where the Republican platform is silent. No man in Congress has been more broad in his views of party relations and of sectional issues. He even sees that the tariff is not perfection. He is a man of the present, not of the past. His address at Chicago was the masterpiece of the Convention. If the whole tendency of character and life is to be taken into account in weighing evidence as to particular occasions, Gen. Garfield is essentially an honest man, whether it be considered that he did not show, in the two possible spots upon him, the moral clearness he should have had, or whether he be altogether acquitted on the Crédit-Mobilier and the De Golyer charges, as so scrupulous an authority as the *Nation* has already acquitted him. I do not hold it to be "mud-throwing" that the Democratic press discuss, from authentic evidence, the personal honesty of a candidate for President, but I do hold that the character of this man demands strong evidence for its impeachment. It is to be hoped that General Garfield will not himself repel the Independent vote by acquiescence in the attempt to put Cameron again at the head of the National Committee, which would threaten more of the mistaken tolerance that has done so much harm in Mr. Hayes.

It must be to the satisfaction of all true friends of good government that against him the Democrats have nominated so good and blameless a man as Gen. Hancock. But there is nothing in the record or probabilities of the anti-Republican party to supply the uncertainty as to the civic career of this untried soldier as against the Congressional work of Gen. Garfield, and to turn Independent voters in that direction. For while the Democratic platform is less ludicrous in assumption of every credit where the country has succeeded despite parties, it is more obnoxious than the Republican in its treatment of the human rights of the Chinese; it does not supply with the necessary particulars the hiatus in the Republican platform regarding finance and the silver question; its professions as to civil-service reform are no more specific and much less likely to be carried out; and its "historic" declarations as to revenue reform show poorly alongside the history it has been making while it has had the legislative power in its hands. It seems, in short, that no man who desires the success of those measures towards good government with which the Independent movement is identified can afford to do other than his best for the success of the Republican ticket, despite the weakness of its second name. The campaign is one in which every Independent vote should be called out and Independent principles brought to the front for thorough discussion, that the election of Garfield may be only a first step in the regeneration of the Republican party. I may ask leave in a future issue to offer some considerations touching this practical work. R. R. Bowker.

New York, June 25, 1880.

Notes.

Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, will shortly publish a prose volume by John James Piatt, entitled 'Pencilled Fly-Leaves,' and containing, among other essays, one more elaborate on the foundation of Kenyon College.——New editions of Dickens's 'Child's History of England' and of Bancroft's 'Life of Washington' are in the press of Porter & Coates, Philadelphia.——Roberts Bros., Boston, announce 'Crusoe in New York, and Other Tales,' by the Rev. E. E. Hale.——A. Williams & Co., Boston, will publish next month 'The War-Ships and Navies of the World,' by Chief-Engineer King, of the United States Navy. Its illustrations and statistics will give this work an exceptional value.——George R. Lockwood, the publisher of 'Just One Day,' a trifle of last summer, now discloses the fact that it and 'Helen's Babies' are by the same author.——The June number of the *American Art Review* opens with a first paper on one of the most original and imaginative of American artists, Elihu Vedder, whose genius embraces a range from the "Young Marsyas" to the "Sea-Serpent." An excellent etching, by S. A. Schoff, of that "sea-beast crawled forth, that on a shelf Of . . . sand reposeth, there to sun itself," shows how ingeniously the perspective of the sand ridge is made to heighten the apparent length of the serpent. Of the other illustrations to this article the tail-piece might be thought most characteristic. An etching, "Divination in Tea-Leaves," by Alfred Brennan, a young Kentuckian, is full of promise. Mr. Linton's "History of American Wood-Engraving" treats interestingly of the influence of our pictorial newspapers on the art.——The growth of etching as a familiar mode of illustration is shown in the June number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, which gives a freshly-etched portrait of General Abner Lacock, in connection with his biography, and an equally recent etching of the yard of the Black Horse Inn, on North Second Street, Philadelphia, an inn of the true English type in construction and still preserved. The magazine begins the publication of a number of rare tracts "issued during the infancy of Penn's Colony," and designed to foster immigration. Among the notes Dr. Robins frankly produces evidence overthrowing his theory that his "Edward Wale" of Maryland was the regicide Whalley. He now concludes the former to have been a near relative, perhaps a son, of the latter.——The *Magazine of American History* for June has the usual variety of illustrations in fac-simile and otherwise, including an etched portrait of Col. Samuel Blatchley Webb, of the Continental Army, whose career is traced by the editor. Miss Susan Fenimore Cooper discusses the early names of the Hudson River, and Mr. T. C. Amory his kinsman Gen. Sullivan's expedition against the Six Nations.——The Metropolitan Museum of Art has published a Hand-Book No. 2 on the Potteries of the Cesnola Collection in the South Aisle of the Great Hall.——The net proceeds of the latest picnic of the Madison School, St. Louis, were nearly $300, and swell the amount thus raised in the past five years to nearly $1,100, which, as we lately described, is expended in books and apparatus.——A brief memoir of the late Governor John A. Andrew, extracted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, has been printed by the author, Mr. Peleg W. Chandler. The preface announces that an extended biography in preparation by another hand "will not be published for a considerable time, if at all."——B. Westermann & Co. send us Parts 14 and 15 of the new edition of 'Stieler's Hand-Atlas,' with maps of Ireland, North Germany, Southern Italy, Asia Minor, Palestine, and the western half of Polynesia.——The death is announced of the Rev. Leonhardt Tafel, Ph.D., Tübingen, Professor of the Oriental and Modern Languages in the Philadelphia Academy of the New Church. He was an extensive translator into German of the Latin and Greek classics and of the works of Scott, Thackeray, and Dickens, and the author of several manuals for the learning of modern and ancient tongues. With the assistance of his sons he prepared and published the chief part of an interlinear translation of the Bible.——We must also record the death of Mr. George Merriam, the head of the well-known Springfield (Mass.) firm, whose main publication has, since 1847, been Webster's Dictionary. He was greatly esteemed for his benevolent actions.——Students to whom the German is either a locked or a difficult language will now have, besides the English version of Curtius's 'History of Greece,' the option of one in French. The fifth edition has been translated by Professor A. Bouché-Leclercq, and the first fascicle of the first volume is now before us, bearing the imprint of Ernest Leroux, Paris. M. Bouché-Leclercq is the author of a very considerable 'History of Divination in Antiquity,' in four volumes.

—As a means of promoting a school of sacred composition in America, Mr. George G. Rockwood, Director of the Music of the Church of the Holy Trinity in this city, offers two prizes, of $70 and $30 respectively, for anthems for the use of the quartets and chorus choir under his direction. The MSS.,

with cipher or motto, must be sent to Mr. Rockwood at 17 Union Square, by October 1, 1880; the award will be made (by very competent judges) a month later. Those accepted become the property of the Director, who intends to publish and distribute them widely at a cost price. "The anthems are to be from four to seven minutes in length, for full chorus, with or without interspersed solos, duets, quartets, etc." The words must be taken exclusively from the Scriptures.

—The last published word about Shelley has been Mr. Symonds's biography, of which, in spite of its many excellences, the real valuelessness as criticism is indicated by such sentences as "Not only did he write the best lyrics, but the best tragedy, the best translations, and the best familiar poems of his century," and "He was the loftiest and the most spontaneous singer of our language." Remembering that there is something very like an entire literature concerning Shelley, this way of summing it all up could but be unsatisfactory, and doubtless all of Shelley's admirers who admire him wisely will be glad to learn that the Rev. Stopford Brooke has just prefaced a selection of Shelley's poems with an essay of some length and noticeable temperateness. Mr. Stopford Brooke is certainly not less an admirer of Shelley than Mr. Symonds, but the difference between the spirit of the criticism just quoted and such really felicitous criticism as this from 'A Primer of English Literature' about Shelley's lyrics—"They form together the most sensitive, the most imaginative, and the most musical, but the least tangible lyrical poetry we possess"—is apparent. Indeed, what he had to say of Shelley in his 'Primer' would perhaps have justified the expectation that his present essay would be at once a closer and more ambitious critique than it turns out to be; and it is so excellent that we wish it had attempted more than the pleasant and suggestive but possibly a little desultory reflections that it furnishes us. Of its sixty pages half are contributed by Mr. Stopford Brooke to the June *Macmillan*, under the accurate title "Some Thoughts on Shelley," where the reader who does not see the volume of 'Selections' will find them; but though they are perhaps the only suitable portion for a magazine to print, the remainder of the preface is almost as well worth reading, especially the elaborate analysis of 'The Triumph of Life,' and the tracing of Shelley's alternation between "the world of mankind and its hopes" and "the world of his own heart." The volume, which is a 16mo of some 350 pages and is published by Macmillan, contains, besides most of Shelley's shorter poems, 'Alastor,' 'Adonais,' and the 'Ode to the West Wind,' and several lyrical selections from the 'Prometheus,' 'The Cenci,' 'The Revolt of Islam,' and so on.

—In this preface, also, Mr. Stopford Brooke takes occasion to discuss briefly the value of "selections." He is not disposed to think it very great, we gather from the way in which he speaks, and it occurs to us that he is the only editor of "selections" that we remember who has possessed this excellent qualification for his work—a correct appreciation of its importance, namely. Or rather, we should say, he avoids an over-estimation of its importance, for we can hardly agree that "the only valid reason and excuse for selections from a poet" is to "present in a brief compass enough of his poetry to induce those who are ignorant of it to read the whole." This is a humble view, certainly, to take of his office; but we suspect very few people are thus stimulated, and that, if Mr. Stopford Brooke's book induces any one ignorant of Shelley to read him, it will be through its preface rather than its selections. There are two considerations—however many there should be—for the success of such volumes as this, we imagine: the convenience and the cheapness of their *multum in parvo* character. Almost any one, for example, can now own Shelley's most characteristic lyrics and carry them in his pocket, if he choose. The publication of a small volume called 'Stray Moments with Thackeray: His Humor, Satire, and Characters. Being Selections from his Writings, prefaced with a few Biographical Notes. By William H. Rideing' (Appleton) reminds us, however, that neither of these considerations is possible in all cases, and that sometimes, even if they both were, the corresponding disadvantages would substantially outweigh them. Mr. Stopford Brooke says the main objection to selections is the necessity of reading all a poet's work if he is to be known truly. Thackeray was not a poet, but he is easily chief among his English intellectual compeers as an artist in fiction, and no attempt to make a book of Rochefoucauld maxims from his works, even if it were as well done as this is ill done, can fail to jar on one as a particularly unhappy literary mistake. Mr. Carlyle, we remember, recently expressed his confidence that a similar selection from his books would be valuable from a missionary point of view; but Mr. Carlyle, besides praying "May the devil fly away with the fine-arts," lends himself to selections more easily than writers who have as much regard for form as Thackeray had. Thackeray was, it may be, prouder of his "week-day sermons" than of his masterpieces; but to make a volume of "elegant extracts" from his works, the organic quality of which is, in the main, important, though it is not always obvious, is a proceeding which he would have known how to characterize aptly.

—The *North American Review* for July contains articles by several contributors more or less well known, among others Prof. Goldwin Smith, who writes a few pages for the purpose of protesting against the anti-American feeling which Sir Francis Hincks and many other Canadian politicians think it advisable to keep alive among the citizens of the Dominion. It was undoubtedly the policy of the late Beaconsfield government to cultivate this sentiment, and it is as undoubtedly a very unadvisable sentiment for any party to cultivate. As Mr. Goldwin Smith points out, the tendency of Canada and the United States has been towards a commercial union, which is only hindered by political considerations. It cannot be disputed, however, that underlying all the professions of good-will between England, the United States, and Canada, there is a good deal of latent hostility, which it only requires some local wrangle, like that over the fisheries, to fan into a flame. It is the part of statesmanship, little recognized either in England or this country, to permit as few occasions for such wrangles as may be. With regard to the rest of the number, it seems to have been made up, as most numbers of the *North American* are made up now, by securing contributions as far as possible from persons of well-known names, without much regard to whether their contributions have a value either permanent or temporary. Mr. James E. Thorold Rogers, for instance, writes an article about the English House of Lords, which does not contain any information that cannot be found elsewhere, while Count de Lesseps sends three pages from Paris on the Panama Canal, which might easily have been written in New York. Moritz Busch has something to say about Prince Bismarck, "as a friend of America and as a statesman," from which it clearly appears that the Prince is and has ever been both the one and the other. Mr. A. K. Fiske contributes an article on "Profligacy in Fiction," apropos of Zola and Ouida. A writer who is ready to insist so warmly on the duty of literature to be free from offence in all respects ought to be more careful of his own use of language. He should not, for instance, call Zola that "genius of the muck-rake," because this is rather abuse than criticism. It is hardly fair criticism either to trace the effect of "Ouida's peculiar training" in her books, or to call her a "much travelled adventuress of no nationality." Miss M. A. Hardaker writes a very sensible article on the "Ethics of Sex"; coming from a woman it is a presentation of the argument against woman suffrage which a few years since would have commanded a good deal of attention. That it is not likely to do so now, is largely due to the decline of interest in the enfranchisement of woman among the reading classes.

—The closing of the Jesuit establishments in France, appointed for this week, gives the fillip of timeliness to an article in the current *Contemporary Review* on "The French Republic and the Catholic Church," by M. Edmond Scherer, who is always worth attention whether especially timely or not. M. Scherer is a literary critic of such natural distinction that it is only while reading such a paper as this that one does not feel regret that he concerns himself with anything else than literature. But it is probably due to the reciprocal influence of his turn for literature and his turn for politics that both his literary essays and his utterances as a publicist are as able as they are: the first are as noticeable for their application of "the historic sense" as the latter are for their literary finish, their absence of rhetoric, and their admirable temper. This essay is an attempt to set English readers right upon the true position which the French Republic has taken up towards the Catholic Church; and since it is learned without pedantry, bold without arrogance, courteous without special suavity, and equally graceful and direct, we should say it could hardly fail of its designed effect if it were not that so large a part of the audience to which it is addressed find it difficult to associate the notions of stability in democratic institutions and republicanism in France; as M. Scherer points out, the Government of M. Grévy seem to them "the genuine children of the Jacobins of 1793," whereas Lord Palmerston and "public opinion in England were decidedly opposed to the Jesuits and their cause" during the Swiss civil-war of 1847. A struggle similar to the present one in France has been passed through of late years, M. Scherer recalls, in every country where Catholicism has been powerful enough to attempt to regain by education what it had lost by pursuing bolder methods—Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Belgium. He says plausibly enough that the Austrian Concordat of 1855 "remains as the official programme of Catholicism," and after thus premising that the present proceedings "are but an incident in the battle actually fought in all Catholic lands between the sovereignty of the state and the theocracy of the Church," he proceeds to discuss "the real issue"—*i.e.*, whether the French Government has right as well as precedent on its side. This he

does briefly and originally, but we must remain content with calling our readers' attention to his argument without attempting to summarize it.

—Liberty, toleration, and "the rights of man" are such frequent watchwords—indeed candor might add "catchwords"—with us in America, however, that we should like to quote a few sentences from what so ardent a Liberal as M. Scherer has to say about them generally. The main objection, he rightly says, to the Ferry bill and the subsequent decrees is that they are a violation of the rights of the citizen especially inconsistent in a republic. M. Laboulaye, who opposed them, he explains, "is known to be crotchety, unsafe, a blind admirer of American principles and institutions"—as if to say: "In America the ideas that Jefferson absorbed from the philosophers of '89 are still held rigorously and fixedly, and it would be dangerous as well as eccentric for us to retrograde so far as to imitate them." They cannot in France, he argues, arrive at a "principle" intuitively and deduce institutions from it without constantly testing the principle by experience. And what he says upon the point, though it has perhaps a text-book elementariness, must be admitted to be so well put, whether we agree with it or have a transcendental horror of it, or neither, that we shall venture to quote it:

"Is liberty a first principle, a religious dogma, placed above all contestation and limitation, or is it simply the balance of conflicting interests, the adjustment of opposite claims, a matter of expediency, a right susceptible of augmentation and diminution, subject, like every exercise of human activity, to the conditions of social life, to the security and welfare of the commonwealth? To put the question is to answer it. I forget who was the orator who, in the days of our first Revolution, uttered the celebrated exclamation: 'Let colonies perish rather than a principle!' Well, is there, I ask, any one to say: Let France and her institutions go to ruin rather than suppress a number of monastic orders or deprive them of the right of teaching! Or shall we be met by that favorite plea of the doctrinaires of Liberalism, according to which liberty has in itself the power to remedy the evils to which it is liable? . . . It is with that saying as with another famous aphorism, according to which martyrs are the seed of the Church. All very well, but the Church has nevertheless been in many cases and places eradicated by persecution."

Certainly if M. Edmond Scherer be a fair example of a French radical of 1880 that person is scarcely to be called "a genuine child of the Jacobins of 1793."

—With the better knowledge which comes of personal examination, we venture to recur to the admirable publications of the Society for Photographing Relics of Old London, now numbering forty-eight in all. The Society is not a commercial body, but issues its photographs to subscribers only, at a small advance over cost to cover necessary expenses. Its establishment was due to the desire felt by a few artists and others to secure a permanent record of the Oxford Arms Inn, in Warwick Lane, Paternoster Row, the site of which was advertised for sale in 1875. The publicity given to this desire soon rallied sufficient support to enable the work to be continued systematically, with the result above stated. Great vigilance is now exercised by the Society's members and friends in anticipating the destruction of old and interesting buildings; negatives are taken if necessary in advance of the year of publication; and not a few portable relics have been secured for South Kensington. Assistance in the choice of subjects and in the fixing of points of view for the photographer (which is always most carefully done) has been given in different instances by Mr. Wallis and Mr. Boyce, both members of the Society of Painters in Water Colors, by Mr. George Henry Birch, a well-known architect and antiquary and the Hon. Secretary of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, and by Mr. H. S. Marks, R.A.; the general arrangements being under the care of the brother of the last-named, Mr. Alfred Marks, of Long Ditton, Surrey, to whom we are indebted for the series upon our table. The first half of the views (which are permanent autotypes) were taken by Messrs. Bool, the remainder by Mr. Henry Dixon; and when one considers the smoky atmosphere of the great city, the narrowness of its old streets, and the incessant traffic in them, one can but marvel at the brilliancy of these prints. Some of the interiors, indeed, were so badly lighted that Mr. Dixon succeeded only by the use of the dry gelatine plates. The Cloisters at Charterhouse (No. 40) is an example of the difficulty overcome, though possibly this was not the most trying instance.

—Two sets of greater importance stand apart in this series—viz., the first, the Oxford Arms (Nos. 1–6), and the Charterhouse (Nos. 37–48); a third, St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, and adjacent houses in Cloth Fair (Nos. 13–18), is interesting, but has fewer associations than the other two. Of all exterior views the palm would, we think, be unanimously awarded to No. 6, if that can be called "exterior" which gives us a look into the quadrangle of the Oxford Arms from the Old Bailey, with St. Paul's dome and towers high in the distance. For chiaroscuro, harmonious lines and masses, and general picturesqueness, nothing could be more felicitous. The galleries of the inn, here seen under a light of singular purity for London, which date back only to the great fire of 1666, but mark as well the inn of Shakspere or of Chaucer, are again strikingly caught in Nos. 3, 4, and 5—No. 4, in perspective, showing the huge brackets of the weatherboards. On the other hand the Charterhouse outranks every other subject by its interiors, though we can commend also the exteriors, particularly No. 41, the Great Hall, with its fine old sundial. Of extraordinary beauty is this same hall viewed from within in Nos. 42, 43, 44, with its high panelled wainscoting and arched ceiling and massive (rather than elegant) fireplace; still finer the Governor's Room, in which both Elizabeth and James held court—the gem of the interiors, wonderfully lighted. The Founder's Tomb, No. 48, is another noble subject, and so in a different way is the Grand Staircase, No. 45. The associations of the Charterhouse with Thackeray in particular are matched by those of Barnard's Inn with Dickens, who introduces it in his 'Great Expectations.' No. 28, showing the court, is attractive enough. Literary and picturesque considerations unite again in Canonbury Tower (Nos. 25, 26), Goldsmith's refuge against his creditors, and the place where he is said to have written the 'Vicar of Wakefield.' Ben Jonson is connected by tradition with No. 12, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, as plying his mason's art on the building; Pope sings of the church of St. Mary-le-Strand, shown in the distance in No. 10 ("Old Houses in Drury Lane"); Dr. Johnson worshipped in St. Clement Danes, seen in No. 7 ("Old Houses in Wych Street"), a charming perspective, rivalled by another bearing the same title (No. 8); of Lord Shaftesbury's town house, designed by Inigo Jones (No. 32), Locke must sometimes have been an inmate. We conclude our still imperfect enumeration with Temple Bar (No. 19), and a *grille* in Leadenhall Street (No. 20); the latter an impressive symbol of aldermanic state in days gone by.

—At the end of its first semester *Le Livre* indulges in a self-gratulatory retrospect, having found already a wider support than it dared dream of obtaining in ten years. In France, nevertheless, its reception has been less spontaneous than elsewhere. According to the peculiar division of this periodical the "modern part" now finishes a volume, of which the table of contents will be furnished with the next issue. Among the interesting matters of this June number we remark a sketch of the characteristics, as a collector, of the late Count Octave de Béhague, whose extraordinary library was recently sold for $186,000; the announcement of a new edition of the unsavory 'Contes' of La Fontaine with Fragonard's designs, both those which accompanied the Didot edition of 1795, and 36 hitherto unpublished, of which last *Le Livre* gives a sample etching; the announcement of a typographic exhibition at Caen, during the present month, under the auspices of the Normandy Antiquarian Society, in honor of the four hundredth anniversary of the introduction of printing into that province; and what looks like a mystification in regard to the Iron Mask, who, according to a pencilled note in a contemporary edition of Molière, written by one Luise de Gramont, "princesse de Monaco," was "Monsieur de Louzoua, . . . le frère du grand Roy Lois quatorzième."

—The monument fever is still raging in Germany. Scarcely had the newspapers ceased discussing the Beethoven monument in Vienna and the Schumann monument at Bonn when Berlin announced to the nation that her Goethe monument was ready to be unveiled. The ceremony took place in the Thiergarten, in the presence of the Emperor and many noted men of letters. There were addresses by Geh. Rath von Loeper, the mayor of the city Von Forckenbeck, and others; and members of the Singacademie contributed some vocal music. The statue is the work of Prof. Fritz Schaper. The Berliners are now happy in the thought that they have done their duty towards their two greatest poets, Schiller having already been monumentalized in 1871. The ceremony in the Thiergarten was followed by a festive banquet, which, however, thanks to the work of Johannes Scherr, the "Rabelais of the nineteenth century," turned out a complete fiasco. In No. 21 of the *Gegenwart* Paul Lindau had published an extravagantly sarcastic article directed against the painful pedantry of the Goethe scholars, and entitled "De botulo sive sanguiculo insaniente, d. i. die Abhandlung von der wahnsinnigen Blutwurst, von Minutius Quisquilius von Pimperling. Ein unentbehrlicher Beitrag zur Goethe Literatur." This article gave great offence to some members of the festival committee, and the proposal of Hermann Grimm that Paul Lindau should not be invited to the banquet was accordingly accepted by a majority vote, although Herr von Loeper, who had perhaps particular reasons for resenting Scherr's articles, objected to such a proceeding. Some other writers fairly entitled to an invitation had also been omitted from the lists, and when this became known almost all the leading authors, including Auerbach, Spielhagen, E. Dohm, Hugo Bürger, H. Kletke, Th. Fontane, K. Frenzel, Hans Hopfen, A. L'Arronge, R. Lowenstein, Rudolf Lindau, Julius Stettenheim, and Joh. Trojan sent in their non-acceptance of the invitation. The only noted authors present were accordingly Rodenberg and H.

Kruse, and they only because they had not been informed in time of the proceedings of the committee. Besides these and the journalists only one "creative writer" appeared on the scene, the author of 'Unüberwindliche Mächte,' whose name, as Lindau remarks in the last *Gegenwart*, "to save the reader the trouble of looking it up," is Hermann Grimm.

—In No. 131 of the *Deutsche Zeit- und Streit-Fragen* Dr. Ludwig Schwerin discusses the admission of women to medical practice, and establishes the intellectual capacity of woman in general by a number of interesting examples in the latter half of his essay, and for medicine in particular by the case of Dr. Dorothea Christiana Erxleben, *née* Leporin. The author's use of these instances in support of his argument was anticipated by his allusion to the washerwoman's brain dissected at the same time with the mathematician Gauss's, and which outweighed the latter's. The writer maintains with poetic fervor, but with now somewhat familiar arguments, that women should be allowed to practise among women and children, and without exception wherever male physicians are not to be had, especially in the country—of course having reference to Germany. He also thinks that the interest of the state requires their free admission to the army and the battle-field, and to the places of the men absent in war. The argument, however, that the cause of delicacy, chastity, etc., demands female physicians to attend the female sex seems to be in rather dangerous company when it is coupled with the demand for the opening of male medical schools to them, and instruction by male professors.

KOSSUTH AND THE ITALIAN CAMPAIGN OF 1859.*

THESE 'Memories' disclose a curious episode in the inner life of English domestic politics. They cover the period during which the campaign of Magenta and Solferino was begun and ended, and the first great step towards the unity and independence of Italy successfully accomplished. From the world's present standpoint it is hard to believe that a prospect of this most beneficent result should have kindled distrust and dislike in any nation or government outside of the limits of the Austrian bureaucracy. But the world, according to a late utterance of Lord Beaconsfield, is governed by "sovereigns and statesmen." This, though hardly a true statement now, would have been a much truer one in the year 1859; and it is the special prerogative of "sovereigns and statesmen" to identify the crazy and perverse arrangements which at any time it may suit them to make, with the everlasting order of the universe. By the treaties of 1815 a brutal, unenlightened Austrian despotism had been set over some of the fairest provinces of Italy; and, the thing having been done, the royal and diplomatic intellect could not conceive of an Italy existing otherwise than in this bleeding and manacled condition. The proneness of the Italian to conspire against the Austrian and thrust him from Italian soil was set down not to the character of Austrian rule, but to the innate depravity of the Italian people. It was argued that the cruel and alien despotism which produced occasional excesses was, in fact, the only power which could restrain those excesses within tolerable limits. The royal and diplomatic mind could not conceive the notion of imperfection as inherent in any arrangement which had received the seal of its august sanction; and, therefore, the troubled state of Italy was obviously due to the Italian character and not to the treaties of 1815. The countrymen of Dante were worthy of no better fate than to be the slaves of an Austrian bureaucracy; the land which could produce a Cavour, a D'Azeglio, a Manin, a Garibaldi, and a Mazzini was, according to the diplomatic theory, peopled by a horde of wild revolutionists and cowardly assassins. The consequence was that when the late Emperor of the French announced his determination to liberate Italy "from the Alps to the Adriatic" sovereigns and statesmen all over Europe were cast into a condition of extreme consternation. Mrs. Browning described their sensations in one of her later poems:

> "Then sovereigns, statesmen, north and south,
> Rose up in wrath and fear,
> And cried, protesting by one mouth,
> 'What monster have we here?
> A great Deed at this hour of day?
> A great just deed—and not for pay?
> Absurd, or insincere.
>
> "'And if sincere, the heavier blow
> In that case we shall bear,
> For where's our blessed 'status quo,'
> Our holy treaties, where—
> Our rights to sell a race, or buy,
> Protect and pillage, occupy,
> And civilize despair?'"

A Tory Cabinet, with the late Earl of Derby as Prime Minister and Lord Malmesbury as Foreign Secretary, then held office in England. The proposed expulsion of the Austrians from Italy moved the British Tories with the same righteous and humane indignation as, in later days, the proposed expulsion of the Turk from Southeastern Europe. They strove desperately to preserve humanity from the effects of such a catastrophe; but in vain. War broke out, and the feeling in Great Britain compelled them to issue a proclamation of neutrality; but this neutrality, it was understood in Europe, was subject to certain conditions. The war must remain "localized." If it extended beyond the boundaries of Italy—in other words, if the Hungarians, under the instigation of the French Emperor, recommenced the struggle for their independence, which the intervention of Czar Nicholas had compelled them to relinquish in 1849—then it was expected that the British Cabinet would exchange their neutral policy for one of active intervention in the interests of Austria. Out of the expectation of such intervention arose the leading incident which is set forth in these 'Memories.'

Louis Napoleon prefaced his Italian campaign with the announcement that Italy was to be liberated "from the Alps to the Adriatic." A rising in Hungary was one of the means by which he hoped to accomplish this programme, and, with this object in view, he opened negotiations with Louis Kossuth and other Hungarian exiles at that time residing in London. Kossuth was willing to enter into his project, but only on certain well-defined conditions.

"My view of the matter," he writes, "was always this, that what is permissible and may even be judicious in the case of a nation rising merely to change the form of its government, or to transform its internal organization, is neither judicious nor permissible when the end in view is national independence and delivery from foreign dominion. In the former case revolution does not really mean war. It is but an internal contest, in which the people are confronted only by governmental power; and such a revolution has in more than one instance been decided by a few days' fighting in the streets. But in the latter case revolution is a real war against a foreign enemy, whose centre of power cannot be reached in the country because he has at his disposal armies and resources outside the country. Such a war cannot be decided by fighting from behind barricades. In this case activity of patriotism must confine itself to keeping alive the aspirations for independence, and to taking care that the nation may be in readiness to seize such an opportunity for the realization of its aspirations as will make the probabilities of success, according to human calculation, depend solely upon the will of the people. . . . To organize local outbreaks is a political error by which no reasonable purpose can be gained; and from a moral point of view it is to be condemned, for it unnecessarily compromises those who are ready for sacrifice, and the lives of such should not be risked in vain. These views served to guide me under all circumstances since I became a refugee, and from them I have never swerved."

In consistency with these convictions, before accepting the overtures of the French Emperor, Kossuth insisted upon knowing the precise character of the offers he had to make.

"We want," he told Prince Napoleon, "a material guarantee that the instigating of Hungary to insurrection is not solely intended to make a diversion in order to weaken Austria's force in Italy, and thereby to facilitate victory in that country; we want a guarantee that the Emperor and King Victor Emmanuel look upon the independence of Hungary as an object of this war co-ordinate with the object of Italy. . . . We want an assurance that if Hungary takes up arms against Austria on this understanding she will not be left in the lurch, and that in case of victory no peace shall be concluded with regard to Italy without Hungary being liberated from the rule of Austria and made an independent state."

On all these points the Emperor professed his willingness to give such assurances, material or otherwise, as Kossuth considered to be satisfactory. But England was an obstacle in the path which had first to be removed.

"To extend the war so far," such were the words in which, according to Kossuth, the Emperor addressed him in reference to this matter, "would mean to strike out for ever the Austrian dynasty from the list of the Great Powers, and the English Government cling obstinately to that dynasty. The antiquated notion that the existence of the House of Hapsburg as a great power is essential to the maintenance of the European equilibrium, is one of the traditional maxims of English policy. I have reason to believe that England would even be capable of actually intervening against me, and that I cannot risk. Please take this into consideration."

Kossuth, to the profound amazement of the Emperor, undertook to remove this difficulty and obtain an assurance of the neutrality of Great Britain under all circumstances. He pointed out that while in the British House of Commons the Tories had a slight numerical superiority over the Whigs properly so called, there was an independent party—the "Manchester School"—which numbered no less than ninety, and which, by a coalition with the Whigs, could, whenever it pleased, drive the Tories from office. Kossuth undertook to proceed to England and bring about such a coalition on a basis of absolute non-intervention in the struggle between France and Austria, no matter to what portion of the latter's territory the war might extend. This undertaking he seems to have accomplished with equal dexterity and success. Kossuth's relations with Cobden and men of his political opinions were exceedingly intimate, because the doctrine of "non-intervention," which was the leading principle of the foreign policy, was that which Kossuth also relied upon for

*'Memories of My Exile. By Louis Kossuth. Translated from the original Hungarian by Ferencz Jausz.' London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.; New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.

working out the independence of Hungary. Hungary was *not* independent because European intervention had stepped in to hinder her becoming so. To Mr. Gilpin, the member for Northampton and a leading Cobdenite, Kossuth made known, confidentially, the plans of the Emperor Napoleon and the fears he had of English intervention in case the war extended to Hungary. Mr. Gilpin, an intimate friend of Kossuth, and an ardent advocate of Hungarian independence, pledged his word to do all he could to bring about a coalition between his party and the Palmerstonian Whigs on a basis of rigid abstention from interference in the Continental war. Mr. Cobden was at this time travelling in the United States. Parliament assembled after the general elections of May, 1859, on the 7th of June; and Kossuth gives the following account of the overthrow of the Derby Ministry immediately after:

"My late lamented friend, Mr. Charles Gilpin, took the matter in hand. He was in constant communication with me, and once more conferred upon the conditions with the more influential members of his party, notably with Mr. John Bright, who, in the absence of Mr. Cobden, was the leader of the party, and, in accordance with their mutual agreement, he assured Lord Palmerston of the support of his party on these conditions:

"1. That the Tory Ministry should be overthrown expressly on a question affecting foreign politics.

"2. That Lord Palmerston, as well as Lord John Russell, and any other member of the future cabinet whose selection might have been already determined upon, should each address a separate letter to Mr. Gilpin binding themselves that the basis of their foreign policy would be the absolute neutrality of England, not only while the war is confined to Italy, but also in case it should extend from the Po to the banks of the Danube and Theiss.

"3. That in order to ensure this neutrality two members of the future Ministry should be chosen from the party on whose behalf Mr. Gilpin was negotiating.

"Lord Palmerston accepted these conditions, and the next day he, as well as Lord John Russell and the other three members of the new Cabinet whose selection had already been decided upon, handed the letters referred to in the second point of the agreement to Mr. Gilpin (*who immediately handed the originals of the letters to me, authorizing me to make discreet use of them, and more particularly to show them to the Emperor Napoleon*); and Lord Palmerston also declared in his letter that, in conformity with the third condition, Messrs. Richard Cobden and Milner Gibson would be nominated members of the future Ministry."

In consequence of this alliance a vote of want of confidence was moved by Lord Hartington in the House of Commons, and after an animated debate was carried by a majority of 13. The Earl of Derby resigned and Lord Palmerston reigned in his stead.

"What," writes Kossuth, "the Emperor Napoleon had wished for had come to pass. England's neutrality was secured. The obstacle which stood in the way of the cause of my country's freedom being taken up had been removed. Thanks to the assistance of my English friends, I had redeemed my promise. . . . I left England on June 16."

The independence of Hungary was, unhappily, still far off. But we must reserve for another notice Kossuth's narrative of the part he played in the Italian campaign of 1859. It is full of interest.

MASSON'S MILTON.*

MR. MASSON has at last brought his life of Milton to a successful close, and gives us what we may without question pronounce one of the most important historical works of the day. Six thick octavo volumes, covering a period of history inferior to no other in interest and importance, would be a noble contribution to literature even if their author had more faults as a writer than he has. But even these faults he has mainly rid himself of in the progress of his work, and in the present volume they are hardly noticeable. We have not observed a single conspicuous case of the inelegant colloquialisms that characterized the earlier volumes; nor is the course of the narrative obscured in the same degree by irrelevant or, rather, unimportant detail.

Mr. Masson's method of depicting an epoch is admirable in conception, if defective in some details. It is very largely biographical; the historical narrative is made graphic and perspicuous by full portraitures of the personages concerned in them, so that we are, so far as is possible at so distant an epoch, made acquainted with the motives and personal inclinations that lay at the bottom of the events. Of course this method has its inconveniences: the narration is necessarily interrupted by it, and the attention distracted in the multiplicity of obscure names and incidents. But on the whole Mr. Masson manages this skilfully, and on the whole the result justifies his method. In one respect, however—and that the principal one—the result is unsatisfactory, and that for a reason inherent in the nature of things. The history of the time and the life of Milton are told in two sets of chapters, which are kept wholly distinct from one another. You read first a history of Clarendon's administration, then a literary history of the same period, and then a life of Milton during these years. Of course this is the right order, and of course this is the only way in which the life of a literary man can be "narrated in connection with the political, ecclesiastical, and literary history of his time"; when we come to the events of Milton's life we go over again the same years and with constant reference to the events which we have just gone over twice before. The method is cumbersome, causing constant breaks in the main narration, and often confusing the reader by the necessity of going backward and forward, and touching upon events out of the order of their occurrence. Still, we do not know how this could have been avoided.

We think that the best part of the present volume is the chapters which contain the literary history. These form, as it were, a connecting link between the historical and the biographical chapters, and it is here that Milton's place in his generation belongs. For, however close his relation to political circles in the earlier period, in this period, at any rate, it is only as a literary man that he interests us. The literary history of the "Restoration" is treated elaborately, with the careful comparison of dates and grouping of names that are so distinctive a characteristic of this work, and as a result we have a picture of this period which is probably unequalled. Taken in connection with the equally elaborate analysis of the government and political history, the account of these fifteen years needs only more court gossip and more detail of "manners and customs" (both of which can well be spared), joined with a higher capacity of combination and description, to make this a very complete view of the Restoration period. Mr. Masson's estimate of the literature of the Restoration as such is not high. He first takes up the list of authors now flourishing, and shows by an elaborate study of their ages and their works that most of them can in no sense be called the creation of this period—the work, by the way, which Mr. Buckle did for the age of Louis XIV., and which might be done equally well for the age of Augustus.

"The best of old Hobbes," he says (p. 322), "the best of Sanderson, nearly all Wither, all Herrick, nearly all Bramhall, the best of Izaak Walton, all Brian Walton, the best of Howell, the best of Shirley, the whole of Fuller, a great deal of Waller, all Browne of Norwich, nearly all of Jeremy Taylor, the best of Dr. Henry More, a full half of Baxter and Owen, much of Wilkins and Wallis, nearly the whole of Denham, the best of Cowley, the best of Henry Stubbe, and at least the fully announced beginnings of a number more lie chronologically on the other side of the Restoration. Jeremy Taylor the bishop belongs to the Restoration, but the Jeremy Taylor of English literature belongs to the twenty years of the Civil Wars, the Republican Government of the Rump, and the sovereignty of Cromwell."

He next proceeds to examine the Registers of the Stationers' Company of London, in which all new publications should by law be registered; and, after showing that "under a government like Clarendon's . . . the possibility of clandestine publication must have been reduced to a minimum," adds (p. 324): "Here, certainly, is no proof of fresh outburst and abundance after the Restoration, but rather of arrest and paralysis." Of the seven years before the Restoration, the largest number of registrations in one year is 562, the smallest, 181; of the seven years after the Restoration, the largest number is 141, the smallest 58 (in the two years of the Plague).

An interesting passage is that, in connection with the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, in which the question is raised, How did Milton escape being on the excepted list? Perhaps Mr. Masson exaggerates Milton's prominence as a politician; still, there is no doubt that men far less prominent than he were honored by being placed upon the list, and Mr. Masson shows at considerable length that Milton was not overlooked, that he was pursued by Prynne and others with great bitterness, that he barely escaped by a curious combination of circumstances, and that he kept himself in hiding for several months until the danger had passed. The author of 'Eikonoklastes' was too determined an opponent of Charles I. not to run the risk of being classed as a regicide. His biographer, after a detailed narration of the whole series of events, and a statement of the influences at work for and against him, comes to the conclusion "that Milton's escape was the result of a powerful organization in his behalf, uniting a number of influences, and most skilfully and cunningly conducted (p. 187)." The thing was managed, he thinks, by Marvell and Davenant, and Hyde "must have given his consent to the proposal that Milton should be spared."

Among other literary men of the time considerable space (sixteen pages, pp. 423 to 439) is given to Bishop Gauden, whom Mr. Masson accepts without question as the author of 'Eikon Basilike.' We are not ready to form a judgment upon a literary controversy hardly less hotly disputed than the authorship of Junius's letters; but we cannot help feeling that the matter is by no means so certain as Mr. Masson considers it, and that, so far as we can see, he has the judgment of the most competent authorities against him. Opinion appears to be settling in favor of the king's authorship. In the strictly historical portions

* 'The Life of John Milton: narrated in connection with the political, ecclesiastical, and literary history of his time. By David Masson, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh.' Vol. vi., 1660–1674. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1880. 8vo, pp. 840.

of the volume there is no part more valuable than the account of the anti-Catholic reaction called out by the secret Treaty of Dover and the Declaration of Indulgence of 1672. This has, moreover, a close relation to Milton's political career, as it brought him back for a moment into his old work of political pamphleteering, in his short treatise of 1673, entitled 'Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and the Growth of Popery.' In connection with this we have (p. 587) an entertaining account of the relation of the Quakers to the acts of tolerance and intolerance:

"It was their boast that their worship, from its very nature, could not be stopped 'by men or devils.' From a meeting of Roman Catholics, they said, you have but to take away the mass-book, or the chalice, or the priest's garments, or even but to spill the water and blow out the candles, and the meeting is over. So, in a meeting of Lutherans or Episcopalians, or in a meeting of Presbyterians, or Independents, or Baptists, or Socinians, there is always some implement or set of implements upon which all depends, be it the liturgy, the gown or surplice, the Bible, or the hour-glass; remove these and make noise enough and there can be no service. Not so with a Quaker meeting. These men and women worship with their hearts and without implements, in silence as well as by speech. You may break in upon them, hoot at them, roar at them, drag them about, the meeting—if it is of any size—essentially still goes on till all the component individuals are murdered. Throw them out at the door in twos and threes, and they but re-enter at the window and quietly resume their places. Pull their meeting-house down, and they reassemble next day most punctually amid the broken walls and rafters. Shovel sand or earth down upon them and there they still sit, a sight to see, musing immovably among the rubbish. This is no description from fancy; it was the actual practice of the Quakers all over the country."

This was utterly baffling to the authorities, and no less so the position taken by the Quakers, alone among Nonconformists, towards the Roman Catholics. Other Nonconformists were suspicious of the Declaration of Indulgence. "Only the Quakers were thoroughly thankful, regarding the refusal of the boon because it came from prerogative as an excess of constitutional scruple, and seeing no reason, in their simple theory, why toleration should not include the Roman Catholics."

The last twenty-three pages of the volume are devoted to Milton's posthumous treatise 'Of Christian Doctrine,' discovered in 1823, in which he takes a strongly Arian, Arminian, and anti-Sabbatarian position. There has been some controversy as to whether this was an early or a late work of the author, but Mr. Masson has no difficulty in proving—and, indeed, it is a self-evident fact—that it belonged to the last years of his life. With regard to this work he uses the following words, with which the volume ends:

"It would be a mistake to say of Milton, on any of these accounts, or on account of his anti-Sabbatarianism and Latitudinarianism generally, or on account of the extreme boldness and heterodoxy of some of his speculations, that he did not belong most truly and properly to the great Puritan body of his countrymen. We have seen sufficiently in these pages what English Puritanism really was, through what phases it passed, what multiform varieties of thinking and of free-thinking it included. Only an unscholarly misconception of Puritanism, or total ignorance of the actual facts of its history, will ever seek, now or henceforward, to rob English Puritanism of Milton, or Milton of his title to be remembered as the genius of Puritan England."

Mr. Masson has done good service in showing that Milton was not without honor in his own generation. "The statement that it was these criticisms of Addison that first awoke the English nation to a sense of Milton's greatness ought to have been exploded long ago, and owes its continued vitality only to that inherent sheepishness of human nature which will persist in repeating everything whatever that has once been strongly said" (p. 787).

The book would be improved by cross-references (*e.g.*, p. 177), especially where the events of the historical chapters are alluded to in the literary and biographical chapters. It is not always easy to turn at once to the passages referred to. On p. 505 the date *June* 16 must be *January*; and on p. 608 the date should read 1678–9.

RECENT NOVELS.*

'LA DÉGRINGOLADE' is by no means one of the best, though it is one of the longest and one of the most elaborate of Gaboriau's stories. It opens, of course, with a mystery—a midnight attack upon a young man by unknown assassins. This of itself is perhaps nothing out of the common way, but the young man no sooner recovers from his wounds than he receives an anonymous communication which directs him to follow a man whom he will meet at a ball wherever he leads. The man at the ball conducts him and his friend, Dr. Legris, to a cemetery, where at the dead of night they are witnesses of a singular transaction. A party of strangers scale the wall, a tomb is opened, a veiled lady, addressed as Madame La Duchesse, exclaims in tones of wild delirious joy, "Empty! the coffin is empty!" and the party thereupon retire. Raymond Delorge and Dr. Legris examine the stone, and find inscribed upon it, "Marie Sidonie. Died at the age of twenty-seven. Pray for her!" Neither of them knows of any person named Marie Sidonie, nor why Delorge should be supposed to be interested in ascertaining that her tomb is empty. This is the mystery, the key to which is kept back for about a thousand pages. Not till the very end of the novel do we discover that Marie Sidonie is the name of the wife of the wicked De Combelaine, who the day before the *Coup d'état* of 1852 foully murdered Raymond's father, the valliant General Delorge, in the garden of the Élysée. The sole witness of this murder was Laurent Cornevin, who received the victim's last words and a written message to his wife. When we find in 1869 that the son of the general loves the beautiful Simone de Maillefert, and is loved in return, and that De Combelaine has contrived an iniquitous intrigue to force her to marry him to save the honor of her family, we feel pretty sure that the plot will be defeated; and so it is in the end foiled by the excellent Cornevin, who, after years of exile, has returned to Paris in time to avenge the general. The marriage is to take place on Tuesday morning, and the only thing that prevents its taking place is the sudden announcement by Cornevin that De Combelaine has another wife living, Marie Sidonie by name, supposed to have been buried in the Cimetière du Nord. This furnishes the clue to the grave-opening scene. The astute Cornevin desired to have the Duchesse de Maillefert and Raymond as witnesses of the fact that the tomb was empty. The secret is well kept, but the truth is that it is not sufficiently connected with the main plot of the book to interest the reader very much. The long interval between the scene in the cemetery and the final revelation of the identity of Marie Sidonie is occupied with a story which has not on the surface the faintest possible connection with her, and the consequence is that the scene is nearly forgotten when the explanation comes. Still the book is remarkable for the characteristic ingenuity with which the many threads of the plot are managed by the author.

Anything from Mr. Hardy's pen, however slight, is worth reading; 'Fellow-Townsmen' is very slight indeed, but it has unquestionable literary importance as stories short and long go. There is little that is dramatic in it, which is unusual, and the women are rather shadowy, which is still more so; but there is the same insistence upon the irony of fate, and the same intimation that if you let things take their course in this world (and whether you do or not they will be pretty sure to take it) they will turn out sadly and impotently, but in general bearably—or at least that this happens oftener than other novelists are apt to think. How different this is from the moral of the agonizing novel no one needs to be told; and all that we have to say concerning Mr. Hardy's latest statement of it is that he should be increasingly careful about so preparing his mechanism that his moral may appear spontaneous, and not as if it had become a cherished notion of the author's.

To any one who knows only the pessimist novels of Alphonse Daudet the bit of extravagance which narrates the prodigious adventures of Tartarin of Tarascon will be a surprise, perhaps, but it is marked by the same literary finish of manner and the same delicate perception of character. The points to notice about it are the sensitive tact which prevents the fun with which it is brimming from becoming hilarity, and saves the ludicrousness of its hero from contempt or pity; in these respects (it is a great deal to say, but it is scarcely exaggeration) it suggests its inspiration—'Don Quixote.' Tartarin is two men, Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, in one, and they naturally pull in different directions. He is the great man of Tarascon, the greatest "cap-hunter"—in the absence of game the Tarasconians shot at their caps—the greatest singer, and the authority on all subjects. He has never travelled, but once thought of going to Shanghai, and talked so much of it that

"—— in sooth at length the brave man was not very sure that he had not gone to Shanghai.

"But then your Tartarin was merely a dreadful liar?

"No! a thousand times no! Tartarin was no liar.

"Ah! the only liar in the South, if any there be, is the sun; everything he touches he exaggerates. What was Sparta in the days of her splendor? A village. What was Athens? At best a subprefecture. And yet in history they appear to us like enormous cities. See what the sun has made of them!'

'Mrs. Beauchamp Brown' contains enough material for a dozen ordinary novels, but barely saves itself from commonplace by a flashiness which will only prove "exciting" on summer-hotel piazzas, we judge and trust. In the opening chapters the heroine, a rich young lady, admired and a coquette, rejects the addresses of the Hon. Mr. Forsyth, newly-appointed American Minister to Spain, and, to escape from a world that offers no other excitement to a pretty woman, plans with her aunt, Mrs. Beauchamp Brown, and two younger nieces of the latter, a summer campaign in the wilds of a Maine vil-

*'The Downward Path; or, A House Built on Sand. By Emile Gaboriau.' First half. New York: George Munro. 1880. (Seaside Library.)

'Fellow-Townsmen. By Thomas Hardy.' Half-Hour Series. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

'The Prodigious Adventures of Tartarin of Tarascon. Translated from the French of Alphonse Daudet by Robert S. Minot.' Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1880.

'Mrs. Beauchamp Brown.' No-Name Series. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1880.

lage. Fate interposes with the masculine element, and she finds herself on arrival provided with a lover in the person of a rejected admirer, who has come there to get over the opium-habit and the effects of her coldness, and with a deadly rival in his sister; Forsyth is also promptly on hand to try his luck again; and she rescues from drowning and nurses back to life still another lover, who proves to be a ritualist clergyman and the conquering hero. Enter here another clergyman with celibate views, and a Catholic (Roman) priest as bear-leader to an English lord, who travels incognito as Mr. Smith and falls in love with one of the younger girls. She is further presented with two Harvard students of sensibility, and a third student is given to the remaining niece. To these constantly shifting couples Mrs. Beauchamp Brown plays propriety with much dignity in general, but with some serious and inexplicable lapses, during which she is liable to make stale jests of questionable taste, to talk of "del. tre.," and address the Harvard students with an "I say." The action covers the Maine village, Boston, and New York, the troop of lovers following from place to place their several load-stars. There are three attempts at murder by a madman, a fire, a hint at some priestcraft, dark plotting by the malicious rival, small-pox for the wicked and varioloid for the innocent, Sisters of Charity as nurses; and the outcome is the founding of a church and three weddings. The style is alternately flippant and encyclopædic, and the view of life is from the point of profound inexperience illuminated by sensational novels.

An almost entire and therefore refreshing contrast is afforded in 'Christy Carew,' which is a quiet and simple Irish story, told with much native wit and a true Celtic flavor; *e.g.*, "There's elegant drowning at the end of the pier, Master Lanty, if you'd only consider it," is the remark of an exasperated nurse to a veritable *enfant terrible* about to "go fishing" thither. The characters are well distinguished and set forth with much ease, evidently from life in many cases, and though the book is too long and the author neglects the elementary maxim that all episodes should conduce to the general action, and though we must regard as premature the judgment of an admiring critic who thinks her the successor of "George Eliot," we can cordially commend the book as more interesting and decidedly abler than its class.

'Second Thoughts' is a disappointment; it is more sensible and therefore less characteristic than its predecessors; there is no heart-breaking sequel to a life begun buoyantly; no harrowing struggles between ardent love and respect for the marriage-laws of Great Britain. Everything, in fact, is surprisingly tame. The writing of tame stories, however, it need not be said, is so far from being Miss Broughton's forte that it is the opposite of it, and the three stories she has now given us since 'Goodbye, Sweetheart' indicate as clearly as the predecessors of that tale did that her genius then reached its culmination of merit. Every one who knows how rare good examples of the novel of passion are, and who recalls how good a specimen of it 'Goodbye, Sweetheart' was, will regret this.

In 'Dr. Heidenhoff's Process' Mr. Bellamy has wasted upon an ingenious but whimsical metaphysical notion, according to which a man's moral responsibility depends upon his identity and that in turn upon his memory, some unusually good work. The first scene of his novelette is worthy of a recognized expert in realistic fiction, and in style it is singularly felicitous for a writer so inexperienced as we judge Mr. Bellamy to be. Where, later on, he comes to deal with passion, to deal successfully with which imaginativeness is demanded as well as observation, he betrays an immaturity which such a scene as that of the prayer-meeting and such a character-analysis as that of George Bailey belie, and which they indicate is curable; it is a good or bad sign according to the point of view, but it is apparently true of Mr. Bellamy, that part of his failure to be impressive is due to his failure to conceive his task seriously enough.

About the experience of the author of 'Her Ladyship' there is possibly less doubt than of his genius, but his book may be called a fair instance of what would be meant by the phrase, "the Ohio novel." A Southern girl at a New York boarding-school falls in love with a Columbia student, whom she sees from her window and whose name she only gathers from the initials on his trunk as it is ruthlessly borne away from her sight. Four years later a Union officer walks into a Virginia bank where a dazzlingly beautiful young girl has fallen asleep. As he bends over her she awakens, and, throwing her arms around his neck, exclaims, with the direct trustfulness of girlhood: "I knew you would come back to me, my darling! my dear R. A. from Toledo." This is perhaps the pearl of the story, but much of the rest, which is bathed in the romantic sentiment now become almost peculiar to Southern and border literature, is nearly as good.

'Alva Vine' is written with a loftier purpose, but is even more entertaining; it is designed to supply an adequate study of "a suggestive woman of this Republic." Alva possesses a wonderful voice, which she wishes to cultivate for the stage, writes for the papers, and captivates a man whose views of woman's sphere are nevertheless narrow. She proceeds to travel in Europe, where she rebukes superstition in Catholic countries; instructs statesmen; declines court presentation because she "appreciates a man or woman for what they are and not for what they have"; and delights Bright, Thackeray, and Buckle (A.D. 1867) with her conversational brilliancy, as might be inferred from her remark that Mozart's music "touches the affectuous part of the mind more than the intellectual." She finally returns and marries her adorer, though it is hinted that many equally brilliant women are crushed by "the deadweight of a husband," finding themselves superior to whom wifely duty dictates a "continuous watch" lest they "overshadow" him. The four illustrations are as unaccountable as the text, to which they have no relation. To the reader who can get no amusement from the book it may serve to show how wide is the range of writing that can somehow get printed.

'The Verdendorps,' the preface announces, is a work of pure fiction. "It will be as fallacious to consider either in the light of pure analogues as it is, to many minds, fallacious to consider the general question of special creations in the light of supposed analogues." This, if we catch its drift, obscures the design of the author in spelling his title with a "V," otherwise tolerably plain to New-Yorkers from the story itself, which is something as follows: Basilius Verdendorp, an uneducated but shrewd and resolute man, acquires an enormous fortune, controls legislatures, and owns thousands of miles of railroads. His eldest son, Richard, desires to "control" him and gain possession of his estate. This unnatural crime he accomplishes by means of a couple of adventuresses, May Craven, an irregularly divorced woman, and her mother, the former of whom Richard induces his father to marry. He then alienates "the old man's" affections from his other son, Basil, by reports of Basil's misconduct, of which he has informed himself through a detective. After this it is easy for him to supplant his sisters. "The old man" dies, leaving a will in favor of Richard, with small legacies to his daughters and to Basil, the property of the latter to be held by Richard as trustee. There is a report of the funeral sermon by the pastor to whom he had given a church, a description of the autopsy, and, finally, a long contest over the will by Basil and his sister, Mrs. Latour. Richard gains the case and Basil shoots him, is tried for murder and acquitted. Mure Street plays havoc with the Verdendorp property, and poetic justice is generally and summarily executed. The author, it is needless to add, is Basil himself, but he does not explain his motive in writing the book.

'Magnum Bonum' adds 661 more pages to the Yonge literature, whose characteristics are so well known that they do not need to be particularized as here freshly displayed; and certainly no one who read 'The Heir of Redclyffe' before his (or her) days of algebra and the Latin primer would consent to say anything ill of them. As its alternate title may denote, this latest story of this amiable author is mainly about children—perhaps more so than usual; but it may be read by adults with safety.

From the two optimistic idyls, 'Marcella' and 'Esfira,' it might fairly be inferred that Russia was the true home of romantic devotion of the rich to the poor, but we prefer the inference that they are of value as romance solely. The old story of King Cophetua is the basis of each, and the two together make a volume to be read in an hour and forgotten.

Henry Gréville's latest novel, contributed to "Juliette Lamber's" *Nouvelle Revue*, is about divorce, which it favors by implication, but it is not much either of an indirect argument or a novel, and will tend to confirm the suspicion that the author has written herself out.

Hints on Advocacy, intended for Practice in any of the Courts. By an English Barrister. Revised and adapted from the second English edition by an American lawyer. (St. Louis, Mo.: William H. Stevenson. 1880.)—This book will be found of considerable value to young lawyers, and contains a good deal of information on a subject which many persons not lawyers are interested in. It covers a different field from that treated in books on rhetoric. These, of course, are of use to any one whose business it is to employ the arts of persuasion; but writers on rhetoric continually forget that the greater part of a lawyer's work does not consist in making speeches, but in bringing out the facts of the case, by examination and cross-examination, in such a way as to produce a desired effect upon the minds of the jury. For

'Christy Carew. By May Laffan.' Leisure-Hour Series. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1880.
'Second Thoughts. By Rhoda Broughton.' 2 vols. New Handy-Volume Series. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.
'Dr. Heidenhoff's Process. By Edward Bellamy.' New Handy-Volume Series. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.
'Her Ladyship.' Cincinnati: Peter G. Thomson. 1880.

'Alva Vine: or, Art versus Duty. By Henri Gordon.' New York: The American News Company. 1880.
'The Verdendorps: A novel by Basil Verdendorp.' Chicago: Charles M. Hertig. 1880.
'Magnum Bonum; or, Mother Carey's Chickens. By Charlotte M. Yonge.' London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1880.
'Two Russian Idyls: Marcella, Esfira.' New Handy-Volume Series. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.
'Lucie Rodey, From the French of Henry Gréville.' Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. 1880.

many reasons, which we have never seen thoroughly explained, the old-fashioned method of haranguing juries, of making direct appeals to their sympathies or prejudices, has almost altogether disappeared from reputable practice in England and America, and rhetorical practices which early in this century were regarded as perfectly legitimate are now looked upon as disgraceful. Much as has been said about the ignorance of juries, we cannot help believing that the jurymen of to-day are both more intelligent and more sceptical than their grandfathers. A juryman fifty years ago was not a reading man; now he almost invariably reads at least the newspapers, and although this may not make him an impartial or fair-minded man, it makes him infinitely more a man of the world than his predecessor. He is familiar with many things, he has a theory of life and man formed not only by his own experience but also by that sort of half-liberal education now furnished everybody by the press. Besides all this, the jury is not nearly so irresponsible a body as it was fifty, and still more a hundred, years ago. It is governed by rules as fixed and rigid as those which govern courts; its passions and excesses are much more carefully watched over and guarded against than they formerly were. The exact limit between law and fact is every day being more carefully defined. It must be remembered, moreover, that the jury is not, as it was in a multitude of cases early in this century, the only barrier between the liberty of the subject and the tyranny of the executive. It has long since ceased to be an every-day affair for the reputation and liberty and life of respectable men to be protected from the assaults of irresponsible power solely by the sympathy of a jury. All these causes have contributed to make old-fashioned oratory seem out of place in a modern court.

It has followed from this that the modern art of advocacy is much more the art of presenting evidence well than of making speeches. The greatest lawyers of to-day have made their success chiefly by a mastery of this art—an art which involves a knowledge of all the resources of oratory, and a good deal more besides. The author of this book gives an analysis of Sir A. Cockburn's opening in the trial of the poisoner Palmer as an instance of a masterpiece of advocacy, and it is undoubtedly a memorable instance; and yet there is not a trace of passion or feeling in it. Its effect lies in the absence of anything of the kind. It may seem to any one not versed in the subject that opening a case is a simple matter. Yet there is nothing which is so often mismanaged, and there is perhaps no faculty more rare than that of clear oral statement, even among practising lawyers. But the statement of a case is not so difficult as the examination of witnesses, nor the examination so difficult as the cross-examination. There is no change which has come over legal practice greater than that relating to cross-examination. The popular theory about cross-examination which has been handed down to us from a former generation is, that it is a sort of right which each side has to torture the witnesses of the other; the screws and the boot being applied by the legal inquisitor, while the jury listen eagerly for any admissions of perjury or misrepresentation which may fall from the victim. Cross-examination, as practised by a skilful modern advocate, is a very different thing from this. Its chief maxim is, first to cross-examine as little as possible, and, second, to make the character of the cross-examination depend upon the character of the witness. There are as many different kinds of witnesses in the world as there are different kinds of men and women, and any attempt at a complete classification would be useless. The author of the book before us mentions several classes, as the reluctant witness, the hesitating witness, the flippant witness, and the lying witness, and gives some excellent examples of the dangers to be met with in dealing with them. But human nature is infinite in its variety, and no rules or descriptions given in books will ever make up for want of knowledge of men. Even this will not always answer. Of all American lawyers Choate has the reputation of having been the best trier of cases; yet if the story of the answer of the witness who had scuttled the ship is true, he was capable of making serious errors. The suit was on a marine policy of insurance, and Choate represented the plaintiff. The defence was that the vessel had been scuttled. The witness had testified for the defence that he had himself been engaged in the scuttling. In the course of the examination it came out that he had been much urged by the captain to join in the plot, and that the latter had used some convincing argument to which he had yielded. Being pressed to state what this was, he showed great reluctance; but on Choate's insisting that the language should be repeated, he stated that the captain had urged him to join on the ground that if they were detected and the worst came to the worst, they must be tried in Boston, and that "Choate would get them off." Choate was here committing a very elementary fault—that of pressing a reluctant witness. A beginner at cross-examination has almost an irresistible inclination to do this, probably from the feeling that the witness's reluctance to testify arises from the fact that what he is keeping back may be unfavorable to his side of the case. But experience shows that the reluctance may come from a great variety of causes; and, as the cross-examiner cannot tell in advance what the real source of it is, he is much safer in not pressing for an answer when he is not at all clear that it may not injure him. Indeed, the art of cross-examination may be said to consist in extracting from a hostile witness everything as to which you have reason to believe in advance that he must testify in your favor.

With regard to the duties of advocacy the author of these 'Hints' makes some suggestions in criticism of Lord Brougham's famous declaration which have the merit of being original reflections on a very old topic. Lord Brougham's words were that it was part of the "sacred duty" of the advocate to disregard "the alarm, the suffering, the torment, the destruction which he may bring upon any others. Nay, separating even the duties of a patriot from those of an advocate, he must go on, reckless of the consequences, if his fate should be to involve his country in confusion for his client." The author of this manual points out that an advocate can hardly claim a higher privilege than his client were he defending his own cause, and adds the extremely practical suggestion that an advocate who casts destruction broadcast may involve his client too in the general ruin, and "is sure, in any event, to injure him in the estimation of the jury."

Amateur Theatricals. By Walter Herries Pollock and Lady Pollock. [Art at Home Series.] (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1879. Crown 8vo, 71 pp.)—Lady Pollock has contributed to the English reviews various interesting papers on different phases of histrionic art. Mr. Pollock, who is the author of a volume of lectures on some of the later French poets, is also a careful student of the French stage, and published in Paris in 1878 a little book on the chief performers of the Comédie-Française. From the collaboration of two such writers one might reasonably expect a handbook of amateur acting of permanent value; nor is this expectation balked. It may be said at once that the book before us is an admirable manual, full of sound knowledge and wise suggestions. Its advice is altogether practical and obviously the result of experience. The hints thrown out for inexperienced actors are just what the amateur needs but does not seek, and the instruction he will gain is not the less effective from the urbanity with which it is given.

We know of no guide to private theatricals which contains so much fresh matter as this. Indeed, the effort to leave the beaten track has led to the introduction at odd intervals of illustrative citations from the history of private performances, from the actual acting of "Comus," written by John Milton for a band of amateur actors, to the fictitious representations in Miss Austen's 'Mansfield Park' and Miss Edgeworth's 'Patronage.' In the latter novel the spectators ask "if there is to be any clapping of hands?" In explanation of which request for information Miss Edgeworth tells us "that at some private theatres loud demonstrations of applause were forbidden. It was thought more genteel to approve and admire in silence, thus to draw the line between professional actors and actresses and gentlemen and lady performers." This is a characteristic custom which one is not surprised to find obtaining among the English gentry of fourscore years ago. Miss Edgeworth's comment on it is a good specimen of Irish wit: "Upon trial, however, in some instances, it had been found that the difference was sufficiently obvious without marking it by any invidious distinction."

Such extracts as the authors of this little volume make from the unwritten history of private theatricals are always amusing in themselves and pertinent to the instructive intent of the book. Of the histrionic advice perhaps the most valuable portion is an account of M. Delaunay's method of instructing his class at the Conservatory. We have heard before of Mr. Pollock as a friend of M. Delaunay's. This fine actor, besides practising his art at the Théâtre-Français, teaches it at the Conservatory to those who may one day succeed him in the honorable office of upholding the traditions of the House of Molière. The remarks on mounting an amateur piece are excellent and may save much trouble; following Mr. Pollock's advice may greatly shorten the Course of Time. It is suggested that in regard to scenery it is "perhaps best to recur to the method in vogue on the public stage in Shakspere's time, and indicate the change of scene by placards." To do this is but to rely on a primitive convention instead of the more elaborate modern convention—for convention it is, more or less like reality, in either case; and an audience will accept any convention frankly offered to them. The illustrations do not in any exact sense illustrate the book. One is a picture of the stage in Shakspere's day. The others are quaint and pretty little drawings by Miss Kate Greenaway, to whose pencil we owe the delightful 'Under the Window.'

Principles and Portraits. By C. A. Bartol. (Boston: Roberts Bros. 1880.)—We have never heard Dr. Bartol preach, but after having examined the eleven "principles" and six "portraits"—all sermon-like, if not all sermons—of this volume of nearly five hundred pages, we feel disposed to apply to it Jefferson's criticism on Patrick Henry:

"Although it was difficult when he had spoken to tell what he had said, yet, while he was speaking, it always seemed directly to the point. When he had spoken in opposition to my opinion, had produced a great effect, and I myself been highly delighted and moved, I have asked myself when he ceased: 'What the d—l has he said?'" (*Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster*, p. 367).

This failure to make a distinct impression, to offer something tangible for reflection or argument, as the result of an hour's discourse, is precisely the characteristic of Dr. Bartol's style as displayed here. But the father of this sort of pulpit oratory is not Patrick Henry but Emerson. We will not affront Dr. Bartol by classing him among the more or less conscious imitators of the author of the Address to the Cambridge Divinity School in July, 1838, the Monadnock secret of whose eloquence has seemed to so many ministerial candidates within their grasp. Sentences like these, again, which abound in Dr. Bartol's pages, may be denied an Emersonian quality: (p. 317) "Benjamin Paul Blood says we learn more as we come to after anæsthesia than from Fichte or Hegel. But Shakspeare dwelt in the land of surprise, and was coming to all the time"; (p. 342) "It will soon be thirty-seven years since the subject of this essay died, or disappeared. But I observe, after longer lapses of time, the figures walk down from their frames in our parlors or in Faneuil Hall for every new crisis of action or thought." Still, conceding the writer's individuality, these chapters form beyond question a part of the literature of Concord Transcendentalism, both in their doctrine and their rhetorical expression. Of their doctrine we shall say nothing, because the field is too broad, and of the vehicle in which it is conveyed we shall say no more than we began by saying, except that it seems more appropriately used in a portraiture of Weiss than of Channing. Indeed, we regard the analysis of the former as much the best in the volume, though it will hardly propitiate his admirers. A praiseworthy candor shines through all Dr. Bartol's judgments of his personal friends. His intimacy with Weiss, Channing, Bushnell, and Hunt the artist gives a special weight and value to their portraits; of Garrison he could speak less at first hand. In treating of the personality of Shakspere he has no advantage, that we can perceive, over his predecessors.

Oxford: Brief Historical and Descriptive Notes. By Andrew Lang. With etchings and vignettes by Brunet-Debaines, Toussaint, and Kent Thomas. (London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday. 1880.)—Such of our readers as are not deterred by a comparatively high price will derive much entertainment from Mr. Lang's work. The author's reverential affection for his alma mater, although strong and abiding, does not blind him to her imperfections. He has endeavored to convey truthfully his impressions of Oxford, past and present, in a series of brief sketches, arranged by epochs. In writing of this character the tone is, of course, everything. We do not look to an album in black-and-white for minute scholarship or for philosophic continuity. We can apply to the author this test only: Has he made us feel for a brief space that we are living over again some of the joys and trials, the academic unrest and abandon, of the generations that have passed or are passing? Tried by this test, Mr. Lang has succeeded abundantly. In his chapter on the Renaissance and the Reformation, for instance, or his High-Tory Oxford, or his Poets at Oxford (Shelley and Landor), we do not discover new facts and names, but we do catch the pulse of Oxford life and thought. We understand better than before how it is that the old University must make a lasting impression on the character of all who come within her sway. Stronger minds, like Johnson and Shelley, react healthfully; weaker ones lapse too often into conventionalism. Minds of an unpoetically radical turn, like Gibbon, turn away in impatience. Mr. Lang is not a *doctrinaire;* he has carefully banished from his book rancor and partisan invective. We suspect, indeed, that no one who is a dutiful and loving son of Oxford can be wholly bad in his eyes. The only person of whom he writes with evident bitterness is Gibbon, whose unpardonable offence is, not so much his 'Decline and Fall' as his pithy sneer: "To the University of Oxford I acknowledge no obligations, and she will as cheerfully renounce me for a son as I am willing to disclaim her for a mother." Without involving ourselves in a defence of Gibbon, may we not ask Mr. Lang if Oxford of the eighteenth century was anything more than an overgrown school? The contrast between its Pharisaism and inertia and the glorious promises held out by the German universities, is an unpleasant chapter in the history of English thought. The diligent observer of Goethe's life knows full well that Leipzig and Jena were anything but models. Yet, with all their blundering crudeness, they strove at least onward and upward, whereas Oxford was intellectually dead. The breath of resuscitation came, not from within but from without, from the great Revolution and the Napoleonic wars.

The concluding chapters, "A General View" and "Undergraduate Life," are full of interest. Mr. Lang, without indulging in epigrammatic wit, is clear and concise. His brief allusions to Evangelicalism, the Tractarian Movement, and Liberalism are fairly proportioned to the limits of his book. The outlook of Oxford study appears to him still obscure. On the one hand he is evidently no friend to "cram" and the excessive strain of examinations on both pupils and teachers. On the other, he is sceptical as to the possibilities of "endowed research." We quite agree with him in the reflection that the obstacle to original research at Oxford does not lie so much in the want of men and means as in the unwillingness of Oxford tutors and fellows to sacrifice creature comforts to abstract and pecuniarily unprofitable study. As for the illustrations, they are what one should expect from the names of the artists: they are in good taste. The only objection that might be made to them is that they are perhaps more suggestive than explanatory. That is, they will recall Oxford life to the graduate better than they will present it to the stranger. Yet they are very pleasing to the eye, and in harmony with the spirit of the text.

A Complete Concordance to the Odyssey and Hymns of Homer. By Henry Dunbar, M.D., member of the General Council, University of Edinburgh. (New York: Macmillan & Co. 1880.)—Students of Homer ought certainly to be thankful to Dr. Dunbar for this book. It gives under every word all the lines in which it occurs, quoted in full, with number of book and line. For the statistical method of study it is of great value. It shows at once how a given word is inflected in the 'Odyssey' and 'Hymns,' how its use is distributed over different books, what position in the line it has generally or always, etc. It is easy to sneer at all this sort of thing as "index-learning," but of course it is not so much the acquisition of such facts as the use made of them that shows scholarship. For such investigations this book offers a welcome aid, better in some respects than the old stand-by Seber. It is ungracious to find fault with such a work, especially from the hand of one who is not by profession a classical student, but we cannot help regretting that so much space was wasted by the method of printing in cases where the same line is repeated often in the poems. The room saved by condensation in those cases might well have been used to diminish the number of cases where but one line is quoted to represent a number in which a word occurs. The number of these latter cases is much larger than in Seber, including, for instance, αἰεί, αἶψα, αὖθι, αὖτως, ἄφαρ, ἦν, ὅθεν, ὁμῶς, τοίσδεσσι, τόφρα, ὑπέκ—the very class of words as to the Homeric use of which some student would seek full information. The proof-reading seems to have been very carefully done.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 8, 1880.

The Week.

THE "campaign stories" already begin to make their appearance with a certain luxuriance, but they are mostly about General Hancock. Senator Hoar recently held him up to odium as just the kind of man that is produced in profusion by the effete despotisms of the Old World —that is, an educated soldier, following soldiering as a profession, and unsuited to a republic like this. But unfortunately Mr. Hoar is himself, for similar reasons, a monarchical product, educated at the expense of his parents at a university, and passing in the study of dead men's writings the time which General Garfield passed in driving a mule on a tow-path. Kearney and his friends think Mr. Hoar as odious an excrescence in a republic as Mr. Hoar thinks General Hancock. Would it not be well, by the way, to leave the denunciation of men because they have been carefully trained in an honorable calling to Kearney and his kind? Is it possible that Senator Hoar thinks any real interest of a civilized community is helped by this sort of thing even in a Presidential campaign? It is also told of General Hancock that he invited General Beauregard to dinner, but the latter refused to come as long as the United States flag was flying over General Hancock's door, whereupon General Hancock promptly lowered it.

Mr. Boutwell has reappeared on the surface for the first time since the unhappy result of his "boom" at Chicago, and seems, in spite of his conviction of last spring that General Grant's election was necessary to save us all from ruin, to be reasonably cheerful and hopeful for a person naturally so pessimistic. He made a speech the other day at Lowell, Mass., which was interesting as indicating the line the Grant men mean to take in the canvass. It will probably surprise most people—but it is a good sign of the times—that the first point he took up was the danger to civil-service reform in case the Democrats come into power. To be sure, his own definition of civil-service reform is not very luminous, but it contains the acknowledgment that the "spoils" system is a bad one and ought to be abandoned. He denounces "competitive examination," "life tenures," "and courts of enquiry before removal," but would have no person appointed to office until he had passed "a satisfactory examination by an independent and competent board of examiners." This is a good deal of a concession from such a quarter. He shirked the silver question and the greenback question, and castigated the Democrats for their hostility to the national banks, so that his position about the currency is not as yet clearly ascertainable. He concluded with some energetic observations on his favorite theme—"the solid South" —showing that it means not only "the rule absolute of a minority of the fifteen old slave States, but the probability of a like absolute rule over the whole country." How a man of Mr. Boutwell's age can talk in this way when he knows that the census now being taken will probably reduce "the South" to complete insignificance both in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral College, is hard to understand. It is worthy of note that he did not once "wave the bloody shirt."

An effort has been made to keep Mr. Don Cameron in the Chairmanship of the Republican National Committee, but we are glad to see that he declines it. He does so in a very cold note from the White Sulphur Springs, where he is sojourning on account of his health, which he declares much broken down. He promises, however, "as far as his health will permit," "to do all he can to keep the Republican party in power." This is rather vague, and we doubt if he will do much. Mr. Conkling is said to be feeling poorly also, but has said he will do as much for the Republican ticket as the Administration does, meaning, we presume, that unless the President lets the officeholders loose for the canvass he will do nothing. We believe there is a good deal of sickness among all the Bosses, and they are likely to stick very close to the watering-places and mineral springs this summer. In other words, we are likely to witness during the next three months some illustrations of the remark we made not long ago, that a Bonapartist takes little interest in the affairs of his country if his own chief is not at the head of the government.

The *Times*, with a singular indifference to party harmony, continues to pursue Secretary Sherman with exposures of his little revenges for official disloyalty at Chicago. In South Carolina, according to one of its correspondents, "ex-Congressman 'Bob' Smalls, who deserted the Sherman colors before the Convention, has lost his lucrative appointment as Special Agent, while 'Bob' Elliot, who violated instructions to please his chief, has been advanced a grade, and now, it is said, receives eight dollars per day." Three hired Sherman boomsters have had to retire from the Charleston Custom-house, for no better reason, so far as we can make out, than because they are no longer needed. The Secretary's attempts to "get even" with Mr. Raum, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, are next in order. Hitherto Mr. Raum has had the appointment of two or three score of employees engaged in the manufacture and handling of revenue stamps. Last week this was taken away from him and resumed by Mr. Sherman, who also issued a special notice that applications for the office of gauger, storekeeper, or inspector of tobacco in the internal-revenue service must hereafter be addressed directly to himself, and that no removals should be made by any one else. Finally, Mr. Sherman is held up as interfering with the patronage of another department, and seeking to remove a U. S. District-Attorney in Alabama, named Mayer, in favor of one Smith, who was "an ardent supporter of Secretary Sherman, and contested his way into the National Convention on the district idea," while Mayer was a prominent Grantite. Mayer refuses to recognize the former, on the ground that the Senate failed to act on his nomination, and that his temporary appointment during the recess was illegal, because no vacancy had "happened." Of course, in all this the Secretary from his point of view is simply "standing by his friends," and is entitled to all the advantage which he chances to possess over General Grant's "standing"—the lofty virtue of which can never be sufficiently commended.

The point raised by the recalcitrant district-attorney in Alabama is not a new one; but as often as it has been raised it has been decided in one way, and that adverse to the narrow interpretation of the clause of the Constitution empowering the President to make appointments during the recess of the Senate. It has just come up again in the case of ex-Governor Hartranft, whom the President nominated for the Philadelphia collectorship after the expiration of Collector Tutton's commission but during the session of the Senate. The Senate adjourned without taking action on the nomination, and before countersigning General Hartranft's commission Secretary Sherman appears *pro forma* to have consulted Attorney-General Devens as to the legality of it. Mr. Devens shows that the uniform construction by his predecessors of the phrase "all vacancies that may happen during the recess" has been that "may happen" is equivalent to "may happen to exist"—not necessarily to begin; and he quotes from a former opinion of Mr. Evarts, holding that the Tenure-of-Office Act seems to recognize this construction. He concludes, therefore, that the appointment in question is perfectly legitimate. The injury which might result to the public interests if an opposite conclusion were arrived at, almost precludes the need of argument.

President Hayes was present at the last Commencement at Yale College, and made, for him, a long speech, in which he brought to light some interesting facts with regard to the relations of his Administration to the college. He said that when puzzled, on taking office, as to the course he should pursue looking to the pacification of the South, he wrote to Dr. Woolsey for his advice, got it, and followed it implicitly. He also mentioned that he had offered the English Mission to President Porter, who had refused it, and spoke flatteringly of the fact that Mr. Clarence King, the head of the Geological Survey, and Professor Walker, the head of the Census, were Yale graduates, as also Mr.

Andrew D. White, the Minister at Berlin, and Mr. Putnam, the Minister in Belgium. Mr. Hayes could not have had a better adviser than Dr. Woolsey; we only wish he had asked for his advice more freely—about civil-service reform, for example. We feel sure that he would thus have been encouraged to stand up to his civil-service order, to keep Silas B. Dutcher off the stump, and to refuse office to the wretched band who did the counting in the Southern States at the last election. All these things we believe Dr. Woolsey would have recommended, and had he recommended them successfully Mr. Hayes's Administration would have left no reasonable man any ground for serious complaint.

The letters of acceptance are still in the keeping of the candidates, and we do not know as categorically as would be desirable how far, to use Col. Codman's phrase at the late ratification meeting in Boston, General Garfield is "better than the platform" or "the platform's best embodiment," or how far this may be true also of General Hancock. The tendency of both parties to substitute a standard-bearer for a creed, or to set his excellence over against its defects, marks a decline in propagandism similar to that observable in religious circles to which no tests of belief are required for admission. In politics this decline of course indicates an artificial division on non-essentials, pending a reorganization on new and vital questions. The mischief of it is that the Presidential campaign, which should be *par excellence* the season for propagandism, is closed to all initiative that aims to get the real issues before the people. The insincere or meaningless platforms furnish no text to speak from, and the candidate's letter cannot safely enlarge them by introducing controverted topics, such as, in the present crisis, the currency and the tariff; at most he can lay stress on and develop some plank in the platform, but he has no directing power over the oratory of the canvass. So that, while it may be a happy accident that the man is greater than the declaration of sentiments he is supposed to stand for, we cannot rejoice in it as a healthy symptom.

There is undeniable force in this passage from Senator Bayard's speech at Wilmington last Friday, endorsing heartily the nomination of Hancock:

"Garfield is no unknown man. He has a long record. He has been long a leader among the advocates of force bills, suspension of habeas corpus, military usurpation, and every other means resorted to by his party to prolong their power. There has not been a measure tending to exalt the military above the civil power, not a question tending to create animosity between the sections, in which James A. Garfield was not on the same side. All this we propose to end by placing in power a man who, although a distinguished soldier, never forgot that his citizenship was a higher distinction."

Waiving the entire accuracy of this statement, the argument lies, however, not more against General Garfield than against any Republican leader who had to face the reconstruction question. But, as we pointed out last week, the opportunity for military usurpation at the South has gone by, and General Hancock's merit in this particular does not furnish an inference as to his fitness for civil administration, while we have the immediate example of Grant as a warrant for apprehending the contrary. The source of Grant's failure, by the way, is hardly to be ascribed to his rating the soldier above the citizen.

There is a strong likelihood of three electoral tickets in Virginia this fall, owing to the present complicated politics of that State. The "Readjusters," who now have the legislature and profess to comprise a majority of the voters, are disposed to put a third ticket in the field to demonstrate their strength and keep their organization intact, in order to elect their candidates for Governor and other State officers in 1881. The "debt-payers," or Bourbons, as the foes of their household call them, have already chosen their electoral candidates, and, though both tickets will be pledged to the Cincinnati nominees, there will apparently be a chance for the Garfield ticket to slip through by a plurality, unless one of the Democratic factions withdraws its candidates. This, however, will probably be done, as the rank and file of both may be assumed to share the sentiment expressed by the Richmond *Commonwealth*, according to which journal "It would be simply horrible if we, alone of all the States of the South, should throw our State in favor of Garfield by dividing the white vote between two electoral tickets for Hancock." But in any event such a dire catastrophe is unlikely, as even with two Hancock tickets in the field the Republican vote, owing in part to the disfranchisement of the negroes by the poll-tax qualification, and in part to their affiliation with the "Readjusters," would probably be the smallest of the three parties. It is estimated, on the basis of the election of 1876, that there are 165,000 qualified voters in the State, of whom 135,000 are Democrats; figures which make the *Commonwealth's* anxiety seem unnecessary.

Mayor Cooper's efforts to change the composition of the Police Board have been definitively frustrated during the week by a decision of the General Term, Judge Davis dissenting, confirming Judge Lawrence's reinstatement of Commissioner Nichols, and one by Judge Daniels reversing the action of the Mayor in removing General Smith. The Board will now consist of two Custom-house Republicans and two Tammany Democrats, and as these two factions are in sweet accord there is substantial reason for supposing that their share of municipal management will be conducted with the most exemplary decorum, free from all exasperating interference from the Mayor's office, and in certain directions restrained only by the individual consciences of the Commissioners. If, as will probably be the case, the Tammany and anti-Tammany (or now "regular") Democrats nominate distinct local tickets, the latter will be compelled to rely for success upon other "agencies" than favorable election inspectors and poll-clerks, and will be, so far as these are concerned, considerably worse off than they were last fall. What is of a good deal more importance, however, is the change which these decisions involve in the position of the Mayor; the fact that he is at the mercy of a "combination" among the aldermen in regard to appointments has been already abundantly illustrated, and it is now patent that he cannot be held responsible for any municipal misconduct in any department but his own. This general result is of far greater consequence, of course, than the question of Mayor Cooper's particular motives in removing General Smith from the Police Board.

The sad accident by which two spectators of the Yale-Harvard race at New London, last Thursday, lost their lives seems to have been due rather to the heedlessness of one of them than to any official mismanagement or lack of precaution. The arrangements were all proclaimed in advance to passengers of the train; each car had a brakeman at either end and a conductor in the centre, while four chief officers of the road were personally in charge. Mr. Lincoln, however, appears not to have exercised ordinary prudence, and to have overlooked the circumstance that his special car had no guard-rail. As he was the President of the Boston & Albany Railroad, he might have been assumed to be capable of looking out for himself, and we believe the failure of any official to warn him of his carelessness is explained on the ground that it would have been a breach of "railroad etiquette" to proffer advice to a railway president on his own car; at any rate such a feeling can be easily understood, and there is really no expedient yet invented which in such circumstances can wholly take the place of individual discretion. The "observation train," by the way, was not repeated for the Freshman race yesterday, simply because the grand stand offered ample accommodation to the crowd present, and not because of any conviction that it is an unsafe contrivance.

The exports of domestic products continue very large, and on one day during the week ships leaving New York took out about one million and a quarter bushels of grain, the largest amount ever exported in a single day. A great deal of grain was held back by the "bull speculation" which carried prices so high last winter, but this speculation has broken down, and the full facilities of the railroads and water-ways are now taxed to get the grain to the Atlantic ports. This deferred movement of grain explains in part the unusually heavy tonnage of the railroads, and the weakness of the foreign-exchange market at a time when, if at all this year, it should be strong. Prime bankers' sterling bills were again reduced this week, and rates are now nearer to the gold-importing than to the gold-exporting point. The increase of loanable funds in this market is also notable. The July interest and dividend disbursements are larger than usual, with the exception of those of the Treasury, which pays out less in July than before so large a part of the debt was refunded. The other disbursements of the Treasury during

July will be large to satisfy the pension and other appropriations; so that there is every prospect of a continued easy money market, especially since the banks show a disposition to expand their accommodations and prevent the surplus reserve from getting above $17,000,000 to $18,000,000. At the Stock Exchange the week was broken by the July holidays. Investment securities were strong, but speculation was neither active nor decided in tone until the close, when it became strong. The price of silver bullion in London advanced to 52⅞*d.* per oz.; but here the bullion value of the buzzard dollar closed at about 89 cents ($0.8894).

The Bradlaugh affair has ended in the House of Commons by the adoption as a standing order of a resolution moved by Mr. Gladstone, allowing all elected members to affirm instead of taking the oath. This is what ought to have been done when Bradlaugh first presented himself and objected to the oath, or at least announced that to him it was meaningless, and is what would have been done if the Tories had not hoped in some manner to saddle the Liberals with the shame of him or the responsibility of him. Nobody has gained by the opposition to him but Bradlaugh himself, who now stands higher both with enemies and friends than he ever stood before—with the former because he made an able speech at the bar of the House, and with the latter because he has been figuring as a martyr of freedom of opinion.

Now that the Bradlaugh trouble is over, the British Ministry is face to face with its next difficulty—the Irish Disturbance Bill, as it is called, which is likely to try its strength severely, as it is undoubtedly troubling the minds of many of the English Moderate-Liberals, so much does it bear the appearance of an attack on hitherto untouched rights of property. We have already described its main features. Mr. Gladstone's Land-Tenure Act now in force gives the Irish tenant compensation if a landlord "distraits"—that is, evicts—him from his holding for any cause but non-payment of rent. The present act proposes to treat eviction for non-payment of rent in certain districts as "disturbance" in the eye of the law if the court—a single judge—is satisfied that the non-payment was due to distress. The power this gives the court is very great, and it imposes on some landlords a burden with regard to their tenants which it does not impose on others, and makes some landlords contribute to the relief of distress on a scale far beyond that which others are compelled to contribute, besides diminishing their control over their property at a time when they, too, necessarily find themselves less able than usual to meet their liabilities. The mortgagees of an estate, for instance, or the annuitants holding liens on it under a marriage settlement or a will, will not make concessions to the landlord because he has to make them to the tenants, and there is a good deal of force in the Tory question, Why are not the other creditors of the tenant—the storekeeper and money-lender, for instance—compelled to make him an abatement also on account of his distress? If the bill passes, as it doubtless will, in the Commons at least, it will undoubtedly prove the beginning of much more serious attacks on landed property in Ireland, and cannot but lower its value in the market.

The French Ministry are in hot water over their project of plenary amnesty for the Communists and persons implicated in the Communist insurrection. A large number of these have been already pardoned and allowed to return home, but exception was made of persons accused of what would be in ordinary times violations of the ordinary law—that is, offences other than simple resistance to the troops. As long as there were any unpardoned, however, the agitation about them was kept up, and the amnesty was made a capital question by the Extreme Left of the Chamber, led by Clemenceau. At last the Ministry determined to give way, and brought in their bill for plenary amnesty in the Chamber of Deputies, which was supported by a powerful speech from Gambetta, whose principal argument was that the country was tired of the question, and, much as it detested the Communists, was not afraid of them, and that it was most desirable to get the whole subject out of the way before the next election a year hence. In the Senate, however, the measure has met with unexpected opposition, led by M. Jules Simon, who on this subject, as well as on that of the expulsion of the Jesuits, has separated himself from his Radical brethren. He has denounced the amnesty on the ground that it pardoned murderers and incendiaries, and as he was evidently carrying the Senate with him the Ministry offered an amendment to the original bill giving them discretionary power in the matter instead of amnesty pure and simple. But this, too, was rejected by a majority of twelve, and another amendment, granting amnesty to all except assassins and incendiaries, was passed by a majority of five. This brings the Senate and the Chamber, as well as the Senate and the Ministry, into collision, and the situation would be serious if, as before the last election, the majority in the Senate was Conservative. But as the majority in both houses is Republican a way out of the difficulty will probably be readily found.

The French Government has carried out its threat by expelling the Jesuits from their establishments in France on the day named, June 30. In Paris some of the fathers behaved in a foolish manner by locking themselves in their cells and compelling the police to force the doors, a proceeding which was not necessary to secure evidence of compulsion. A large crowd of young Legitimists was present in the Rue de Sèvres in Paris and hooted the police, and got the fathers' blessing. The Jesuits talk of appealing to the courts, but it is difficult to imagine on what they ground their hopes of success. The decrees are not a Republican invention; they are based on laws long on the statute-book, and whose constitutionality has never been questioned. The notion that there is something illegal about the proceeding apparently grows out of the strong feeling in Legitimist circles that somehow the Republican government has not the same powers as other governments, and is not entitled to the same respect. The extent to which this is unconsciously held even by people in good society who wish well to the Republic, was well illustrated in the Prince of Wales's public reference to the possibility that the late Prince Napoleon might have come to the throne, coupled with the assertion that if he had he would have made a good ruler. The Prince of Wales is usually a model of tact and good manners, and would have instinctively avoided this if Prince Napoleon had been a pretender to a throne then occupied by a sovereign. But as Napoleon was only a conspirator against a Republic the objection to the suggestion did not occur to him. Apropos of this, a resolution is pending in the House of Commons, and is thought likely to be carried, expressing disapproval of the erection of a monument to Prince Napoleon's memory in Westminster Abbey.

After a long conference at Madrid the principal European Powers have for the first time succeeded in making a general convention with the Sultan of Morocco, resembling the Capitulations with the Porte, regulating the position and powers of the foreign consuls, and the rights, privileges, and immunities of the foreigners and other persons protected by them and resident in Morocco. There is nothing in the Treaty sufficiently different from the Capitulations with the Porte to call for remark. It is mainly noteworthy as the first successful attempt to bring Morocco into close and formal relations with the European Powers. The Sultan is now the most perfect specimen of the old Mahometan despot remaining. He has no ministers or cabinet, not even a vizir. His family has occupied the throne for three centuries, and he says he is a *sherif*, or descendant of the Prophet, which is doubtful, but for obvious reasons has never been disputed in Morocco. He claims the position of Caliph of the West and assigns to the Turkish Sultan that of Caliph of the East only, and as his subjects are almost all Mussulmans, and the remainder Jews, he has a much happier time, from the Mussulman point of view, than his Turkish brother. His people are ferociously fanatical, especially towards Spaniards, but the country being very rich in natural resources, and the English, Spanish, and French traders eager to get at it, and the security for foreigners hitherto very small, the establishment of consuls with regulated powers in the chief towns is an important matter. England has now most of the trade, and has the handling of a considerable portion of the customs duties as security for an advance made to pay the Spanish indemnity after the war of 1860. The Sultan's internal revenue has been estimated at $3,000,000; but this is very doubtful, as there is no regular system of taxation. The usual plan of replenishing the treasury is to lay hold of anybody who is believed to have a little money, and chastise him with a stick until he agrees to contribute of his means to his sovereign's necessities.

GENERAL GARFIELD AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

THE course of President Hayes towards civil-service reform, after being elected on a platform in which a leading plank was devoted to it, and after writing a letter of acceptance in which it was the most prominent feature, we presume must always now remain a mystery. Nobody is competent to explain it but himself, and no explanation of it is likely to come from him. The only defence offered for him by his friends is, that his Cabinet was divided upon the question, only one of them, Mr. Schurz, caring anything about it, the others being indifferent or hostile. To this there is the ready reply, that Mr. Hayes's Cabinet was not dropped down on him from the sky; he selected it himself, and if civil-service reform had in his mind the importance he seemed to assign to it in his letter, he ought to have selected a cabinet which would co-operate in carrying out his views on the subject. We are bound to suppose that he gave more attention to the subject in his letter than on further consideration he thought it really merited, for the sake of conciliating the Independents, whose support was not at first certain; and that having put them in good humor, he, to a great extent, dismissed the subject from his mind, in the feeling that the bulk of the party would never hold him to a very strict accountability about it. This is a more charitable hypothesis than that of the Stalwarts and Democrats, who used to maintain that the necessity under which he found himself of rewarding the Southern counters and "workers," to whom he was indebted for his election, forced him into using the public patronage at the very outset of his administration in a way which would have made any subsequent display of zeal for reform seem insincere and ill-timed. At any rate, whatever the reason of his course, the fact remains that, after making all allowance for the improvement which he undoubtedly has made in the mode of manning the New York Custom-house, so far from having done anything to increase the hold of civil-service reform on the minds of the men most active in politics, or give it the appearance of a coming question, he allowed it to assume, when the Chicago Convention met, the appearance of an exploded whimsy, which it would be not only safe but expedient to ignore utterly in concocting a new platform. But for the persistence of the Massachusetts delegation it would have received no notice from the Convention whatever. But the fact that the Convention was afraid to refuse formally to consider it, and was compelled to give it a place in the platform, showed that the majority were by no means sure that it did not still retain more or less hold on the popular mind, and that their action with regard to it would not influence a good many votes.

Beyond this the plank which was accorded to it can hardly be said to have much importance. It will bind nobody to anything. It will not of itself lead to any legislation. It will probably receive little notice on the stump from the ordinary politicians; although Mr. Boutwell's taking it up at Lowell the other day would seem to indicate that even this class were beginning to think it well to mention it. Congressmen, as a general rule, cannot afford to be very active or outspoken about it. Most of them owe their seats, and think they owe their continuance in public life, to the system which civil-service reform seeks to overthrow. If they declaim against the management of caucuses and conventions by office-holders they are very apt to fall foul of their own best friends and most indispensable supporters. There are, in fact, but few Congressmen to-day who can well afford to take this subject up without considerable risk to their own fortunes, until it is forced on them by public opinion. That public opinion—that is, the opinion of the main body of either party—is not very much excited about it, there is no question. That it is bestowing more and more attention on it we think is undoubtedly true; but the principal reason why party conventions take any notice of it is that the Independents—or the small body who in close States turn the scale at elections—are believed to have it much at heart. The policy which most politicians, therefore, have marked out for themselves to-day with regard to it is to say about it before elections whatever seems necessary to placate this class, but when the election is over to do nothing about it whatever.

The comparatively small amount of interest which the subject has thus far excited in the popular mind is, we believe, due to want of belief in the practicability of reform as desired by its friends. There is hardly an intelligent voter in either party, not directly connected with the Machine, who would not admit that Government business ought to be conducted like private business; that efficiency in the Government service, like efficiency in private service, calls for selection for merit and knowledge, and retention during good behavior; that it is dishonest for a man who is drawing a salary from taxes contributed by the whole people, for work due to the whole people, to devote a part of the time he is paid for to working for one party only; that it is fatal to discipline and mutual confidence for subordinates to denounce on the stump candidates whom the election may convert into their official superiors, or to work on the stump for official superiors whose duty it is to criticise their official work. Nobody denies these things. Few deny that the conversion of public servants into party electioneering agents is a fertile source of corruption both for the public service and for public men. What prevents all these considerations going to form a weighty party issue is the widespread belief that no improvement is possible, that the present state of things is one of the unavoidable accompaniments of democratic government, and that we must learn to put up with it, and grow and prosper and be happy in spite of it. The very first thing to be done, therefore, to rouse public interest, is to show people that the reform is possible, and that men in high places, charged with the conduct of important branches of the Government, believe that it is. No officer can do so much to show this as the President. He holds, directly or indirectly, the control of the whole army of civil servants. He knows exactly what the difficulties are in the way of improvement. He knows the extent of the mischief worked by the present system, and he understands the influences by which it is maintained and defended. Any show of real zeal in behalf of change on his part would rouse popular interest as nothing else would. If every appointment he made was plainly made with an eye to efficiency and could be explained as being so made; if he rigidly refrained from dividing the appointing power with Congressmen, even at the risk of some obstruction in other things; if, in short, he made it clear that he was aiming at the efficiency of *the whole* service, he might fall far short of his ideal, and might array Congress for a time against him, but he would rouse the public in favor of what every American understands—a business government doing its work on business principles; and if the public were roused, Congress would not resist for one session.

If General Garfield has civil-service reform at heart, we trust he will make this fact known in his letter of acceptance. He cannot make it known more clearly than by using the language which President Hayes used in his letter. But if he does not mean, if elected, to live up to his creed, and to be willing to suffer inconvenience and bear obloquy on account of it, we trust he will make no allusion to it in his letter. He will have among his supporters a good many men who believe civil-service reform to be *the* great question of American politics to-day, and who believe the stability of the present form of government to be dependent on some early action in the direction of such reform. Whether he does or does not share the views of these men (and we believe he shares them), he owes it to them not to bring ridicule on the cause they have at heart by empty approval of it, or by making promises with regard to it which he does not seriously intend to keep. The presence of General Arthur on the ticket only makes it the more necessary that the assurances of the Presidential candidate, with regard to the abuses with which General Arthur has been so long identified, should be clear and emphatic. Those who have this reform at heart are necessary to Republican success, and this time they are entitled to something more substantial than fair words.

THE RESURRECTION OF GREECE.

THE Gladstone Ministry has more than fulfilled its promises with regard to Greece by bringing to pass the Conference which has just traced a frontier line, considerably in advance of that recommended by the Congress of Berlin, which the Turks have thus far successfully avoided yielding, and not far short of the utmost extent of Greek expectations. In fact, it hardly falls short of them except in refusing enough coast-line on the mainland to give Greece the full command of the Straits of Corfu. Of course the transaction is not yet completed. The Conference has directed Turkey in somewhat peremptory fashion

to accept its decision, but it has made no provision for the contingency of Turkey's refusing to obey. In the ordinary course of things it would be the duty and privilege of the Power to which territory was awarded by European concert to march in and take it, as Austria did in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but Greece is not in a position to do anything of the kind. Even if she had the men and money to contend successfully with Turkey on land—which is doubtful—she could not afford to expose her coasts to bombardment by the Turkish ironclads. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary, in order to give her any chance at all of asserting her rights on land, that she should receive some assistance at sea, and if the report be true that an Anglo-French fleet has been ordered to the Ægean it would seem as if it had been determined at least to give her an opportunity of showing her capacity on shore. Turkey calculates evidently, and not without reason, on the reluctance of all the Powers to see any more fighting within the limits of the Empire. Austria has had enough of it in Bosnia and is not yet ready to advance any further south, and the other Powers know that if Turkey gets involved in another armed conflict it will probably be the signal for risings in various quarters—Rumelia, Syria, and Arabia, for instance—which might lead to a total break-up of the Empire, and force on Europe the exceedingly delicate and dangerous task of making some disposition of the débris.

Nevertheless, however great the difficulties in the way of the execution of the decree of the Conference—for decree it really is—may seem, there can be no question that it will, before long, be executed somehow. Either the Turks will abandon all resistance to it, or the Powers will protect the Greeks in carrying it out, and when carried out Greece will be at last in the position in which the Allies ought to have placed her at the close of the War of Independence in 1828. She was then sacrificed to that same Western jealousy of Russia and dread of the overthrow of Turkey of which the late Beaconsfield Ministry made itself the exponent between 1876 and the late election. When the war closed in 1829 the representatives of England, France, and Russia, by an agreement embodied in a protocol, recognized Greece as a semi-independent state, paying tribute to the Sultan; but when forced by Russian successes to go further, Lord Aberdeen insisted that the acknowledgment of complete independence in 1832, on payment of an indemnity, should be attended by a diminution of territory. The line finally settled on was a better one, but was suggested mainly by the limits of the theatre of military operations. It left under Turkish domination large districts inhabited mainly, or almost exclusively, by Greeks, simply because there had been little or no fighting in them. These, too, were among the most fertile and valuable; for irregular troops, such as those with which the Greeks carried on the conflict, are generally compelled to cling to the mountains, and a government dependent on them is therefore apt to fare badly if the *uti possidetis* rule is adopted as the basis of peace. The result was that Greece came out of the struggle, not only with a very small and unproductive territory, but a territory almost literally drenched in blood and covered with ruins. The war had been as ferocious as any in history, had spared nothing that men value, and had lasted ten years. On this little patch of wretched land, off which a third of the population had perished, the allies founded a kingdom, and clapped on it a public debt of $15,000,000 by guaranteeing bonds, and of this nearly $2,500,000 was paid to the Sultan by way of indemnity. It is true the debt thus contracted did not burden the Greeks, for they took little notice of it, but their failure to make any provision for it long discredited them in the money markets of the world. Unfortunately, too, the war of independence produced no leader of first-rate capacity, and the period between the first deliverance from Turkish rule and the establishment of the kingdom was passed under the dictatorship of Capodistrias, a man trained in Russia and ignorant of any but Russian methods of Government. King Otho, the Bavarian, to whom the allies gave the throne in 1833, ruled also for ten years, not only as a despot, but as a despot whose agents were all foreigners. His ministers were Bavarians and he had a Bavarian army, and his laws were really the dicta of the Bavarian lawyers who formed his council. One of these dicta was that the new king had succeeded to all the Sultan's rights, and the Government was really administered as if he had. He was compelled by a popular revolution to get rid of the Bavarians in 1843, and he then promised to govern constitutionally, but he did not keep his promise, and was finally expelled in 1862. The throne, after much king-seeking, was then offered to and accepted by a son of the King of Denmark and brother of the Princess of Wales, who has recently been travelling about Europe seeking support for his adopted country in its controversy with Turkey.

It may be said, therefore, that Greece has, since the foundation of the kingdom in 1833, labored under the immense disadvantages of being confined to a small and poor territory, containing only a portion of the Greek race, and offering no inducements to the rest of the Greeks to come and settle in it, and of being not only badly governed but governed by a monarch who remained essentially foreign in his ideas and methods. The Greeks have, it is true, made enormous progress since then. Their advance in civilization has, in fact, been very great indeed, and is only underrated by those who do not know or do not choose to recall what the condition of the country was under Turkish rule. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the Greeks have not gained in the public opinion of Europe as they have become more known. They have not retained the sympathy, or even a respectable portion of the sympathy, which was lavished on them when they came out of the war of independence. The reasons of this are various, and they are by no means all discreditable. The Greeks are unquestionably one of the two markedly and pre-eminently able—that is, intellectually acute and versatile—races of the world, the other being the Jews; and both are disliked for very much the same reason. The more energetic and ambitious Greeks have been ever since the fall of Constantinople compelled to seek their fortune by subserviency to the Turks, and by diligent practice of the arts of chicane and corruption. In fact, it was only by bribing or bamboozling the Turks that they could obtain either office or power, or even personal security. With the aid of these they were enabled for nearly three centuries to secure a considerable and very profitable share in the administration of the Ottoman Empire, but we need hardly say that they could not secure it by these means without great damage to character and reputation. Then, too, the insecurity of all country districts under Turkish rule early gave the more enterprising Greeks a drift to the towns, and the narrowness of the commercial and industrial horizon in the Greek towns again sent the bolder Greek youth abroad to the great ports and manufacturing centres of France, England, and Germany, in which they have achieved great success. Moreover, the race has preserved the talent of making money and "operating" for which it was remarkable in the days of Ulysses, so that it is now, we believe, accepted as a sound business maxim in most parts of Europe that nobody but a Jew has much chance against a Greek competitor, though in the Levant much less confidence is felt in the Jew's powers in such a struggle, and it is there a common saying that a Greek is a match for any two Jews. However this may be, it is certain that the Greek has a genius for trade, and that it covers a much wider range than the Jew's. The Jew is apt to stick to banking and stockholding, but the Greek, while fully able to hold his own in these fields, also shines in foreign commerce and shipowning. He is as ready for great ventures as the Englishman or American, and is as painstaking and industrious and as good a linguist as the German. In fact, there is nothing the Greeks have had a chance to try within the last half-century in which they have not given unmistakable evidence of being one of the great races of the world even now, and have not qualified themselves to disregard the most ponderous demonstrations that they are not descended from the countrymen of Themistocles and Pericles, but are a mongrel herd, left behind by the great mingling of the peoples which accompanied the slow decline of the Eastern Empire.

That such a race should have no country behind to receive its allegiance and grow great in its triumphs has always been a greater mortification for the Greeks than for the Jews, because their religion does not furnish them, as it furnishes the Jews, with a great political history and with claims on the respect and interest of the Christian world, which the most rabid Christian despiser of the Jews can never wholly cease to respect. In fact, there is, perhaps, no race in the world to-day which has greater need of a country to bring out its full powers, or which would work more devotedly for a country's fame than the Greek. This very exuberance of vitality has, however, been somewhat injurious to the little kingdom of which Athens is the capital, by concentrating in it far more brain and mental activity than it has use for. There is enough political fuss and heat and turmoil, and enough schools and colleges, and, above all, enough newspapers and "editorial"

writing, at Athens to supply the wants of the Eastern Empire, if it were revived. In fact, the Greek politicians have got into the way of talking and thinking as if they were in possession of Byzantium, and the Turks were still roving on the steppes of Central Asia. The result, when observed at a distance by those who only know of the Greek Kingdom that it is about two-fifths of the size of New York, and has considerably less than half the population, is somewhat ridiculous. But with the enlargement of the kingdom, and the quickened activity in every field which must come from increased material resources, and from the political hopefulness bred by additional territory and population, there is hardly a doubt that immigration from Turkey into Greece proper will become very rapid, and that the number of rich Greeks who, having made fortunes abroad, will retire to Athens or other Greek cities to spend them will be very large, and the development of every branch of industry very great, and the Greek race make itself felt as a positive and brilliant addition to the forces of civilization. The Greeks have in their scenery alone a mine of wealth, and they will now, we may be very sure, find it out rapidly and act on the discovery. The enormous sum which the thrifty Swiss extract every year from travellers by simply keeping up good roads and keeping them clear of robbers, not improbably falls much below what the Greeks might pocket if tourists could wander through their far more famous valleys with the same sense of security. We have little doubt the end of the century will witness this consummation, and that "Sunium's marble steep" will be a place on which wanderers of both sexes from the farthest West will sing the Old Hundred and become engaged on moonlight evenings, no brigands daring to interrupt them.

THE COLLEGE BOAT-RACE.

New London, July 1, 1880.

TO any one who had been in New London last year and the year before, it was obvious this morning that the public interest in the Harvard-Yale race had greatly diminished. The crowd had fallen off, and though the race was generally expected to be a close one, there was not nearly the excitement over it that had prevailed either in 1878 or 1879. The three successive defeats of Yale had had the natural effect of dampening the enthusiasm of the partisans of that college, while the monotonous success of Harvard had had the evil consequence of creating a languid indifference to the result on the part of Harvard men.

The arrangements for seeing the race were even better than before. The "moving grand stand," instead of being moved up the course long before the start, reached Bartlett Point almost exactly as the two crews came up to the starting-boats. There was no tedious waiting in the hot sun; the word was given, and the crews were off. The start was a good one—so good that it was difficult to make out which boat had the best of it, though Yale appeared to lead slightly. There was barely time for a spectator to assure himself of this when Yale suddenly stopped rowing, and one of the crew held up an oar, showing that either his rowlock or his oar was broken. To those on the cars this seemed to be the end of the race, as, under the usual rules, the start having been a fair one, there was nothing for Harvard to do in order to win but to row over the course. At first this appeared to be the view taken of the matter by the Harvard captain; his crew continued to row down the course, followed along the shore by the moving grand stand, which was, however, soon cut off from all view of the water by the intervening bluffs. It was at this point that the distressing accident occurred which cost two of the spectators their lives. Whether this disaster might have been avoided or not it is probably idle to speculate; but it is perfectly safe to say that there is always considerable danger of such accidents, for, although the train never moves very fast, it frequently stops and as frequently starts, while the passengers during a great part of the time they are in the cars are in an excited state which causes them wholly to forget that, if they stand up to see what is going on, a jolt may easily pitch them headlong out.

The accident, and the fear that the race would not be rowed out, created a great feeling of depression among the crowd on the train, which was not decreased by the fact that for a long time it was entirely impossible to find out what had actually happened, or whether the train itself was in a condition to be moved down the track even if the umpire should decide that the race must still be rowed. After a considerable lapse of time, however, it was definitely ascertained that under a new rule the umpire had decided that Harvard could not claim the race, but that the boats must start again. This decision was most fortunate for the interests of rowing at New London.

The second start was more in favor of Harvard than the first. For the first mile the race was a good one, but after that it somewhat resembled the race of last year, with the positions of the boats reversed. In other words, Yale steadily drew away from Harvard, increasing her lead from the first-mile flags to the finish, coming in, according to the official time, nearly three-quarters of a minute ahead. There is really only one explanation to be given of the result: the Harvard crew was fairly outrowed. On technical points there may be great room for differences of opinion. Yale, I was informed on very good authority this morning, had resorted to several little devices which may or may not have conduced to her victory. Her oars, for instance, were considerably shorter than Harvard's, the object being to get a greater number of strokes in the same space of time. Again, her stroke was shorter and less "swingy" than Harvard's. It was also less uniform; the boat from the start presented a more "ragged" appearance. On the whole, the "form" of the Harvard crew was almost identically the same with the "form" of last year's crew, and was superior at all points to that of Yale. But that was all. The "form" remained, but everything else had gone. Only two of the old Harvard crew were in the boat, and the new men were not up to their work. It is one of the disputed points in rowing whether it is better that an eight-oared crew should be very heavy or only of medium weight. However this may be, the Yale crew this year was the heavier, as the Harvard crew was last year.

The time, it will be seen, is not remarkable. But four-mile races have not been rowed long enough on the same waters in the United States to furnish a normal standard by which to judge of time; and, besides this, the tide at New London will always make comparisons difficult. There have now been five of these races, two at Springfield and three at New London. Of these Harvard has won three and Yale two. Undoubtedly the most interesting technical point mooted at present is, which college has the true stroke, or whether there is any such thing as a true stroke. To any one who witnessed the extraordinary results of the monstrous intercollegiate regattas at Saratoga, in which there were as many different kinds of strokes as there were colleges, and in which it was by no means the best "form" that won, it might perhaps be permitted to be sceptical as to there being any such thing as a correct stroke. Nevertheless, if tradition is worth anything, the Harvard stroke ought to be better in the long run than such a stroke as Yale rowed this afternoon. There are one or two facts which confirm this belief. In 1878 the Harvard time was 20.44. In 1879 the official time was 22.15; but it is understood among boating men that this was wrong, the actual time having been a minute better, or 21.15. Considering that during the era of three-mile courses eighteen minutes, or anything less, was considered extraordinary time, it cannot be disputed that 20.44 and 21.15 at New London for a four-mile course look very much as if the results of the gradual process by which the present Harvard stroke had been "evolved," ought not to be abandoned heedlessly. Allowing for the wind and tide, it can hardly be doubted that the Harvard crew of last year, had they been in the boat this year, would have won the race, or, in other words, that the crews being equal (for the Yale crew of this year can only be compared with the Harvard crew of last), the Harvard stroke would have won. It will probably require a few more races to settle the matter one way or the other, unless Yale adopts the Harvard stroke, which after this year's race she is hardly likely to do. All this is not said for the purpose of belittling Yale's victory. It was a fair race, fairly rowed and fairly won, and no one who saw it could doubt that had it been rowed a dozen times the result would have been the same.

Admirable as are the arrangements for seeing the race at New London, there is one serious drawback to this annual regatta, and that is, that there is not enough of it. To see it at all, for New-Yorkers or Bostonians, twenty-four hours at least have to be given up, and for the devotion of so much time the "event" is a very brief one. If some other races could be had at the same time the interest would be greatly increased. Of course, the difficulty about this is the uncertainty of the water; but there is always this difficulty, and it would be, at any rate, worth trying. While it would be a mistake to think of going back to the confusion of the intercollegiate regatta system, it would certainly greatly add to the attractions of the annual university racing at New London if it lasted longer and embraced more "events."

A MONTH OF BLUNDERS.

London, Saturday, June 19.

LORD BYRON wondered how the first married couple got through the first twenty-four hours in Paradise, and the successors of Adam and Eve have sometimes expressed a retrospective astonishment at the fact that somehow or other they got through the much longer period of the honeymoon. They are disposed to say with Heine, "I have endured, but ask me not how." A similar difficulty exists in the beginning of many other alliances. The first month of a new ministry meeting a new parliament is a month of trial, and

very frequently of failure. There are little misunderstandings, tiffs, strained relations, until the matrimonial fetters begin to wear easily. Mr. Gladstone has now had a month's experience of the new Parliament, and the new Parliament, by necessary consequence, has had a month's experience of Mr. Gladstone and his administration. "Unbroken happiness" is not, perhaps, a phrase which would best express their mutual relations. They have not yet, perhaps, learned to understand each other quite thoroughly, or to apply that principle of give and take which is one of the most necessary and at the same time one of the most difficult lessons of human life. The new Parliament is not only in a certain sense strange to Mr. Gladstone, but is also strange to the House of Commons. A large number of members enter that assembly for the first time, and their involuntary breaches of order, such as passing between the Speaker and the member who is addressing the House from the first or second benches—the third bench is supposed to be visible by the Speaker over the heads of interposing members; turning their backs upon him as they go out without the preliminary removal of the hat; referring to their colleagues by name and not by reference to the constituencies which they represent,—these and other solecisms have created those indignant and abused cries of "Order" which from time to time resound through the House. The offending member is generally in a state of calm self-possession, wondering who it is that has done something wrong, but not in the slightest degree aware that he is the sinner; or else he is terrified out of his life, having a misgiving that he has erred, but not having the remotest comprehension how or when. The inexperience of a large portion of the new House makes it difficult to deal with. Inexperience certainly cannot be attributed to Mr. Gladstone, but he has known comparatively little of the House of Commons for the past half-dozen years. He was only a casual visitor to it, and more or less an indifferent observer of it, during the greater part of Lord Beaconsfield's administration. He had not to manage the proceedings of any section of it while he was in temporary retirement from the functions of leader of the Opposition. But the House of Commons is not to be known merely by looking at it now and then. The art of managing it can be acquired only by managing, just as there is no learning to swim except by getting into the water, and no learning to ride otherwise than on horseback. Since 1874 a new element of disorder has been introduced into the House of Commons in the shape of the Irish members who claim Mr. Parnell as their chief, or dispute the Parliamentary leadership of what now claims to be a third party with him. Mr. Gladstone has, therefore, since his resumption of office had to deal with conditions new even to his large knowledge and varied experience. It cannot be said that he is handling them altogether successfully, but he has made no mistakes which are irretrievable, and he will probably learn something even from his own blunders. Mr. Gladstone is not merely like the hero of Mr. Browning's poem, "ever a fighter"; he is also always a learner, and it is quite probable that the disturbed honeymoon of his new political marriage will be succeeded by months and years of sober happiness.

It is certain that more than a usual amount of mistakes to which an incoming administration is liable have been committed, some of them by Mr. Gladstone personally and others by his colleagues. It is a moral certainty that immediately after the formation of a new Government one of its members will commit an appalling indiscretion, and it is an interesting question for cool observers to speculate upon whom the lot will fall. Mr. Fawcett was the victim of destiny in this instance. His first speech to his constituents, after his acceptance of office as Postmaster-General, contained a reference to a supposed despatch upon the Indian deficit, incriminating the late Ministry, and unhappily for him no such despatch existed. Mr. Fawcett had next day to write a letter to the newspapers admitting his error. He had not learned the art of holding his tongue and waiting to be assured by physical evidence of the truth of allegations of which he was morally convinced. The late Government were as wrong as Mr. Fawcett supposed them to be, but the particular proof of guilt did not exist, and false evidence for a true accusation is for a moment supposed to acquit the persons incriminated of the guilt which is really theirs. Mr. Fawcett was not long left alone as a ministerial blunderer. Mr. Gladstone soon proceeded to keep him company. His letter to Count Karolyi, the Austrian ambassador; his refusal to recall Sir Bartle Frere; his appointment of Lord Ripon and Lord Kenmare to offices for which their qualities did not in any very striking manner designate them, and his recent attempt to silence Mr. O'Donnell by moving that he be not heard—all these things were instances of that want of tactical perception which mars the effect of Mr. Gladstone's really great and noble qualities of mind and character.

The old Latin line which says that no divinity can help you if you have not prudence, applies to Mr. Gladstone's character and career. In all the mistakes which he has committed since his accession to office he was right in principle, but wrong in the manner and occasion on which he gave effect to principle. It was proper that he should convey to the Austrian ambassador an assurance which would heal the unhappy irritation that one of his Midlothian speeches had created in the mind of the Emperor Francis Joseph, his ministers and his people. But the manner in which the expression of regret was communicated was somewhat too humble, not to say abject. Mr. Gladstone seems to revel in apologies. He has apparently a sense of Christian virtue in making confession that he has erred. He likes his penitence to be conspicuous. It pleases him to walk abroad, metaphorically speaking, with bare feet, in a white sheet, and with a lighted taper in his hand. But this temper of mind is not that of the English people, and they do not like to be placed by their Prime Minister, or to see him placing himself, in a too humble and contrite attitude towards foreign Powers. With regard to Sir Bartle Frere, there is even less excuse to be made for Mr. Gladstone, but there is still some. He is almost always under the domination of one leading idea. When he was out of office it was the necessity of overthrowing Lord Beaconsfield's Government, of preventing the development of their policy, and of transferring the conduct of affairs at home and abroad to other hands. Now that he is in office the old official sense returns to him. It is the maxim of English administration that each successive Government inherits the obligations and must respect the results achieved by its predecessor; otherwise a change of ministry would be a little revolution, and each cabinet would be occupied simply in undoing what the cabinet that went before it had done. Instead of steady progress there would be a series of shocks and jolts, and the parliamentary train would be either thrown off the lines or shunted in the wrong direction. The sense which Mr. Gladstone has very strongly in office, of maintaining the continuity of policy and of administration, is a sound one. But he has exaggerated it in a degree incompatible with thoroughly rectifying what he proclaimed to be wrong in the conduct of Lord Beaconsfield's Government and with his own personal consistency. As regards Mr. O'Donnell, certainly it was very desirable that his attack upon the newly-appointed French ambassador to England should not be tolerated within the walls of Parliament. It was desirable, in the interests of decency and in that of a good understanding with France, that he should be put to silence. But in such questions as that which occupied Parliament on Monday night and up to an early hour on Tuesday morning there is only a balance between evils. It would certainly have been better that Mr. O'Donnell should have been allowed to make a speech politically indecent in the highest degree than that the Prime Minister should move that a member not ruled by the Speaker to be out of order be not heard. Such a motion as this, if carried, would be a precedent fatal to freedom of speech. It is a grave evil that it should have been moved, and that it should have been put from the chair. It is impossible to say that a case cannot occur in which the conduct and character of a foreign ambassador may not be a fit and necessary topic of discussion in the House of Commons. If a man were appointed to represent any foreign court here whom it would be a scandal for the Queen to receive, or who might be suspected of engaging in intrigues against the country to which he was accredited, the House of Commons would be more than justified in entertaining a motion on the subject. It would be bound to investigate the matter. But then the question should be treated as involving a vote of censure upon the Ministry for receiving as the representative of a foreign country a man inadmissible at court or in society, or whose presence might be dangerous to the country. To discuss the private conduct or the personal antecedents of a foreign ambassador, in and for themselves, is an impertinence both in the etymological and the conventional sense of the word. Unfortunately, this consideration did not occur to the Speaker of the House of Commons early enough. If it had been present to his mind he would doubtless have disallowed on Monday the question which he unfortunately permitted Mr. O'Donnell to put upon the paper, and to address to Sir Charles Dilke. On Thursday, when Mr. O'Donnell proposed to repeat his offence, he was met in a proper manner. The Speaker stated that the questions which Mr. O'Donnell wished to ask, but which he would not allow to appear on the notice-paper of the House, were rejected by him on the ground that they referred to matters beyond the cognizance of the House itself, or of the Queen's Government. If this principle had been acted on on the earlier day the Speaker would have avoided falling into a serious mistake himself, and would not have given occasion to the impulsive motion which Mr. Gladstone proposed for putting a member of the House to silence. This motion was afterwards withdrawn, but it had been submitted to the House, and is now recorded in its journals, where it remains a dangerous precedent for a despotic minister commanding a large majority.

In the appointment of Lord Ripon and Lord Kenmare Mr. Gladstone was honorably anxious to show that the disabilities of Roman Catholics were not merely removed in law, but that they had ceased in fact. His own strong theological feelings are well known, yet he was the first prime minister who appointed a Jew to be a law-officer of the Crown, and afterwards to occupy one of

the highest seats upon the judicial bench. If Lord Ripon had been a statesman of the highest rank, instead of a statesman who has filled high places without any particular distinction, his Roman Catholicism ought not to have weighed against him. But the fact is that to the majority of the English people he is known chiefly as a 'vert—that is to say, a *con*vert or a *per*vert, according as the religious inclinations of the person using the monosyllable may mentally supply the omitted prefix. Lord Kenmare is not known to the public at all except as a Roman Catholic. Though they were really appointed, the former to be Governor-General of India, the latter to be Lord Chamberlain, in spite of their being Roman Catholics, a large section of the public will have it that they were appointed because they were Roman Catholics. It was certainly desirable that a protest against the intolerance of Exeter Hall, Lord Shaftesbury, and the *Record* should be made. Mr. Gladstone has generously and at some sacrifice to popularity made it. It is to be regretted that, in the selection of persons and offices by which this confession of absolute religious equality was set forth, there should have been something of his too frequent failure in tact and in perception of character.

It is probable that Mr. Gladstone will commit a good many mistakes during his term of office similar in character to those of which I have spoken. They are in the nature of the man. They are a part of that weakness in him which is closely allied to the sources of his noblest strength. He is full of generous impulses which are not always consistent with each other, or with reason and prudence. He wished to shield an absent man in the case of M. Challemel-Lacour from an ungenerous and unmanly attack, and for a moment he did not perceive what he probably saw five minutes afterwards, that he was endangering for a passing accidental exigency the permanent privilege of freedom of speech in Parliament. He was desirous of showing that he did not wish violently to overthrow all that had been done by the late Government, and that he had no vindictive feeling to the men who were the instruments or authors of their policy. He therefore resolved to maintain Sir Bartle Frere at the Cape, although he himself and all the members of his Cabinet, with the accidental exception of the Duke of Argyll, who was not at the time in England, had when in Opposition spoken and voted for Sir Bartle's recall. He wished to allay angry feeling in Austria, and by a too-diffusive apology he succeeded in raising resentment in England. Mr. Gladstone understands the House of Commons when he is in the act of addressing it. In his character of orator he knows it as an audience. He can evoke, and respond to, and play upon its feelings, or appeal to its reason, with the nicest perception of its changing moods. But this is only while he is on his legs. When he resumes his seat or before he rises he seems to have no understanding of it at all. To him it is a group of men like any other. The sense which Lord Palmerston had in a very high degree, and which Lord Beaconsfield possessed in an equally signal manner, of permanent currents of feeling seems to be wholly wanting to Mr. Gladstone. This lack of perception prevents his being a consummate parliamentary leader. It ensures his making from time to time a vast number of mistakes which delight his enemies, which mortify his friends, and which scandalize old politicians in the House itself and in the clubs. He has not the art of abating the friction and allaying the heats of parliamentary conflict. But though by no means a consummate, or even in the whip's sense an ordinarily good, parliamentary leader, Mr. Gladstone remains the greatest parliamentary statesman of his generation. The qualities which have enabled him to achieve the almost unparalleled legislative work he has accomplished—unparalleled in its quality as well as in its amount—are made more conspicuous by his almost ludicrous defectiveness in the art of managing men individually and in groups. Without the instruments which smaller men found indispensable to the accomplishment of smaller labors he has done a great work—a work which there is no reason to think is yet finished. The past month has been spent in a rather copious sowing of wild oats, and it may be hoped that that business has been pretty well done. Rather it might be proper to say, while Mr. Gladstone has been sowing wheat the enemy who lies hid in the infirmities of his own noble and upright character has been sowing tares. It is to be hoped that the wheat will choke out the tares, and that there will be an ample harvest of good grain. †††

FRENCH AFFAIRS.

PARIS, June 22.

THE session of the French Chambers continues laboriously. Most of the sittings have been devoted to subjects of commercial policy and military organization, except the time lost in idle interpellations, whose only aim is to create scandal. The Bonapartist deputies are past-masters in this art. The most audacious among them is M. Paul de Cassagnac. The other day, about some unimportant events that had occurred during the excitement of an electioneering contest, in which, however, his brother had come off victorious, he again lavished insult on the Republican Government by comparing it to an encampment of gypsies pillaging and devastating the country. Nothing can express the arrogance of his manner in the tribune. He assumes the attitude of a prizefighter, turning up his sleeves. Having no real talent for argument he substitutes invective for discussion, addressing himself by turns to the President of the Chamber, the ministers, and the deputies of the majority. He has only one oratorical mode of proceeding—that is, to hit out at random. One feels that the sword's point lies beneath his harangue; a practised duellist, he is always ready to provoke his adversaries. His newspaper, the *Pays*, is now pre-eminently foremost in insulting the Government. He does not recoil from any outrage, and the very day of M. Thiers's death M. Paul de Cassagnac declared himself ready to dance over the grave. This violence does not hinder him from setting up to be the defender of the Church, and his language is never more abusive than when he pretends to espouse the holy cause. For this reason in particular he strenuously opposes Prince Napoleon, who, since the unfortunate death of his cousin, is the leader of the Bonapartist party. It is well known that the Prince is hostile to clericalism, and is a partisan of the decrees of March 29 against the non-authorized confraternities. Since then he has been overwhelmed with insult from M. Paul de Cassagnac, who contributes more than any one to embitter the divisions of the Bonapartists. In his violent way he has recently entered upon an animated polemic with M. Émile Ollivier, former President of the Council at the time the war of 1870 was declared. The two adversaries mutually taxed each other with the criminal folly of declaring war. "It is you who urged it on, through your paper," said the former minister to M. Paul de Cassagnac. "You," answered the latter, "deceived the country and made France believe herself ready for this terrible war; you are guilty by your incapacity and lies." Alas! both are right, and the country must dismiss them together. The divisions of the Bonapartists are manifested on all occasions. When there was a question of holding a religious service in memory of the young Prince Imperial's death, the Jeromists had a Mass apart. Their opponents hastened to celebrate another, which they termed the only right one. It may be inferred they prayed against each other, if hatred can be called a prayer. It is important to point out these dissensions, for they form an important incident in our present politics, and one which is greatly to the benefit of our institutions.

M. Léon Say's election to the presidency of the Senate, and the appointment of M. Challemel-Lacour in his place as ambassador to London, have been warmly discussed by the press. M. Léon Say had scarcely arrived in London when the resignation of the former president, M. Martel, induced him to put himself forward as one of the candidates. His party also desired the place for him, and it must be admitted he is perfectly qualified to fill it. Grandson of the famous economist Say, possessed of a large fortune, he belongs to that rich, liberal bourgeoisie which was the chief prop of Louis Philippe's monarchy. After our misfortunes in 1870 he immediately joined M. Thiers's political party, which he served as Prefect of the Seine. Subsequently, as Minister of Finance, he displayed rare qualities as a financier. A good speaker, of an easy temper, possessing the manners of a perfect gentleman, devoid of passion but not without conviction, he has all that is needful in order to be an excellent president. His nomination was particularly agreeable to M. Gambetta, who feared above everything the election of M. Jules Simon to this post. M. Jules Simon is his personal enemy, and with marvellous cleverness he follows a policy entirely opposed to M. Gambetta's. M. Challemel-Lacour's appointment as ambassador to London caused our old governmental aristocracy to utter loud cries, as they have always regarded these high diplomatic posts as their monopoly. In place of such men as the Duc de Broglie or the Marquis d'Harcourt, it seems scandalous to them to send as ambassador to London a mere bourgeois, a former college professor, who, during the Empire, was compelled to live by literary work; who is, besides, a decided republican, and not likely to speak in a jesting tone of popular government at foreign courts. M. Challemel-Lacour's literary works are distinguished by their rare merit, and reveal a perfect knowledge of the country where he is going to represent France. He was Prefect of Lyons during the most terrible circumstances at the time of the war, and, in spite of odious calumny, he did all that was possible to maintain order at that moment of great exasperation, and showed himself to be one of our foremost political orators. His speech, cold and brilliant as steel, transfixes his adversaries by an irresistible logic; his face is fine and intellectual and his manners distinguished. The English aristocracy has too much good sense not to welcome this eminent representative of the French Republic, and will not think it strange that we should have chosen as ambassador a republican who is neither duke nor marquis, but a self-made man.

The amnesty for the remainder of the convicts of the Paris Commune has

just been carried in the Chambers by a majority of two hundred votes, after an incomparable speech of Gambetta's, who, for the first time, left the president's seat to deliver it. It is a great event. We are yet waiting for the vote of the Senate, after which I will endeavor to characterize this important political crisis and its hero. É.

Correspondence.

THE PENIKESE SCHOOL.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The article entitled "An American Seaside Laboratory," by Prof. E. Ray Lankester, in *Nature* for March 25, contains the following statements:

"A liberal American offered to the late Prof. Agassiz the island of Pennikese as a site for a 'zoölogical station.' . . . A class of students were landed on Pennikese, and, after a sort of holiday picnic of a few weeks, returned home. No money was forthcoming to build the necessary laboratories and to maintain the necessary staff of scientific and other employees, so the Pennikese Station was quietly and very wisely dropped."

Having had the honor of giving instruction during both the sessions of "The Anderson School of Natural History at Penikese Island," and having at hand all the official publications of the directors and trustees, with many of the newspaper reports of what was said and done respecting the school, I fail to find any warrant for the slurs cast by the words quoted upon the founder of the school, upon the directors and their associates, and upon the students in attendance.

1. The gift of Mr. John Anderson included the island and the buildings thereon, together with the sum of $50,000. One-half of this sum equals that which Prof. Lankester estimates as the original cost of a "zoölogical station" in England, and the interest of the remainder, at six per cent., is nearly half of what he regards as the proper annual outlay.

2. Of the forty-four in attendance at the first session of the school all but four were professors or teachers in colleges or schools. During both sessions it was necessary for the instructors to restrain their determination to utilize each moment of the valued time. Never have I witnessed greater zeal for self-improvement than was displayed at Penikese. To no school-session could the words "a sort of holiday picnic" less fitly be applied.

3. The words "zoölogical station" are placed in quotation marks as if employed by Mr. Anderson or Prof. Agassiz. The phrase does not occur in any of the printed documents, nor do I remember hearing it in public addresses or private conversation. From first to last the object distinctly specified and kept in mind was *the instruction of teachers and those intending to become teachers of natural history*. Nor has the occasion yet arisen in this country for occupying a column of a scientific journal with an explanation of the distinctions between a "Zoölogical Station" and a "Summer School of Natural History." B. G. W.

Ithaca, N. Y., June 15, 1880.

Notes.

For the English-speaking race, wherever planted, we should have supposed *Nature* to be a sufficient scientific medium, and entitled to universal support. We are partly confirmed in this view by the quotations from *Nature* in the first number of *Science*, a quarto weekly journal, edited by Mr. John Michels, and published at 229 Broadway, in this city. Nevertheless, the editor's statement that the enterprise has been begun "after consultation with many of the leading scientists in this country," and his list of co-laborers, seem to point to a real want, and to entitle this new "record of scientific progress" to a friendly welcome. Its present size is 16 pages, including the advertising sheet. The opening article, on the United States Naval Observatory, is from the pen of Professor E. S. Holden.——In connection with the Yale College (Winchester) Observatory a Thermometric Bureau has just been established, which undertakes to receive thermometers for comparison with the standards at the Observatory, and to certify the verification as in the case of time-pieces. It is hoped by this means to improve the accuracy of chemical, meteorological, and other thermometers employed for scientific purposes, whether by guaranteeing the standards of makers, or regulating from time to time those of hospitals and other institutions. In regard to terms, mode of transmission, etc., application should be made to Leonard Waldo, Astronomer in Charge.——Mr. R. R. Bowker, who for some years will make his residence abroad, has assigned the editorial conduct and business management of the *Publishers' Weekly* to his associate, Mr. F. Leypoldt.——The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for July opens with an interesting sketch of the family descent and checkered career of the late Joel Munsell, the well-known Albany publisher. A good likeness is prefixed.——The quarterly *Bulletin* of the Hartford Library Association, edited by the librarian, Miss C. M. Hewins, continues to be noticeable for the care bestowed in it on children's reading. The July issue is prefaced by suggestions for "The Children's Vacation," for which parents ought to be thankful.——Mr. Edward Walford's magazine, the *Antiquary*, completed last month its first semester (London: Elliot Stock; New York: J. W. Bouton). In addition to its varied articles, the department called "The Antiquary Exchange" and the advertisements offer the subscriber a substantial return for his money. Moreover, the *Antiquary's* subscribers alone will have a chance to put down their names for the 350 copies of fac-simile reprints of the first editions of Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress,' Walton's 'Compleat Angler,' and George Herbert's 'Temple,' after unique copies in the case of the first and third.——The *Athenæum* states that Mr. Moncure D. Conway has now in press a new and enlarged edition of his 'Demonology and Devil Lore.'——The English Dialect Society have published, through Trübner & Co., Part 2 of the 'Dictionary of English Plant-Names' compiled with infinite labor by Messrs. James Britten and Robert Holland. It ends with the letter O. In readableness, which is a quality not often ascribed to dictionaries, it falls something short of Part 1. Noticeable is the list of grasses, filling more than a dozen pages. "Meet-her-i'-th'-entry-kiss-her-i'-th'-buttery" (*Viola tricolor*) is thought to be the longest plant-name in the language; "Our Lord's flannel" is certainly among the queerest. Part 3, with a complete index, will appear early next year.

—Professor Eaton's 'Ferns of North America,' illustrated by colored figures and descriptions of all the species, published by Cassino, of Boston (formerly of Salem), is now completed, in two quarto volumes, with seventy-one plates and one or two extras. We noticed with praise the earlier parts of this truly classical fern-book. It began well and has gone on better, the author's part having been admirably sustained throughout, the drawings and their reproductions in colors having improved to the close. Mr. Faxon's drawings are especially commendable. A conspectus of all our ferns, with diagnostic characters, in systematic order, is appended to the second volume, to the great convenience and benefit of the users of the work, who have a summary of the latest views of a masterful pteridologist. The work is gracefully dedicated to Professor Gray. May he and his whilom pupil live to see the rest of the cryptogamic plants of our country as well elaborated and illustrated.

—A part of vol. xi. of the *Journal* of the American Oriental Society is already printed. This volume will contain miscellaneous contributions. Prof. Whitney's Index Verborum to the published text of the Atharva-Veda will form vol. xii. The books relating to the East, forming part of the library of the late Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, were bequeathed by him to the Society, and arrived at New Haven before the end of the last year. The number of titles in the collection is 365; the volumes, bound and unbound, numbering 284, the pamphlets, 122. The works relating to Egypt form the most important part of the collection, and include many costly publications. At the May meeting of the Society longer essays were read on "Palestinian Archæology," by Rev. Selah Merrill; "The True Site of Nineveh," by Porter C. Bliss; "Index Verborum to the Atharva-Veda," by Prof. Whitney; "Remarks on the Method and Processes of Comparative Mythology," by J. Luquiens; "Cataletic Vedic Verses of Seven Syllables," by Prof. C. R. Lanman; "Noun-inflection in the Sabean," by Prof. C. H. Toy; "A Certain Phonetic Change in Zend," by Mr. Luquiens; and "Rules of External Combination in Sanskrit," by Prof. Whitney.

—The Board of Trustees of Columbia College adopted, last month, a resolution committing that institution to the immediate establishment of a School of Political Science. The importance of this step, which will honorably distinguish the college above all others in this country, is self-evident The details of the conception are as follows: The course will be three years, and will be open only to collegians who have satisfactorily ended their Junior year (whether at Columbia or at some other college of equal grade). Pursuance of it for one year with credit will entitle the student, upon examination, to the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy; while the degree of Doctor of Philosophy will attest full and successful graduation. The studies will be thus distributed: First year—Physical Geography; Ethnography; History of the Literature of the Political Sciences; History of Philosophy; General and Special Political and Constitutional History of Europe and of the United States. Second year—The Roman Law; Comparative Jurisprudence of the existing Codes derived from the Roman Law; Comparative Constitutional

Law of the principal European States and of the United States, as well as of the several States of the Union. Third year—History of Diplomacy; International Law; Comparative Administrative Law of the principal States of Europe and of the United States, as well as of the several States of the Union; Political Economy in all its branches; and Statistics. President Barnard and Professors Burgess, R. M. Smith, Alexander, E. M. Smith, and Bateman will constitute the corps of instruction. The annual tuition fee will be $150, except for seniors of the Columbia School of Arts and for students of the Law School, of whom no fee will be required. The term will begin on the first Monday in October, the previous Friday being assigned for matriculation. Students of Political Science will have the benefit without fee of the courses of instruction contemplated for "graduates of this and other colleges, in a large variety of subjects," according to a programme to be published shortly. We wish the new school all possible success. Its example cannot fail to bear fruit.

—Dr. George Ripley, whose death occurred in this city on the 4th inst., was a native of Greenfield, Mass., and had nearly attained his seventy-eighth year. For the past thirty-one years he has been the literary editor of the *Tribune*, with rare intervals of foreign travel. He graduated at Harvard in 1823, taught mathematics for a time at the college while completing his studies at the Divinity School, and in 1828 was settled over a Congregational church in Boston. In the division among the Unitarians which was signalized in 1838, he sided with the Transcendentalists, and when, in 1840, the *Dial* was founded Mr. Ripley was one of its editors. The next year he retired from the pulpit and took the leading part in the Brook Farm socialistic experiment, and held to it loyally till 1847, being the president of the association, of which the later phases were Fourieristic. Transition to service under Mr. Greeley was thus made easy, and Mr. Ripley joined the *Tribune* staff in 1849. His literary activity made him a contributor also to numerous periodicals, and he was one of the founders of *Harper's Magazine*. In connection with Mr. Charles A. Dana he edited the first and second editions of 'Appletons' Cyclopædia' (1858–63 and 1873–76). Before the close of his ministry he had directed the publication of a philosophical series entitled 'Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature,' in fourteen volumes, begun in 1838. As a reviewer he was the type of the "genial critic," much given to what the *Tribune* calls "expository reviews," not meaning by that mere scissors-work, but fluent—perhaps too fluent—summaries of the contents of the work under consideration. The fault of this habit was not alone its tendency to diffuseness, but its destruction of the sense of proportion. Nor can we regard it as fortunate for Dr. Ripley's reputation as a critic, or for the authority and variety of the *Tribune's* judgments upon books, that he was so exclusively *the* literary editor of that paper. The realm of criticism is emphatically a *divisum imperium*.

—An intelligent, and in some respects even striking, article in the *Cornhill Magazine* for June will remind discriminating admirers of Thoreau of the rather singular circumstance that, though he has now been dead nearly twenty years, and has been much written about, almost nothing to the purpose has been said of him. Almost every one who has praised or depreciated him has done it ill. Mr. Lowell's essay was certainly inadequate, as we believe Mr. Higginson pointed out at the time, without, however, wholly supplying its defects and omissions himself. Mr. Emerson prefaced one of Thoreau's books with a charming and even touching memoir, of which, nevertheless, the real summing up was contained in this lament: "Wanting ambition, instead of engineering for all America he was the captain of a huckleberry party. Pounding beans is good to the end of pounding empires one of these days; but if at the end of years it is still only pounding beans! . . ." Over two years ago an Englishman, Mr. H. A. Page, with characteristic good intentions, made a monograph upon Thoreau, chiefly to explain the miracles of St. Francis, or, as he said, to "illuminate one of the puzzles of the Middle Ages." Lately Mr. James in his 'Hawthorne' declared that Thoreau was "worse than provincial—he was parochial," and that "it is only at his best that he is readable." The essay in the *Cornhill* is, perhaps, better than any of these essays or allusions; it is signed only by the initials, "R. L. S.," which we remember to have seen but once before, though then appended to a remarkable article, unusual in both character and finish of literary manner, on "The Admirals of England." It makes many good points, the chief of which, perhaps, is the nature of Thoreau's egotism; "A more bald-headed view of life, if I may so express myself, or a more selfish, has seldom been presented." "The secret of his retirement lies not in misanthropy, of which he had no tincture, but partly in his engrossing design of self-improvement, etc."; "He had not enough of the superficial, even, at command; he could not swoop into a parlor and, in the naval phrase, 'cut out' a human being from that dreary port"—we are tempted to quote many instances of the original and searching way in which the writer examines on all sides Thoreau's well-known lack of geniality. Even here, however, where he is most acute, he fails to see that his "prig" and "skulker" really exhibits the same abandonment and elastic freedom upon the "bald-headed" plane on which he lives and moves; and that his surrender to his ideal is as complete and unselfish as if the ideal were more human and hearty—more "English" one may add, under the circumstances. But his main error "R. L. S." shares with all who have written about Thoreau; he conceives his subject as a philosopher rather than as an artist. Partial atonement for this is offered in omitting to consider Thoreau's "philosophy" as a practical code of conduct; he does not demonstrate anew the great truth that it would not do for everybody to live on Walden Pond and decline to pay his poll-tax. But this is a detail; the mistake of his general attitude is illustrated by a remark, that he finds it "curious and *in some ways dispiriting* that a writer may be always best corrected out of his own mouth."

—Nothing is more really elementary in criticism than the necessity of precisely the opposite attitude to this—at all events in dealing with what is called a "fine spirit," as Thoreau indisputably was. It is not there certainly that one seeks for a body of doctrine, some "Morrison's Pill," any complete and coherent system of independent and consistent principles. It is indeed Thoreau's distinction among the Transcendentalists, with whom he was contemporary and is always classed, but with whom he could never get along, that he was so far from having a system that he can scarcely be said to have had a method, whereas it was *their* distinction that a new and inner revelation had provided them with a scheme of the universe in the spiritual mortising of whose different parts no scrutiny could detect a flaw. To discover in his disjointed aphorisms, "thrown out" upon impulse at wisdom as it flies, or even in his reasoned reflections, direct contradictions, is inevitable; but to find this inspiriting rather than the reverse, to see that it is the pledge of their sincerity, their value, their poetic truth as it were, is the first step towards a sympathetic appreciation of Thoreau. No one could otherwise conceive of Heine's body of doctrine, to take an extreme instance. And if Thoreau's lack of humor, which was absolute, led him to misconceive himself, that surely is no reason for his readers doing so. "R. L. S." notes an exaggeration in him which he says "puts the reader on his guard"; as if all books worth reading and not text-books were to be read in any other way, and as if there were not a tonic property in the charm thus obtained never to be got from reading with implicit trustfulness. "R. L. S." again notes: "All fables, indeed, have their morals, but the innocent enjoy the story" as a two-edged apothegm discouragingly inconsistent in Thoreau's mouth. The point is that the apothegm is singularly felicitous and lights up a fact of experience with poetic truth. What Thoreau says apparently in the teeth of it has also *its* truth, and it is the reader's attitude of being "on his guard" that enables him to get something from both. The unanimity with which writers on Thoreau have, to our mind, gone wrong in this way is, indeed, a signal instance of reading him while off their guard and unconsciously applying in criticism of him what is now known as "the historic method"—the limitations of whose value, by the way, Thoreau aptly illustrates. We said just now that he was an artist rather than a philosopher, because it is unsafe to term loosely a poet any one whose highest expression does not seek some sort of metrical form. But he was certainly a poetic *artist*, and whoever writes of him adequately will not fail, as hitherto his critics have failed, to note the relative importance of that part of his writings which does not deal with ideas at all—*e.g.*:

"It is almost the only game which the trees play at, this tit for tat, now this side in the sun, now that, the drama of the day. In deep ravines under the eastern sides of cliffs Night forwardly plants her foot even at noon-day, and as Day retreats she steps into his trenches, skulking from tree to tree, from fence to fence, until at last she sits in his citadel and draws out her forces into the plain."

It is clearly a forgetfulness of some of the beauties of our not over-rich American literature, whose first thought about the writer of even such "pretty imagery" as doubtless these lines might be called, is that "he was worse than provincial; he was parochial."

—M. de Mas-Latrie, a member of the Académie des Inscriptions, communicated to that body in May some highly important discoveries made by him in the archives of the Venetian inquisitors—namely, loose sheets of reports of the sessions of the Council of Ten, always profoundly secret. The special evidence which they afford is of the willingness of the Council to entertain, through their ambassadors and agents, propositions for poisoning their enemies, whether Christian or infidel. The Turks, with whom the Republic was in 1477 at war, were sorely pressing it all along the Adriatic coast; so that when the Jew Salamoncini and his brothers offered to arrange the taking off of Mahomet II. through his physician, Valcho, also a Jew, the Council, on the 9th of July, voted to entertain the proposition. As the text

reads: "Quod oblatio Salamoncini hebrei et fratrum dandi scilicet necis imperatori Turcorum per operam magistri Valchi hebrei, acceptetur." What the assassins demanded in return for their service was certain privileges of banking and trade without the customary exactions, and to these the Council assented, if assured that Mahomet's death was clearly the work of the undertakers: "Et, auctoritate hujus Consilii, promittantur sibi omnia quæ ipsi petierunt, cum observatione eorum quando, interveniente morte Turchi, ostendere erit illum per operam prefati magistri Valchi mortuum esse." It is to be noticed that six of the Doge's college who, with the Doge himself, had the right to attend these sessions, were actually present; and theirs may have been the three negative and three blank ballots recorded against the ten affirmative. On the 9th of November the sixteen voters were unanimous in favor of accepting an offer of two Turks to poison two officers conducting the siege of Croia; and the chiefs of the Council were charged with transmitting the poison. Early in 1478 one Amico was allowed to name the terms on which "the Turk" should be poisoned in the course of a year. Troublesome banished Venetians were made the objects of similar attempts in 1525–6. On the 3d of July, 1518, the ambassador of the Republic at Rome forwarded a proposal on the part of one Agostino dal Sol to proceed to Germany and poison Prince Eugene, brother of John of Lusignan, and an aspirant for the throne of Cyprus. M. de Mas-Latrie promises to examine what remains of the archives still more minutely.

—Prof. Hillebrand's second article on English life, published in the June *Nineteenth Century*, is devoted to the church and religious phenomena. To say that it is in the highest degree original and plain-spoken, is to convey but an inadequate idea of its character; it seems, in fact, as if the writer had taken upon himself the task of performing, on a considerable scale, what Mr. Matthew Arnold's mythical Prussian attempted in an experimental fashion some ten years ago. Prof. Hillebrand's key-note is struck on his first page, where he remarks that England "is the only country in Europe where the passions, interests, and ideas which animated the countrymen of Luther are still living." Intolerance is the predominant intellectual feature in England, as polite and respectful indifference is on the Continent. In France and Germany, of course, intolerance is to be found, but it is *ex-officio*, not individual; "it is entirely limited to the clergy in Germany, it is wholly political in France." In the former country, especially, religion has become purely mechanical: "The restoration of authority is the only aim and only interest both in the Catholic Church and in the Protestant. It is the only surviving principle of positive religion; and if the Pope to-morrow, the *Oberkirchenrath* the day after to-morrow, should declare that the sun turns round the earth, the whole clergy, and all the laymen who use the clergy as an instrument for social and political conservatism, would accept the decision."

—In England, of course, Prof. Hillebrand finds the reverse of all this, but it is worth while to follow him in his explanation of the contrast. In Germany, religious development "has been a regular one from rigid orthodoxy to religious enthusiasm, from religious enthusiasm to a religious sympathy, and from that to absolute indifference as to positive religion"; while "the admirable pacific development of old England in the last century has been violently interrupted [by the Evangelical movement]; you have been thrown back a hundred years, and the defenders of secular science, who might have taken off their hats reverently to Christ and Christianity, as Locke and even Hume did, and as the Germans generally do, are obliged to attack them if they do not want to be oppressed themselves, not by laws and policemen, but by social convention." Wesley, Prof. Hillebrand points out, was by no means original in his views, for "he came fifty years after Spener and Francke, and learned the chief article of his creed from their followers," so that the Germans "have a religious start of at least fifty years." But the Evangelical movement was not the only separating influence; the different character of the English and German clergy has been an almost equally strong one. "The English clergy are far more refined than the German, but this very refinement, if it brings them into closer contact with the gentry, separates them to a certain degree from their humbler congregations, and thus . . . unfits them for the work of educating mentally those who are so far beneath them. . . . I have no doubt, too, that the great majority of your clergy possess far stronger religious convictions and a deeper earnestness than ours; but the whole condition of England shows that they have failed in doing what ours have done—that is, in preventing the spread of an ignorant and morbid religious fanaticism." Even the middle classes, Prof. Hillebrand thinks, are now threatened by the rising tide of scepticism; and since, with them, "religion is the one ideal interest, and religious services their only recreation," he enquires sorrowfully, "What will be the result when they lose at once all their amusements and all that has lent their lives a higher interest?"

DANGEROUS AMERICAN TENDENCIES.*

THE essays of which this volume is made up originally appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, and it would not be difficult to guess from internal evidence, even if the authorship were not now well known, that they were written by a clergyman. It is not, however, from the religious point of view that they are interesting. The author's chief gift is one of description. His pictures of American life contained in the volume are exact photographs, though they are photographs almost altogether of American life in its moral aspects.

Perhaps the fairest way to look at the picture presented by him is to dissociate it entirely at first from the United States and think how it would strike us if we did not know what country it represented. The details of the picture are as follows: A nation, democratic in government and social organization, emerged fifteen years ago from a protracted and bloody civil war, which destroyed hundreds of millions of property and left a debt of some two thousand millions behind it in addition to this destruction. For a generation before the war this country had been absorbed in a political struggle over the institution of slavery, to the exclusion of all other social or economical questions. This struggle over slavery had been carried on on the successful side under the lead of a small band of "humanitarians," whose methods of reasoning on this and other subjects were intuitive. The creation of the debt having been accompanied by an inflation of the currency, the war was not followed by retrenchment and economy, but by extravagant expenditure and recklessness. Everybody seemed to be growing rich at once, although everybody was, as a matter of fact, poorer than he had been fifteen years before. This condition of things had its natural effects in the domain of morals. Steady industry of all kinds came to be regarded as in a great measure unnecessary, and numbers of men who had down to the time of the war gained their daily bread by honest work now began to live by their wits, and by organizing and controlling enterprises and schemes of all kinds for the investment of other people's money. Wages went up with prices, and encouraged profusion and waste even among workingmen. Everybody became intoxicated with a fancied prosperity to which there seemed to be no limit.

The nominal faith or religion of this happy country had always been what is known as Evangelical Protestantism, but "the real religion of the people was already, to a great extent, a decorous worldliness." In fact, the religious force in the community was gradually dying out. Many ministers and multitudes of the more intelligent members of the churches had become sceptical even in regard to the cardinal doctrines of the faith they professed. Preaching became everywhere more and more speculative and rationalistic. Below the sceptics there was a large class of people "in whom prehistoric or savage thought still survived, with very slight modifications from science or any other modern influence." These believed in luck, omens, dreams, signs, and wonders, and in the presence and influence of the dead, whom they from time to time consulted in various ways. They had usually a scorn of historical and, indeed, of all other facts, as well as a profound aversion to scientific methods of investigation. Thoroughgoing sentimentalists, they depended on intuition and "the great instincts of humanity" to guide them, and thought that it would be a great gain "to stop trying to patch up the old systems of religion and law, and begin anew." These queer people's only form of religion was their adoration of a "free platform," and they were willing to make all kinds of experiments under its inspiration. They have, among other things, tried some sexual experiments of a character which has hitherto been regarded as criminal, but these were generally the result of a devotion to theory rather than of ungoverned passion. This class is now busily engaged in educating the country, and as they have to a great extent abjured the doctrine of individual responsibility for wrong-doing, and have a great fluency of extempore utterance, they are very successful in making converts; "they have many organized societies, travelling lecturers and missionaries, and a score or two of newspapers, besides an enormous literature of their own, if one may apply the word literature to their productions." "It is a great and successful movement for the propagation of uneducated thought, the spectacle of the untaught classes and disorganizing forces of the time taking possession of the printing-press, of the rostrum, and of the ballot, and attacking modern society with its own weapons. It is a wide-spread revolt against civilization." This class numbers several millions. Among other theories they incline to think all labor unnecessary, and regard employers as oppressors. Here, of course, they are followed by a large number of the working-class, "who have no theories or ideas of progress, but who have done little honest work since the great inflation of prices a few years ago." These regard the capitalist as their natural enemy, and what they most desire is to advance the interests of labor by crippling capital in every possible way. They are taught to regard works of art and science, and the

* Certain Dangerous Tendencies in American Life, and Other Papers.' Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1880.

products and appliances of refined wealth, as causes and symbols of the laborer's degradation. Their immediate point of attack is the currency, which they have been for some years endeavoring to bring under the immediate control of the people in mass-meeting assembled. Beyond this they have a general desire to destroy the constitutional and representative character of the Government, so that if it seems desirable everything may be decided anew at each election. Meanwhile religion is not extinct, but is constantly losing ground. Morality based on religion has "to a fatal extent broken down." Multitudes of religious men are dishonest in the private relations of life. Abuse of trust and defalcation have become common offences.

Such is the depressing picture of a country which shall be nameless, drawn by the author of this volume in his first essay. The question suggested by this picture of course is, What ought to be done? Is there any salvation for such a country? or must it go on in its downward path until civilization becomes extinct, or until it falls a prey to some hardier and better-governed race? The remedy suggested by the author, the publication of "broadsides" and newspapers devoted to the cultivation of an elevated public sentiment, is so palpably inadequate that it would be hardly worth mentioning, except as an illustration of the remarkable confidence that all clergymen have in exhortation as a means of social improvement, and of the national reliance upon the efficacy of popular "movements" to effect all social objects. As a matter of fact, no answer can be given to the question. The forces which are described are so enormous and so pervading that it would be as idle to talk about restraining or impeding them by any set plan as to talk of altering the laws of nature. It is obvious that in the country described what are vaguely called the "forces of modern society" have got the upper hand, and are carrying everything before them. It is the delusion of the author of this volume that they can be effectively opposed by "getting up a movement" against them. But a movement of any kind requires popular support, and popular support is just what those who oppose popular tendencies cannot have. If, as the author seems to think, the world, or a certain part of it, is really entering a new dark age, in which a rising tide of barbarism will threaten the very foundations of the social order, the forces which must be relied upon to preserve civilization are those which have hitherto preserved it and made it what it is. What Mill called Individualism is what the democratic forces of to-day are threatening with extinction, and Mill saw very clearly that civilization depends upon individualism. In the last hundred years the world has become so accustomed to the identification of popular improvement with uprisings of the people and the vote of the majority, that it has almost forgotten that popular movements are worth nothing except so far as they are guided by reason, and that reason is the slow product of the individual search for truth. It is the old story of Socrates drinking hemlock for teaching doctrines disagreeable to the Athenians. The Athenians were the most enlightened people of the fifth century before Christ (and they were accustomed to boast of their enlightenment very much as the nineteenth century after Christ does), but the name of Socrates has lived and those of his accusers have perished. On the principles which, according to the book before us, are becoming the guiding principles of a certain country, the Athenians were right and Socrates was wrong.

It is not necessary that everybody who fights against the evil tendencies of popular ignorance and superstition which always threaten civilization should be tried, or should drink poison; but it is necessary that those of one generation who receive the torch of civilization from their predecessors should feel that it is a trust received in the interest of right, reason, and truth, and individual liberty of belief, which they are bound to defend at all costs against ignorance, tyranny, and superstition, whether of the few or of the many. This is individualism as opposed to the rule of the mob, and its *cultus* is fortunately reinforced by selfish as well as disinterested considerations. To sum up what we have said, the tendencies which the author of this volume deplores are the tendencies, in great measure, of modern civilization. If the finest and most beautiful thing in the progress of the world is the production of individual excellence in character, in intellect, in art, or in science, then these tendencies are evil, and they must be resisted, as they always have been resisted, by the devotion of civilized men to these objects, without regard to consequences. A popular movement in favor of individualism would be an excellent thing, but it would be an anomaly even in the singular country described in this volume.

We have not left ourselves room to speak of the remainder of the volume as it deserves. The author is, as we have said, a born observer, and his studies of New England factory life, and workingmen, workingmen's wives, and the "Nationals" are well worth reading. He observes, too, as few people do, beneath the surface, and is consequently able to present to his readers the moral complexion of what he studies. As an illustration of this faculty we may mention that in a chapter on "Sincere Demagogy" he points out the curious resemblance—which as soon as it is stated proves itself—between much of the social speculations of the gifted author of 'Émile' and that of our blatant demagogues who lead "workingmen's movements." It is, as he says, highly improbable that this resemblance proceeds from familiarity on the part of these thinkers with the writings of Rousseau. They are most likely unacquainted even with his name. They think as he did because both he and they represent what the author very justly elsewhere calls the "prehistoric" order of thought.

KOSSUTH AND THE ITALIAN CAMPAIGN OF 1859.—II.*

THE remaining portions of this interesting volume of 'Memories' deal with the campaign in Italy, and are richer in elements of dramatic interest than those which came under notice in our preceding article. We are not actually brought upon any of the great battle-fields. We perceive, as it were, the smoke of these great struggles rising on the horizon, and the roar of the artillery comes to us only from a distance. But we are allowed to watch the emotions with which a people followed the accomplishment of their emancipation; we learn the mingled hopes and fears with which Italian and Hungarian refugees followed the campaign through each successive phase, until the armistice of July 8, like a blow from an iron mace, seemed in a single moment to smite them out of conscious life. As Kossuth passed from city to city, on his way to Napoleon's headquarters, the Italians greeted him with enthusiasm. They recognized the champion of the same cause in which they were fighting—the enemy of *their* enemy. These receptions are very vividly described by the hero of them in a series of letters to his wife, the unstudied character of which brings out very clearly the single-minded patriotism of Louis Kossuth. While he had been negotiating in London, battles were being fought and won in Italy.

"I arrived," he tells us, "at Geneva from England on June 22, two days before the great battle of Solferino, which was preceded by the victories of Montebello, Palestra, Casteggio, and Magenta. The struggle was sanguinary. The superiority of the allies in tactics was brilliantly demonstrated. Meanwhile, General Klapka, my colleague on the committee, in one of his letters to me, expressed the opinion that the possibility of an untoward turn of events on the Mincio was not excluded; the Austrian soldier was becoming accustomed to warfare, and might sooner or later acquire a knowledge of the French method of attack, and then decision would simply rest with the superior numerical strength. These apprehensions no doubt weighed also upon the Emperor's mind, and we might, therefore, hope that he would readily assist us in our preparations. He stood in need of men who would be under an obligation to him—and where could he find such more willing than in Hungary, provided he lent us assistance?"

Kossuth did not participate in the too sanguine expectations of his friend—the defender of Komorn. He perceived no preparations being made for the despatch of an army to Hungary, without which he had resolutely declined to have anything to do with the projects of the Emperor. General Klapka, it is true, with other Hungarian exiles, had been empowered to raise and discipline a force to be called "The Hungarian Legion"; and in this legion about a thousand men had enrolled themselves. But beyond this, nothing, so far as Kossuth could see, was being done by the allied sovereigns for the cause which he had at heart. "Nearly every letter," he says, "which I received from Italy gave me the impression, to begin with, that all efforts were being concentrated to trying, through the Hungarian refugees, to influence and create dissension among their countrymen fighting in the Austrian ranks, without the allies (as a return service) identifying themselves with the Hungarian cause." The "Hungarian Legion" threatened, in fact, to become nothing more than an imposing cat's-paw to pick Austrian chestnuts out of the fire for the advantage of the allied kings. It would, of course, immensely benefit the allies if a steady stream of desertion went on from the Austrian ranks into those of the Hungarian Legion, but the cause of Hungary would be injured in the precise proportion in which that of the allies was benefited. The more completely the military strength of Austria was thus sapped, the less need would there be for embracing Hungary in the theatre of military operations. The soldiers of the Hungarian Legion were, in fact, merely compromising themselves with the Austrian Government without being of the least service to their country. Not every Hungarian was endowed with the prudence and foresight of Kossuth. To the larger part of them the infliction of an injury on the hated Austrian Government was equivalent to a service done to Hungary, and thus they were in danger of falling an easy prey to the schemes of the allied sovereigns. Kossuth resolved to strike at the root of this mischief at once. Either the independence of Hungary must be made, as he had stipulated, an object of the war co-ordinate with the independence of Italy, or, so far as he could prevent it, not a drop of Hungarian blood should be shed—at least in the ranks of the allies.

* 'Memories of My Exile. By Louis Kossuth. Translated from the original Hungarian by Ferencz Jausz.' London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co; New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.

Almost immediately after his arrival at Geneva Kossuth started for the headquarters of the Emperor. At Turin he had an interview with Cavour, but could obtain no satisfactory assurances from that minister. At Parma he met Prince Napoleon. Everywhere the Italian people greeted him with enthusiasm. "If sympathy," he writes to his wife, "could save my poor country it would be saved, but the people can only love; their fate, like ours, is in the hands of others." He gives a very pleasing account of his reception at Piacenza. He arrived there late at night unrecognized.

"I slept peacefully, and at eight o'clock sat down to breakfast still unrecognized. At this moment the waiter brought in the visitors' list. Nicholas Kiss entered my name; the waiter says, 'Grazie,' and goes. At the door he cast a look over the names, and looked back at us with eyes that can only be compared to the first eruptions of fire from a volcano. He ran like mad down the steps, and before five minutes—no, scarcely three minutes—had passed by, the thirty thousand inhabitants knew it. They rushed into the street as if the alarm-bell had called them; they were coming from all directions, and stood underneath my window and shouted 'Evviva!' as if they intended to bring down the firmament of heaven by their voices. The mayor and all the municipal officers came into my room to pay their respects to me, to offer their services, to beg my commands; the venerable Montanelli, a late minister of Tuscany, who lost his left arm at Curtatone, where he fought as a volunteer in 1848, came accompanied by many officers of the civil guard, but he himself dressed like a private soldier; in a word, everybody came. Half an hour afterwards, when I was stepping into a carriage, everybody who could come near me kissed my hands and clothes. We moved along with great difficulty, and had scarcely reached the street when the people unharnessed the horses and themselves drew us through the town, while crowds streamed towards me from every street; thousands followed me, flowers were thrown from the windows, and the people honored the poor homeless traveller with the perfect frenzy of young liberty's first intoxication. And why? Because they identify his name with that of liberty, the perception of which runs like a current of electricity through the nerves of humanity."

At Parma he visited Prince Napoleon. He recalled the interview with the Emperor at Paris nearly two months before. Since then Kossuth had removed the obstacle which, according to the Emperor, stood in the way of a French army being despatched to Hungary. British neutrality was now assured under all circumstances. What, then, was the Emperor prepared to do? Would he send an army or not? To this the Prince gave no direct reply. The losses of the campaign had been so heavy that, at present, they had no soldiers to spare for this purpose. No positive engagement could be entered into. But Kossuth could influence Hungarian soldiers to come over and fight against Austrian. If he did this the Emperor would be under a moral obligation towards Hungary, and would not leave the patriots. To this proposal Kossuth returned a flat refusal. He would do nothing except under the conditions he had stipulated for at Paris; and after a few days' stay at Parma, he received a message from the Emperor desiring him to come to army headquarters as speedily as possible. At Milan he saw the Emperor.

"First of all," Kossuth writes to his wife, "I gave an account of the result of my mission to England. I did so only verbally, lest I should appear to be boasting; but Pietri interrupted: 'Yet the strangest part, sire, is that M. Kossuth has in his pocket the letters of the English Cabinet Ministers, by which they engage that England will remain neutral even if we go to Hungary.' 'Indeed,' said the Emperor; 'may I see them?' I handed him the letters. They seemed to interest him very much. He read them one after the other, smiling every now and again, and shook his head as if astonished. Then I spoke: 'Your Majesty can see,' I said, 'that I have not only faithfully carried out the task I had taken upon myself, but I have accomplished it with even greater success than I had promised, and I now feel compelled to ask what are your designs with regard to Hungary?'"

The Emperor declared, in response to this question, that he was "firmly decided to make Hungary independent." "Without Hungary's independence," Kossuth reports him as saying, "I should not gain my object in Italy, and should expose the future to dangerous uncertainties. Therefore, consider it an accomplished fact." These were words which meant nothing. They were spoken on the 2d of July, when the Emperor must have already decided upon the Peace of Villafranca. Louis Napoleon was, in fact, at that very moment being tossed upon the horns of the dilemma which hunted him through life. He desired to be, at once, both a king among kings and a revolutionary among revolutionaries. He wanted to tear up the treaties of 1815 in order to gratify at once the wounded pride and the democratic tendencies of the French nation; but he desired, at the same time, so to do it as not to alarm the susceptibilities of the European sovereigns. The result was to arouse the suspicions and kindle the anger of both peoples and kings. The upshot of the present interview with Kossuth was that the Emperor requested him to "send into his camp as soon as possible some battalions wearing the tight Hungarian trousers." The Emperor represented this as a matter on which he placed great importance; and Kossuth, with Pietri as his companion, returned to Turin to carry out the Emperor's wishes with the utmost despatch possible. The Hungarian legion had by this time acquired a strength of close upon four thousand men. By the 5th of July Kossuth was back in Turin; he went to Geneva on the 6th, where the Hungarian legion was being organized; and there on the 8th, as by an avalanche, his hopes were overwhelmed and crushed by the intelligence that an armistice had been concluded. At first the refugees clung to the hope that the intelligence was false:

"We went on amidst dreadful mental agony. In a few days Pietri came rushing to me with agitated mien and said, '*Malheur! malheur à nous! C'est fini! Tout est perdu! Lisez ceci!*' He handed me an autograph letter addressed to him by the Emperor. I wept like a child and could scarcely read it. The contents of the letter were to the following effect: 'We have well considered the matter on all sides with the Prince and the King, and, however reluctantly, have come to the conclusion that we must make peace. This time we cannot go further. This is now an end to the war. Tell M. Kossuth that I am extremely sorry that the liberation of his country must now be left alone. I cannot do otherwise. It is an impossibility. But I beg him not to lose heart, but to trust to me and the future. Meanwhile he may be assured of my friendly feelings towards him, and I beg him to dispose of me with regard to his own person and his children.' When I came to this point of the letter, I could not control myself sufficiently to prevent my revolted feelings from venting themselves in a bitter exclamation. 'Yes, yes,' I said, 'such are those crowned heads! Such is their idea of the creature that is called "man"! To the wind with the fatherland! A bagful of money to the man, and he will console himself! Senator, pray tell your master that his Majesty the Emperor of the French is not rich enough to offer alms to Louis Kossuth, and Louis Kossuth is not mean enough to accept them. He has turned me out of my position. Well, my sons will gain our living by their work. *Je vous salue.*' All was over. There was nothing left to be done except to look after the honorable dissolution of our army and the personal safety of those poor brave Hungarian fellows who had enlisted in it."

We must not take leave of this most valuable contribution to history without expressing our admiration for the style in which it has been translated. The translator's English is clear, forcible, and idiomatic.

A HISTORY OF THE AGE OF QUEEN VICTORIA.*

MR. McCARTHY is an exceedingly sober and calm narrator of the events of his time and country. He seems to have completely outlived all fanaticism and enthusiasm—if he ever cherished any—as to party, country, creed, or system. In a historian of contemporary or almost contemporary events this is a considerable merit, though it is apt to deprive his work of the charms of impassioned diction and symmetrically rounded pictures such as enliven the pages of writers combining ardor with ability. Liberal, mildly optimistic, an admirer of England and her great sons, a friend of justice and peace, Mr. McCarthy manifests his predilections and sentiments with studied reserve and impartiality, and occasionally betrays a disposition bordering on indifference. Unprejudiced and almost chillingly passionless as he is, however, he is not unable to understand and make due allowance for the prejudices and passions of others in the near past. His style is strongly influenced by this calmness and absence of warmth. It is always clear and plain, never florid or glowing, sometimes flat. The views expressed are generally sound, rarely striking. There is no lack of didactic observations, but rather too much of commonplace sententiousness. Correct characterizations abound, but analytical subtlety is rarely noticeable. No reader, however well informed, will find Mr. McCarthy's portraits of Cobden or Bright, Wellington or Palmerston, Disraeli or Gladstone, O'Connell or Sheil, Prince Albert or Cardinal Newman, Czar Nicholas or Kossuth undeserving of an attentive perusal; but even he to whom much of the delineation will be new must find the execution more or less hasty and the shading defective, though a part of the figure may be excellently done. And as with men so Mr. McCarthy deals with questions. He presents the gist of the matter, shows its salient points, makes the aspect of the whole clear, but avoids intricacies, rarely pries below the surface, and cares little for details. On the whole, this history "of our own times"—which is, however, only a history *of England in our time*—is written for readers more or less familiar with the events and the personages of the period, and is intended to amuse and enlighten them by interesting and lucid summaries rather than to instruct them about particulars. Thus considered, the book is very good, almost excellent, though not without blemishes.

Its greatest defect as a literary production is the non-observance of a uniformly dignified tone and chaste diction worthy of serious history for intelligent readers. Mr. McCarthy is too often inclined "to use a vulgar word," "a cant phrase," "a homely phrase," or a homely comparison, as in the following: "Not many of Napier's admirers cared a rush about the merits of the quarrel . . ."; "The unhappy sheriffs were placed, as the homely old saying would describe it, between the devil and the deep sea"; "Lord Palmerston . . . has undertaken the business of the Home Office for the same

* 'A History of Our Own Times, from the Accession of Queen Victoria to the Berlin Congress. By Justin McCarthy.' Vol. i. (corresponding to vols. i. and ii. of the London edition). New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880. 8vo, pp. 559.

reason as that given by *Fritz*, in the 'Grande Duchesse,' for becoming a schoolmaster"; "Palmerston is, to all appearance, what would be vulgarly called 'out of the swim'"; "The very name of Palmerston produced on Louis Philippe and his minister the effect vulgarly said to be wrought on a bull by the display of a red rag"; "Lord Melbourne . . . had grown into something like the condition of a pampered old hall-porter . . ."; "Nicholas was as much disappointed as an honest highwayman of the days of Captain Macheath might have been. . ." Nor ought he to have crowded *to get*, *could get*, and *to get up* into six lines (at the end of chapter viii.), or to have repeated (in chapters xvii. and xix.), a dozen times—in order to inculcate a moral lesson—how utterly wicked it was on the part of Louis Philippe to plot the Spanish marriages. Our author's treatment of this king is altogether extremely harsh, and to a high degree unjust—which is surprising in a book so remarkable for fairness and charitableness. Louis Philippe, we are told, "had a great training," but "all his promise as a man faded when his seeming success began to shine. He had apparently learned nothing of adversity; he was able to learn nothing of prosperity and greatness." "He seemed, at one time, to have no real faith in anything but chicane. He made the fairest professions and did the meanest, falsest things." "His very *bourgeois* virtues, on which he was so much inclined to boast himself, had been a sham; for he had carried out schemes," etc., which again refers to the Spanish marriages, and is followed by a comparison more offensive than any quoted above. *Tantumne iræ* in a writer so devoid of political animosity! Mr. McCarthy is also severe on the Melbourne Ministry, on Young Ireland, and especially on "the Pope's brass-band," but his strictures on all these are comparatively mild and more fully deserved. O'Connell he treats with great discrimination, and, considering the limits of the book, almost exhaustively. Here follows a small portion of the sketch:

"In many respects O'Connell differed from more modern Irish Nationalists. He was a thorough Liberal; he was a devoted opponent of negro slavery; he was a stanch Free-trader; he was a friend of popular education; he was an enemy to all excess; he was opposed to strikes; he was an advocate of religious equality everywhere; and he declined to receive the commands of the Vatican in his political agitation. 'I am a Catholic, but I am not a Papist,' was his own definition of his religious attitude. He preached the doctrine of constitutional agitation strictly, and declared that no political reform was worth the shedding of one drop of blood. It may be asked how it came about that with all these excellent attributes, which all critics now allow to him, O'Connell was so detested by the vast majority of the English people. One reason undoubtedly is that O'Connell deliberately revived and worked up for political purposes the almost extinct national hatreds of Celt and Saxon. As a phrase of political controversy he may be said to have invented the word 'Saxon.' He gave a terrible license to his tongue. His abuse was outrageous; his praise was outrageous. The very effusiveness of his loyalty told to his disadvantage. People could not understand how one who perpetually denounced 'the Saxon' could be so enthusiastic and rapturous in his professions of loyalty to the Saxon's Queen. . . . Yet O'Connell was probably quite sincere in his professions of loyalty. He was in no sense a revolutionist. He had, from his education in a French college, acquired an early detestation of the principles of the French Revolution. Of the Irish rebels of '98 he spoke with as savage an intolerance as the narrowest English Tories could show in speaking of himself. . . . His theory and his policy evidently were that Ireland was to be saved by a dictatorship entrusted to himself, with the Irish priesthood acting as his officers and agents."

The order which Mr. McCarthy observes in his book is the chronological. He rarely deviates from it, and generally only then when, as in the case of the various attempts on the life of the Queen, the single events narrated have no connection with other simultaneous occurrences, while their character naturally connects them with each other. The alternation of topics adds to the attractiveness of the work. The scantiness of dates, however, obscures the chronological order, and must here and there lead to misconceptions. Thus, the "Opium War" is so told that the reader may doubt whether it was carried on for months or years—whether in 1840, in 1841, or in 1842. All he learns as to its chronology is that in April, 1840, there was, apparently before its outbreak, a debate in Parliament on the difficulties with China, and that on March 3, 1843, five huge wagons arrived in front of the London Mint, bringing the first instalment of the war indemnity imposed on the Celestial Empire by the treaty of peace. In the account of the first Afghan war no date occurs between "October 1, 1838," and "November 2, 1840." The wars in Scinde and with the Sikhs are related without a single date. We are told only that they were waged during Peel's administration—that is, some time between September, 1841, and June, 1846. Omissions of this kind, however, can still be remedied by a chronological index at the end of the whole work. Such an index, if carefully done and made to include many facts purposely or inadvertently omitted in the text, would add considerably to the value of this interesting history. In the work as it is—owing, perhaps, in part to the infrequency of dates and other precise particulars—few inaccuracies are easily discoverable. The gravest we have noticed may be attributed to a kind of *nonchalance* in writing. Thus, we read of Peter the Great and Catharine II.: "He was followed, after a reign or two, by a woman of genius," etc. The fact is that between those two rulers there were the *six* reigns of Catharine I., Peter II., Anna, Ivan, Elizabeth, and Peter III.

Recollections of Travel in New Zealand and Australia. By James Coutts Crawford, F.G.S. (London: Trübner & Co. 1880.)—There are things in Mr. Crawford's book to strike the American with a mild consternation. Travelling about as nearly as may be at the antipodes, thirteen thousand miles or so from New York and as much from London, in the vast inchoate archipelago which we are apt to look upon too much, perhaps, as made up only of the scrap ends of creation, he comes occasionally to a city of two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, "with public buildings on a grand scale, built most solidly of stone as if meant to last for all time." It has a public library, a national gallery, an industrial museum, benevolent institutions of all sorts, a grand race-course, and suburban lines of railway conveying passengers to the seaside. This is Melbourne, Australia; and compared with it, "San Francisco, being mostly built of wood, is vastly inferior in construction." He takes the train for the interior and stops at Ballarat. Who of us has heard of Ballarat? Nevertheless it is a handsome city, substantially built of stone and brick, with parks and gardens, "really splendid public buildings," and sixty thousand inhabitants, on the site of the tents and shanties of the recent gold-diggings. Coasting along the thousand-mile stretch of his own island home, New Zealand, he touches at eight considerable towns. He sees a number of the largest things of their kinds (quite after the manner of phrasing that was wont to be American) not merely in Australasia but in the world: the largest quartz-crushing machine, and at Melbourne the largest organ. He finds the American newspapers even—but this will not be believed—inferior to the Australian. There is certainly food for reflection in this. May we not begin to look upon ourselves as, instead of the latest and freshest of time's progeny, of a certain sober middle age? These South Pacific colonies are on a tremendous scale; they have the same constituents of race as ourselves, German, Irish, Scandinavian, with the Anglo-Saxon domination; and favorable conditions of climate. While we dally over the essentially American arts and literature that are demanded of us, will the prestige perhaps be suddenly snatched away by essentially Australian or New-Zealandic ones?

Mr. Crawford's best excuse for appearing in print, we should say, is more his good fortune in having been on the ground than any special gift of observation, enlarged interest, or literary faculty. He has lived in New Zealand many years, has held the offices of resident magistrate and member of the Legislative Council, and taken part in the geological survey of one of its provinces, Wellington. It has been his habit during this time to make journeys into the interior, with now and then one by sea. They range over forty years, beginning with a transit, in charge of cattle, across Southern Australia, from Sidney to Adelaide, in 1839. Their early dates would prevent many of these from having any contemporaneous value; added to which a number were professedly made without notes. Moreover, the incidents throughout are of a very slight character. There is a great deal too much of the condition of the wind, and swollen fords, and cranky boats, on particular occasions, and small personal haps and mishaps, without dramatic interest in the telling to make them an object in themselves, seeing that they might have taken place in one part of the world as well as another.

We get an idea of the Maoris as a tractable, mercenary people, capable of considerable civilization, but rapidly diminishing. The New Zealand climate is not unlike our own. This colony professes free-trade, but the small manufacturers clamor for protection of native industry. A leading political question has been until lately a conflict between a central government and those of numerous provinces, into which the colony resolved itself in the early days when communications were difficult. Centralization prevailed, and the provinces — almost a species of separate states—were abolished; an instance, the author esteems it, parallel in its way to the result of the civil war in the United States and to recent events in Germany, in conformity with an enlightened progress. Particulars of this kind are welcome, and we should have been glad of a great many more of them. The truly fascinating work on Australasia will deal liberally with facts, figures, and dimensions for a considerable time to come. Let it not be afraid of a guide-book air. Perhaps Mr. Crawford, in writing for his own part of the world as well as ours, has feared to be trite in informing it of what it knew already perfectly well, and has thus fallen between two stools. As it is now, we should say his principal success might be with Australasian Old Settlers' Clubs.

The author has not travelled in New Zealand and Australia alone, but has twice made the journey to England also, once by way of India and once of America. He has thought proper to swell his volume with these tours in quite as full detail as the rest. They are by no means the least entertaining part of it;

but in fact the greater animation of these portions furnishes room for inferences of a paucity of interest in New Zealand itself which we are not willing to draw. At the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York he observed elderly ladies with "wigs of a grey color curled or frizzled all over." The effect of this was good. There were also some elderly gentlemen "who had adopted the fashion of long hair in what we should call the poetical style. The effect of this was also good."

A Treatise on Comparative Embryology. By F. M. Balfour. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1880. vii. pp. 492, xiii., 8vo. 275 figures.)—Mr. Balfour has undertaken a most difficult task, and has, on the whole, succeeded in compiling an admirable résumé of the immense mass of embryological information which has been so rapidly accumulating during the last twenty years. We have, it is true, short chapters on embryology in 'Text-Books of Comparative Anatomy and of Zoölogy,' and we have for the higher vertebrates the admirable volumes of Kölliker and the manual of Forster and Balfour; but with the exception of the 'Life Histories' of Packard there is no text-book on embryology covering the whole field of the animal kingdom. The study of embryology has been radically changed in the last twenty years; its problems have assumed an importance scarcely realized by the older writers, and it is fortunate that the first attempt to analyze and digest the often contradictory statements of modern embryologists should be made by one who is an original investigator himself, thoroughly familiar with all the recent methods of investigation, and whose embryological papers take a high rank in the literature of the subject. It has, of course, been impossible in a great many cases to decide between conflicting statements, but the points of difference are always clearly stated by Mr. Balfour, and the student will readily find for himself the subjects which are likely to yield him the richest harvest in the way of original work.

Each group of the animal kingdom is taken up separately, and the reader will find carefully analyzed the materials gathered from all that has been written up to the present time. The chapters on Systematic Embryology are preceded by a general statement of the scope of embryology, and by three chapters on the general phenomena of segmentation of the egg and the structure of its earliest stages. Wherever sufficient material is accessible Mr. Balfour has added some interesting chapters on the phylogeny of certain groups. It is very evident, however, that, except as ingenious speculations, phylogenetic theories disconnected from palæontological evidence have but little value. The present volume is limited to invertebrates; it is amply illustrated, the cuts are good and well printed. The bibliography which accompanies each chapter is one of its most important features; this has been collected as an appendix (containing over 500 titles), and will form an admirable nucleus for embryological bibliography hereafter.

If we may be allowed to find any fault with so good a book as this, it is that perhaps too great stress has been laid upon the earlier stages of the embryonic development, and that sufficient weight has not been given to the later stages of growth. This is specially apparent in the chapters on Crustacea, on Annelids, on Cœlenterata, on Brachiopods, and on Polyzoa. That part of the subject would, if somewhat more fully treated, have greatly enhanced the value of Mr. Balfour's phylogenetic speculations.

Eminent Israelites of the Nineteenth Century. By Henry S. Morais. (Philadelphia: Edward Stern & Co. 1880.)—Within the compass of 370 pages the author of this book sketches the lives of exactly one hundred Israelites part of whom are still among the living. It is an interesting portrait-gallery into which the author leads us, and he makes an efficient cicerone. His famous Israelites are of diverse origin—from Italy, Germany, Austria, France, England, the United States—and occupying various stations in life: we find among them theologians, philologians, physicians, statesmen, men of letters, philanthropists, musical composers, etc., all of whom have won for themselves more or less distinction. Yet it is but a comparatively very short time since in most of the countries named the political and, partly, the social barriers were removed which kept the Jews separated from their non-Jewish fellow-citizens, and which made it impossible for them to compete in general culture, and to enter upon the careers for which by talent and inclination they felt themselves especially suited. The author, who writes in a very appreciative spirit, and who tries to be as unbiassed as possible, has had to restrict himself in many of his sketches far too much. To some of the men of whom he furnishes miniature sketches he could hardly do sufficient justice by his meagre outlines, and could hardly indicate the deep and far-reaching influence which some of them have exercised in their own circles. Several of his statements are not correct. For instance, Auerbach's first novel was not 'Poet and Merchant, published in 1839, but 'Spinoza,' published two years earlier. Of Joseph Derenbourg, the learned Semitic scholar, of Paris, one of the *chefs-d'œuvre* is not mentioned, viz., 'Opuscules et Traités d'Abou'l-Walid.' Geiger did not write a monograph on *Elia* del Medigo, but on *Joseph Solomon* del Medigo. The three rabbinical conventions in which Geiger participated did not occur at the times and in the order here stated, but in 1844, '45, and '46 in Brunswick, Frankfort, and Breslau. As Steinschneider is chiefly renowned on account of his labors in the field of Hebrew bibliography, his various learned catalogues of the Hebrew manuscripts in the great libraries of Leyden, Munich, Hamburg, and Berlin deserved mention as much as his excellent 'Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.' The book-"Ir ha-tzedek"—a history of the Jewish congregation in Cracow and its Rabbis—is not by *Leopold* Zunz, but by one *Je'hiel M.* Zunz. Such and similar inaccuracies, however, will not hinder this book from finding a welcome reception, especially among Jewish families, but even still more widely.

Goethe's Leben. Von Heinrich Düntzer. Mit authentischen Illustrationen. (Leipzig: Fues. 1880. New York: L. W. Schmidt.)—The merits and demerits of Düntzer's workmanship are well known—great fulness and accuracy of detail, and a style void of inspiration. It is, we confess, a source of surprise to us that a life like that of Goethe should not move even the present biographer to an occasional "winged word." But Düntzer remains true to himself and his mission. He leaves to others the more attractive field of generalization, and contents himself with unearthing and grouping the facts. Certainly we can afford to be grateful, for he has produced one of the most accurate and trustworthy biographies ever written, sober in tone and replete with information, much of which will be new to the general reader. There are probably not half a dozen scholars in all Germany capable of estimating justly the amount of painful research packed away in these six hundred pages. As a whole, the work will not succeed so well as Lewes's superficial biography in conveying to the uninitiated an instantaneous impression of Goethe's extraordinary personality. Neither will it show us Goethe in his relations to the times, as Grimm's essay has done. Nevertheless, it is an exceedingly valuable—in fact, indispensable—help to the conscientious study of Goethe and his writings. We call attention to one point, where we think that Düntzer has profited by Grimm's method. We mean the significance of the first Weimar period, from 1775 to the Italian journey, 1786. This period, which Düntzer calls suggestively the *Dienstjahre*, is too often passed over in haste as barren and uninviting. In reality it was the formation-period of Goethe's character. Grimm was the first, to our knowledge, who brought out its significance; Düntzer has confirmed and extended Grimm's views. Those of us who have recognized in Goethe only the poet and philosopher must now prepare to admit that he was also one of the most systematic and indefatigable of practical men. In fact, we doubt if many of our legislators or railroad magnates or manufacturers could look back upon ten years so well spent. To sum up the drift of Grimm's and Düntzer's argument in a phrase, Goethe made Karl August, and Goethe and Karl August together made Weimar, and the little Saxon duchy set the tone to North Germany.

We have space in conclusion only to express deep regret that a work of this sort should be put forth without an index of names and subjects. Its absence is unpardonable.

New England Bygones. By E. H. Arr. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.)—This little volume, written especially for children, is a record of life in a typical New-England farm-house fifty years ago. The scenes and incidents are treated with the tenderness that haunts all remembered childhood in a pleasant and long-forsaken home. The aspect of the country through the varied seasons, the routine of the in-door work, the character of the village worthies, the peculiarities of the village institutions, and the special experiences and delights of childhood are dwelt upon minutely and faithfully. The whole forms a true picture of New-England life in the more remote districts, with its stern and unamiable features unsoftened, and its strong, hardy characteristics unheightened. It stirs a feeling of respect even while it fails to attract admiration or to awaken any regret that the ideal it illustrates has passed away. And it will give pleasure despite the fact that its pathos occasionally passes into weakness, and the delight of reminiscence sometimes leads the author into triviality.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
King (E.), Echoes from the Orient: Poetry	(C. Kegan Paul & Co.)
Koolman (J. ten D.), Wörterbuch der Ostfriesischen Sprache, Jök-Klatern, swd	(Herm. Braams)
Kossuth (L.), Memories of my Exile	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Other Fools and their Doings	(J. S. Ogilvie & Co.)
Prantl (Dr. K.), Elementary Text-book of Botany	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Savigny (F. C. von), On the Conflict of Laws	(Scribner & Welford) $8 40
Stewart (A.) and Long (G.), Plutarch's Lives, Vol. I	(Geo. Bell & Sons)
Winchester (C.), From Madge to Margaret	(Lee & Shepard) 1 00

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Premiums received on Marine Risks from 1st January, 1879, to 31st December, 1879	$3,699,066 58
Premiums on Policies not marked off 1st January, 1879	1,671,981 91
Total amount of Marine Premiums	$5,371,048 49
No Policies have been issued upon Life Risks, nor upon Fire disconnected with Marine Risks.	
Premiums marked off from 1st January, 1879, to 31st December, 1879	$3,875,101 26
Losses paid during the same period	$1,524,331 04
Returns of Premiums and Expenses	$840,736 77

The Company has the following Assets, viz.:

United States and State of New York Stock, City, Bank, and other Stocks	$8,875,558 00
Loans, secured by Stocks and otherwise	1,307,900 00
Real Estate and Claims due the Company, estimated at	500,000 00
Premium Notes and Bills receivable	1,522,826 35
Cash in Bank	231,455 16
Total Amount of Assets	$12,437,739 51

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THIRTY-THIRD SEMI-ANNUAL

STATEMENT

OF THE

TRAVELERS

INSURANCE CO.

Hartford, Conn., July 1, 1880.

PAID-UP CASH CAPITAL, $600,000.

ASSETS.

Real estate	$846,172 00
Cash on hand and in bank	253,912 58
Loans on bond and mortgage, real estate	1,924,397 87
Interest on loans, accrued but not due	47,712 26
Loans on collateral security	68,900 00
Deferred Life Premiums	61,001 36
Premiums due and unreported on Life policies	37,998 94
United States Government bonds	280,150 00
State, county, and municipal bonds	356,411 00
Railroad stocks and bonds	602,785 00
Bank stocks	663,234 00
Hartford City Gas Light Co., stock	19,200 00
Total Assets	$5,171,875 01

LIABILITIES.

Reserve, four per cent., Life department	$3,321,535 58
Reserve for re-insurance, Accident dep't	310,391 82
Claims unadjusted and not due, and all other liabilities	210,096 00
Total liabilities	$3,842,023 40
Surplus as regards policy-holders	$1,329,851 61

Statistics to July 1, 1880.

Whole number Accident Policies written	605,000
Whole number Accident Claims paid	46,890
Total amount Accident Claims paid	$3,690,000
Total Claims paid in Life Department	$1,525,000

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1880.

The Week.

MR. GARFIELD'S letter of acceptance is considerably longer than Mr. Hayes's, and, unfortunately, what it loses in terseness is not made up by clearness of statement or independence of attitude. Mr. Hayes's began boldly with an attack on the spoils doctrine, and so made of civil-service reform the main question of our politics. Mr. Garfield, on the contrary, with a rather slavish adherence to the order of the platform, places civil-service last among "the principal topics which are likely to become subjects of discussion," and which he therefore expresses his views upon; and in place of the strong and direct language of his predecessor in dealing with it, recommends in a round-about way legislation regulating appointments and fixing the tenure of office "without invading the authority or necessary discretion of the Executive." He even censures the President's famous order to office-holders when he says: "*Without depriving any officer of his rights as a citizen*, the Government should require him to discharge all his official duties with intelligence, efficiency, and faithfulness"; and he follows this reactionary sentiment with a vindication of Congressional interference with appointments. At least we can make nothing else of the following passage:

"To select wisely from our vast population those who are best fitted for the many offices to be filled, requires an acquaintance far beyond the range of any one man. The Executive should, therefore, seek and receive the information and assistance of those whose knowledge of the communities in which the duties are to be performed best qualifies them to aid in making the wisest choice."

The main question, according to Mr. Garfield's presentation, is the right of Congress to supervise the election of its own members, to protect the voter from intimidation and the ballot-box from fraud. This is also the main question of the Democrats, who call it, however, centralization and troops at the polls—or, in more elegant language, the supremacy of the military over the civil authority. It furnishes their strongest argument for the nomination of General Hancock, and they will not be displeased by having it made a straight issue. Mr. Garfield rather abstractly remarks on the cause of "the most serious evils which now afflict the South," that they grow out of a want of toleration of political opinion, but for this he proposes no remedy. He thinks the nation can aid popular education, but should give no support to sectarian schools. He refers to his previous utterances on finance, but injures the effect of this by what he goes on to say, which is, that greenbacks and gold and silver dollars are now in a happy equality that can be maintained—at least, he says "we need only to maintain the equality of all our dollars," as if it were possible; and that "the great prosperity which the country is now enjoying should not be endangered by any violent changes or doubtful financial experiments"—which may mean fiat money, or inflation, or the retirement of the greenbacks, or the abandonment of the dollar of our fathers. Mr. Garfield has here only too faithfully copied the ambiguity of Mr. Sherman. A disquisition on the tariff which will conciliate the protectionists; a hearty endorsement of "internal improvements"; and approval of the Government's course in sending to China a commission to secure a modification of the present treaty, conclude Mr. Garfield's survey of the political situation.

The letter, which reads as tamely as a message from the White House, will prove a cruel disappointment to those Independents who had hoped to find in it a trumpet-call, or at least some basis for their assertion that its author is "the platform's best embodiment." It recalls very unpleasantly General Garfield's rôle at the Convention, of moderator and harmonizer. It will tend to revive the spirits of the Stalwarts, as it gives them no ground of offence and leaves them unhindered in their choice of campaign issues. As a vital, historical document it bears no comparison with Mr. Hayes's letter, and will pass into as speedy oblivion as the platform which inspired it. It does nothing, where it might have done much, to raise the Presidential controversy above a simple balancing of the collective merits of the two opposing parties. Mr. Garfield remains a trained legislator as against a trained soldier, and this fact must still be allowed its weight. What we miss is a personal tone giving an added dignity to the canvass, and kindling in the party an honest enthusiasm for higher aims and ideals.

It is well to be on the lookout for the bloody shirt in the canvass, even in a disguised form. We think we see on the part of some of our esteemed contemporaries a determination to raise it if they can, and if not, to make the general social condition of the South a passable substitute. The *Tribune*, last week, brought out a Washington despatch mysteriously besprinkled with dashes, showing that the Attorney-General's office was in possession of damning facts about a Ku-klux revival in Virginia. By editorial courtesy this is regarded as the *Tribune's* specialty, entered with the Librarian of Congress, and therefore not to be even so much as alluded to by the *Times*. By the same token the *Tribune* would not for the world breathe a hint that the Georgia moonshiners are particularly troublesome just now, and that the State authorities are shielding them in every way, arresting the Federal officers who interfere with the distillers, etc. This is the *Times's* exclusive property. Still, there is no law against the campaign orator's using both these pictures of Southern demoralization as a reason why Hancock's election is to be resisted tooth and nail. The *Times*, more enterprising, perhaps, has also assumed charge of the indignation which Northerners ought to feel at the Cash-Shannon duel in South Carolina, and has been very liberal in devoting its space to reports and documents showing that the killing of Shannon was as clear a case of calculated murder as "the code" has ever begotten. We wish we could be quite sure that its zeal has no political tincture, and that it is earnestly striving to help the South suppress for ever a barbarism which is, after all, on the decline there. The Charleston *News and Courier* is manfully invoking the law for the punishment of the crime, and prints the resolutions of the Camden and Kershaw Anti-Duelling Association formed a month ago, and pledged "to enforce the laws against duelling in every case of their violation hereafter occurring within the county of Kershaw." The law disfranchises any one who gives, conveys, or accepts a challenge, or acts as second, and permits him to be imprisoned for two years, and protects witnesses compelled to give evidence, authorizing the State's attorney for that purpose to strike even one of the names of the principals out of the indictment. It does not, however, stamp a fatal issue as homicide, and punish it accordingly, and so it really offers an alternative course to a would-be assassin. Cash has been arrested and will be tried.

General Mahone appears to have managed his convention of Virginia "readjusters" last week with much shrewdness and success. His party have, it is well known, no political principles, and are held together by all sorts of forces, among which the fogyism of the Conservatives or Bourbons and the prospect of getting the offices are the chief. In one sense, therefore, he had a free field, and on national questions enjoyed the advantage of being absolutely unfettered in his action; it is generally admitted that he would have supported Grant had he been the Chicago nominee, and his choice of an electoral ticket pledged to Hancock is of course to be attributed to the most undisguised considerations of expediency. But the path of pure expediency has its pitfalls, and, aside from the obvious weakness involved in having no real national preferences to unite his adherents, he had to choose between offending potential allies in the Bourbon ranks on the one hand and the Republican wing of his party on the other. Apparently he risked the lesser danger. The disaffection with the Conservatives is widespread and increasing as it becomes more and more evident that the Mahone men "mean business," and the nomination of Hancock

electors will furnish an excellent excuse for Conservative desertion to the winning side; while the ties by which the "readjusters" have bound the negroes to them are strong enough to hold many to whom material comfort is dearer than the election of "the man who beat Grant at Chicago." Whether or no enough of these will vote with their new friends to give the "readjusters'" electoral ticket a plurality it is of course impossible to tell, but it is at least certain that if most of them do, few Conservative desertions will be needed. The Conservatives see this, and their papers are denouncing the "readjusters" as bogus Democrats with a severity that would probably have more effect if the feeling that whether a man is a Democrat or not he is wise to be a "readjuster" had not recently gained so much ground.

As we said last week, we can see little opportunity for the Republican electoral ticket to "slip in" through the Democratic split, and the hope of this probably arises from the possibilities of "trading," or what the politicians call "unholy alliances," which the situation offers. Since the Convention, it is true, this breach seems wider and less likely to be healed than before the determination of the "readjusters" was made so clear; it looks now as if both Democratic factions would keep their tickets in the field, unless the National Committee should become seriously alarmed. But the only hope of success for the Garfield ticket apparently lies in the selling out of their electors by the "readjusters" in order to elect their Congressional candidates, and in the restoration of the franchise to the forty thousand negroes disfranchised by the poll-tax qualification. The latter can only be accomplished by the payment of the tax by Northern money, which, if raised, it is plausibly feared would be either stolen or misapplied; and the former is rendered unlikely by the fact that the "readjusters," as a party, undoubtedly care more for a decisive showing of their strength than for the election of any of their candidates for Congress. It should, moreover, be remembered that the temptation to the Republicans will be to help the electoral ticket of the "readjusters," for the reasons that this will leave them free to support, and with every probability of success in some instances, Republican Congressional nominations, and will also attach to them the faction from which they have most to expect in breaking the "color-line" in Virginia politics. It cannot be denied that these two objects are laudable, but, on the other hand, it cannot be overlooked that an intimate and permanent fusion with the "readjusters" means the disbandment of the Republican party in Virginia.

We were in error a fortnight since in designating Mr. Pease, now Collector of the Port of Galveston, as "the carpet-bag Governor of Texas." As a matter of fact, we are informed, he is a native of Connecticut, who went to Texas some forty-five years ago and assisted in the formation of the government of the Republic, holding office under it subsequently and under the State, of which he was twice the Democratic Governor. His appointment as Provisional Governor after the war was due to his having been a Union man. In this capacity we believe we have authority for saying that his behavior was indistinguishable from that of a genuine carpet-bagger, and very properly drew from General Hancock the letter so much talked of then and now. Before he had been Provisional Governor more than three weeks he declared by proclamation that the constitution of 1866 and all the general laws not in conflict with the United States Constitution which had been enacted during the rebellion were still in force. This was contrary to the contemporary policy of Mr. Seward and the Administration in dealing with other States, but it had the additional inconvenience of validating the claim of Throckmorton, who was elected Governor under it, and invalidating his own as Provisional Governor—an office which the constitution of 1866 made impossible. These considerations were perhaps outweighed in Mr. Pease's mind by the higher salaries of the revived constitution.

The long dispute between the Police Commissioners and the Mayor has finally come to an end by the reinstatement of General Smith. Mr. Voorhis made a feeble effort at resistance, and got an injunction from Judge Van Hoesen, of the Superior Court, which was, however, immediately vacated by Judge Freedman. With General Smith and Mr. Nichols back the Board is divided between Tammany and the Republicans, and Reformers who propose to take an active part in city politics this fall had better bear this in mind. In a Presidential year the composition of the Police Board is more than ordinarily important, and it is not made less so by the fact that one of its members is a leading supporter of the Democratic candidate, or that another is a member of an organization which is powerless in city politics except through an alliance with one or other wing of the Democratic party. This is the end to which Mr. Cooper's reform campaign has brought him, and that it would bring him to it has long been obvious. What he needed, and what any one must rely upon in such an attempt, is the force of public opinion, and this cannot be had unless nominations are made which command public confidence. The great trouble with most of the reformers who have been produced within the past few years is, that they are so accustomed to the intrigue and chicane by which "politics" in such a place as New York are characterized, that they do not see that this is what is to be reformed, and that consequently "combinations" and "deals," by which a man is put in here and another put out there, are not part of the proper machinery of reform. It seems absurd to have to say this, but there is a large number of good men who, with a sincere desire to improve municipal politics, no sooner get into power than they vie with the regular Bosses in these devices. The worst of this is that they make reform ridiculous, so that people laugh when they hear of it. Concerning the legal aspects of the Police Board muddle it is impossible to use too strong language. Judge Davis, in his dissenting opinion with regard to the removal of officials under the charter, describes the consequences of the extraordinary position into which the present condition of the law puts the government of the city. Of course, as long as the present charter remains, the law will remain, and during that period the Mayor's power of removal for cause is practically gone.

The attempt of "Dr." Tanner to go without food for forty days is receiving a great deal of attention from the press and from a certain portion of the medical profession, as well as from a large number of fanatics and lunatics of all kinds all over the United States, who pour in letters of congratulation and sympathy as the Doctor adds each new day to his score. Those interested in the experiment express a good deal of feeling against the more conservative physicians who hold aloof and refuse to "watch" Dr. Tanner starve himself. There is, however, something to be said for the doctors. The amount and variety of experiments which eccentric persons may try upon their bodies are practically unlimited, and if doctors were called upon to "watch" everybody who chose to subject himself to one of these in the interest of "science," they would really have no time to attend to their practice, their patients would leave them, and in the end they would lose more than science would gain by the operation. Again, such an experiment as that now being tried by Dr. Tanner is worthless unless it is guarded against every possibility of fraud from the outset, and this not only by "watchers," but by the character of the person operated upon. Without desiring to cast the slightest discredit upon Dr. Tanner, it is obvious that he is not absolutely above suspicion, for one of his watchers has already hinted at fraud. Again, it does not very clearly appear what "science" is to gain by knowing that Dr. Tanner can by lying a great part of the time on his stomach and sitting a great part of the time "doubled up," and by taking a very little water from time to time and by rinsing his mouth out, go for a very great length of time without food. The *Times* has suggested that it may lead to the introduction of starving matches conducted on the "go-as-you-please" plan. But, unless made up between men of very eminent character and position, we fear that the interest in these would not be great. Starving is not nearly so exciting a process to look at as that of eating; and eating matches, though probably quite as likely to furnish interesting scientific results as starving matches, have never proved generally popular.

The value of the exports to foreign countries from New York during the month of June was $43,084,568, of which $41,325,315 represented domestic produce. Never before in the history of the port did

the exports amount to so much in a single month. In June, 1879, the value of the exports was $28,828,608. The value of the imports last month was $40,512,404, against $23,471,878 in June, 1879. These figures give some idea of the expansion in the foreign trade, which has been not less extraordinary than that in the domestic trade, as reflected in the Clearing-House exchanges. The foreign trade of New York during the fiscal year ending with June shows total imports of $524,844,862 and total exports of $400,798,000, against total imports during the preceding year of $306,746,125 and exports of $351,319,610. A large part of the enormous exports during June was made up of breadstuffs, which were hurried forward by the speculators who "overstayed their market" before the new crop figures could be positively known. Railroad earnings for June were as remarkable as the trade figures. A list of thirty-four railroads publishing earnings shows an average increase of 33 per cent. over June, 1879—which is due not only to the increased tonnage, but to the higher rates maintained by "pooling" arrangements of the leading roads. The money market was very easy during the week, and the surplus reserve of the New York banks is nearly $18,000,000. In addition to the domestic influences working in favor of low rates was the decline in the rates for bills on London to within one-half of one per cent. of the point at which gold can be imported. At the Stock Exchange, speculation was governed by "crop despatches" from Chicago and Milwaukee about the spring wheat in the Northwestern States. The weather has been sufficiently unfavorable there to furnish the grain of truth needed for stories of great damage and "blighted crops." Wheat was "bulled" on these despatches, and the stocks of the railroads traversing the Northwestern States were "beared." The State of Minnesota produces more wheat than any other of the Northwestern States (as classified at the Stock Exchange), and its yield last year was less than seven per cent. of the total for the country. However important, therefore, these crop despatches may be to local interests, or for the purposes of speculation at Chicago and New York, it is evident that, so far as the interests of the country at large are concerned, they are of minor significance. Silver bullion in London declined to 52½*d.* per oz., and here the bullion value of the "buzzard dollar" fell to $0.8836.

The despatches concerning the precise terms of the Amnesty Bill, as voted by the French Senate and concurred in by the Chamber, are meagre, but seem to point to a substantial concession on the part of the Upper House. A few Communists, like Blanqui, Pyat, and Rochefort, receive pardon without the restoration of civil rights; but such of them as are smart writers will probably not regret their inability to be heard from the *tribune*. They have all come flocking back from abroad, to be present at the celebration of the new national holiday, the 14th of July, and Rochefort, who was met at the depot and escorted in great state by a mob in which the municipal council was conspicuous, announces his intention to start a new paper immediately, to be called *L'Intransigeant*, or the *Intractable*. As we go to press, the festival, for which extraordinary preparations have been made, is in full progress, and Frenchmen who find it of ill-omen as commemorating the violent fall of the Bastille, can carry their thoughts forward to the "Fête de la Fédération" which occurred on the same day of the following year, as M. Henri Martin suggested to his hesitating fellow-senators. That the amnestied and pardoned Communists, as well as, at the other pole, the anti-Republicans, should see any but the bloody side of it, was not to be expected. The Republicans regard it as the seal of the new form of government, and, now that the last excuse for popular agitation has been removed by condoning the political offences of 1871, are ready to face without misgivings the general elections of 1881.

The Porte has not absolutely committed itself to a policy of resistance to what may be called the decree of the Berlin Conference. Nor has it given any other than the usual delusive signs of a yielding temper. The dismissal of Osman Pasha from the Ministry of War is interpreted favorably, but all such changes in the administration leave untouched the Turkish character, which has been the real difficulty in the way of carrying out the Berlin Treaty. None of the Powers feel any faith in its most solemn pledges, and the ability of the Porte is as doubtful as its good-will. It is difficult to see how anything but the fixing of a day for the execution of its promises, and a readiness to support the Montenegrins on the one hand and the Greeks on the other with land and naval forces for as long a time as may be necessary, will succeed with Turkey. Greece, in compliance with a request from France and England, refrains from calling out her reserves until an answer has been received to the collective note, but her preparations for mobilizing the troops are uninterrupted.

After nearly ten months of inactivity the Russians in southern Turkestan have, under General Skobeleff, resumed hostilities against the Tekke Turkomans, and, as their reports have it, with some success at the outset. Whether the forces collected so late for the purpose are sufficient to break the resistance of the fierce robber tribes intervening between the Russian possessions on the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea and the much-coveted city of Merv—coveted as the key to Herat, the northwestern gate of Afghanistan—may be doubted, as the commanders in Russian Turkestan are now forced, in view of the threatened advance of the Chinese and possible risings, to use most of their troops for defensive purposes. That the Russians, after the severe repulse by the Tekkes at Gök Tepe, early in September, 1879, allowed many months to elapse before making a strong effort to revenge it, was obviously owing to the paralyzing effect of the murderous attempts of the Nihilists and to England's attitude in Central Asian affairs, an attitude made menacing by the successes of the British army at Kabul and Kandahar. These latter considerations ceased with the fall of the Beaconsfield Cabinet, but the Government at St. Petersburg was bound to avoid an unbecoming haste in profiting by the change, and to abstain for a time from embarrassing, and still more from provoking, the new British Ministry, whose action in Indo-Afghan affairs was still to be shaped, and to be shaped mainly by British interests and susceptibilities—all Mr. Gladstone's previous condemnations of the Asian policy of his predecessor notwithstanding. The preparations for the new advance under Skobeleff have been made slowly and quietly, but it remains to be seen whether with more circumspection than marked the campaign in which Lazareff met his death and Tergukassoff signally failed.

Concerning the probabilities of a definitive warlike rupture between Russia and China the reports continue conflicting and uniformly uncertain. According to news repeatedly brought to Afghanistan and India by Khokandis and others, and thence telegraphed to England with an evident bias in favor of the newsmongers' veracity, the war has already begun, and in a way alarming to the Russian military authorities, not only in Kulja but in Ferghana and in the east of Russian Turkestan generally. This is, however, stoutly denied by the semi-official organs at St. Petersburg, though it is admitted that the Chinese in Kashgaria are making vigorous efforts to complete their armaments for an invasion. Russia, on her part, is evidently preparing with great earnestness for a serious conflict, in which she probably intends to act an aggressive part in the East, where her naval forces are being rapidly increased by numerous war-vessels sent from the Baltic Sea and other stations to Vladivostok, the southern port of the Littoral Province, on the Sea of Japan. From this point a menacing expedition to the China Sea and against Pekin itself might be undertaken; and, if land forces in sufficient numbers could be brought to those remote regions through Eastern Siberia or by sea, the annexation of the Mantchurian districts south of the Amoor might possibly be one of the permanent fruits of the war. On the western theatre of it, however, Russia's attitude must necessarily remain a strictly defensive one. Even if her conquests north of the Thian-Shan range were of old date and perfectly secured, an advance beyond that tremendous mountain barrier would be a most hazardous enterprise; with millions of lately subdued fanatical Uzbecks, Sarts, and Tajiks left in the rear, it would be an act of madness such as even the ambition or greed of the most reckless military heads at Tashkend would shrink from advising.

CAMPAIGN ISSUES.

AS the campaign is in a backward and halting state by reason of the warm weather and the shattered nerves of leading politicians, the newspapers have been sorely tried to procure fuel for firing the mass of voters. It is true that effective campaign work seldom begins before the middle of August, but it is the part of a good "organ" to get the public mind into a suitable state of irritation before the "workers" commence operations. We have accordingly been asked to believe without a scrap of evidence, first, that General Hancock in a letter to some brother officer (Sheridan or Sherman) nearly four years ago declared that he (Hancock) thought that Tilden was elected President, and that if he (Tilden) should take an oath before some justice of the peace that he would support the Constitution of the United States, he (Hancock) would feel bound as an officer of the Army to obey his (Tilden's) orders; second, that at an early stage of the war, while our army was on the defensive in front of Washington City, General Hancock entered into a conspiracy with other officers under General McClellan to march upon Washington, depose President Lincoln and his Cabinet, and set up nobody knows whom in their places—of course Jeff. Davis would have been their eventual successor; third, that after the war was over, General Hancock became president of a swindling oil company known as the United Service Petroleum Company, whereby many thousands of dollars were lost by meritorious soldiers and sailors who invested their money in its shares. It is grudgingly conceded that General Hancock lost money of his own in the oil company, but it is contended that a man of ordinary prudence would have kept out of such speculations, and especially would have refused to allow his name to be used as president—instances being extremely rare where men of ordinary prudence have gone into bad speculations and become presidents of losing oil companies, silver-mining companies, and railroad companies. If we mistake not, General Garfield was the promoter of an oil company at the same time that General Hancock was committing this offence against business principles and the laws of prudence, and his adventure turned out no better in the matter of dividends than the United Service concern.

As to each of these accusations it may be safely predicted that General Hancock will get more votes than if they had been left unsaid. Any shrewd friend can do him no better service than to furnish a charge of the same sort each day to the Republican press, or that portion of it short-sighted enough to print them. General Hancock has shown tact and sagacity in not availing himself of the opportunity generously offered by his accusers to contradict these stories. A campaign based upon Tilden conspiracies, McClellan conspiracies, Mrs. Surratt's execution, and speculations in oil-lands would go far to neutralize the prime advantage which General Garfield possesses over his opponent, viz., long experience and creditable service in the higher walks of civil life. If it can be sufficiently dinned into the public ear that the main question is not which candidate gives the better promise of intelligent discharge of the duties of the Presidential office, but which of them lost the most of his own and of other people's money in the great oil-bubble of 1865, General Hancock's chances will prove to be much better than they now seem.

It is admitted on all hands that General Hancock owes his nomination to the fact that he is a soldier. Any discoveries or pretended discoveries of statesmanship in his career, his writings, his conversation are afterthoughts, so far as the Cincinnati Convention is concerned. What the Democrats wanted and were determined to have was somebody who was free from the charge of complicity with the rebellion. Every other consideration was made subordinate to this. They have succeeded in their aim; but they have raised another issue which is likely to prove as troublesome as the one they sought to avoid. They have required every thoughtful voter to ask the question whether the profession of arms is a good school of statesmanship—whether the training of the camp and the education involved in "general orders" are desirable or even tolerable qualifications for the tasks of civil government. Representing a party whose chief, if not its sole, tenet is subordination of the military to the civil power, General Hancock's abstention from any use of the troops not legally provided for is pretty certain; but except in this particular, if any leading Democrat were asked to state what would be the probable characteristics of General Hancock's administration he could offer nothing but conjecture. Patriotism we could undoubtedly count upon, but patriotism is a sentiment which covers the acts of a Tyler, a Buchanan, and a Johnson equally with those of a Washington and a Lincoln. The time when the fact of birth on American soil was deemed a sufficient qualification for the Presidency, and *à fortiori* for any lesser office, has gone by. Civil-service reform, which demands proof of fitness for an inspectorship of customs, will not be content to put the Presidency itself up at a raffle. The currency question is as important as ever, yet General Hancock's opinions concerning it are unknown. Nobody will venture to say that he is any safer in this particular than the Democratic party, although this was said of Seymour in 1868 and of Tilden in 1876, and might have been said of Bayard if he had been nominated at Cincinnati. The Silver Bill will come up for action of some sort within twelve months. If General Hancock's views are merely the preponderating sentiment of the Democratic party they are not safe, and are not such as the State of New York, for one, ought to promote and sanction by her electoral vote. We may add that any authoritative statement of them will not have the same value, as an evidence of his probable action, that a similar statement would have from a candidate who had been long in civil life, and whose votes on various public questions were notorious and a matter of record. Even General Grant had his views on finance, but his veto of the Inflation Bill was an afterthought to his resolution to sign it.

The obscurity of General Hancock's title to civic honors and responsibilities will cause the fitness of the Democratic party to be entrusted with power to become a much more prominent topic than it would have been if Tilden, Bayard, Thurman, Hendricks, or anybody versed in government affairs had been nominated. If the Democrats wished to attract criticism to themselves as a party, they have done well to nominate a candidate who has no civil record of his own. If they desired to withdraw attention from themselves and fix it on the guns that held the cemetery at Gettysburg, they will not succeed in their endeavor. The public are inclined to look at the acts of the candidate rather than of the party if there are any acts to examine. In the case of General Hancock there are none which can be called pertinent to the issue. Therefore the acts of the party, its composition, its general drift and tendency must be considered perforce. Here the Republicans ought to be conscious of their advantage, and to challenge comparison and debate. If they are wise they will not run the risk of outraging the public sense of fair play by trivialities like General Hancock's speculations in oil, and calumnies like his alleged conspiracy against Lincoln, and stupidities relating to the hanging of Mrs. Surratt, but will quickly substitute sober political argument in their stead.

WHY INDEPENDENTS SIDE WITH THE REPUBLICANS.

WE have never disguised, in any broad comparison between the Republican and Democratic parties, our preference for, and to that extent our sympathy with, the former. We have, looking solely to its composition, and again to the rank and file only of the Northern wing, seen in it the best hopes for the political development of the country in accordance with those ideals which we have most at heart. Of the two we have regarded it as at least as patriotic as its rival, and more intelligent, reflective, independent, and amenable to discussion. For this reason (as well as because it was in power) we have during fifteen years devoted ourselves to criticism of its methods and leaders so persistently and exclusively as to have won the hearty abuse of the party organs, and the stigma (in their eyes) of being, under an affectation of independence, a Democratic "sheet." Yet we can truthfully and modestly say to such of them as are now engaged in the more or less perfunctory laudation of the choice of the Chicago Convention, that the *Nation* has a share in the credit of it, not because of any words spoken during the past six months, but in virtue of its consistent endeavor to purify the Republican party for half a generation.

We have, therefore, no excuses to make for being gratified at the check given last month to the downward tendency of that party. There have been times when it has seemed to us very doubtful whether the power of recovery had not been lost, and whether those who directed the party for selfish ends could ever be shaken off except in the reaction

caused by signal defeat at a national election. We do not feel at all sure that the internal revolution, now that it has come, is not too late; nor do we, on the other hand, exaggerate the extent of it. The hopes of the Bosses for 1884, as exposed on another page by a correspondent, are grounded in their sense of the incompleteness of their overthrow at Chicago and in their knowledge of human nature. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the culmination of those tendencies which we have combated was successfully resisted by a clear majority of the Republican delegates—by an immense majority, if we subtract from the 306 Grantites the Southern phalanx, or consider how few Northern States by hook or by crook were committed to the third term, how few respectable journals advocated it; and here, we hold, is warrant enough for believing that "reform within the party" has begun, and for rejoicing in it as we do. The mixed motives which accompany all reform are no bar to this rejoicing, however they may enforce the need of continued exertion. It might be asked what the mixed motives which the Democratic Opposition have had for regaining the confidence of the country have done for them that can be compared with the achievement at Chicago. A simple test will suffice: every one admits the moral significance of Grant's rejection, but can any moral be drawn from the nomination of Hancock as to the better or worse condition of the Democratic party? We do not, of course, offer this as an argument for voting for General Garfield, but merely to show that the Republicans may rightfully ascribe to something more than accident and something higher than expediency the result of the late desperate struggle between the hostile elements of the party.

But now we are taken to task for being satisfied with the measure of reform already obtained. In one sense, of course, we are by no means satisfied. A party which had to employ all its energies in simply keeping down its Bosses, would soon exhaust the public's interest in its perpetuity. We do not, however, believe that this portion of the work will have to be done over again in 1884 or at any other time; and for the rest, we have never looked for instantaneous and thorough reform in the Republican party or in any party, because we are not in the habit of expecting miracles. The all-important thing was the turning of the scales. It was virtually accomplished by the final condemnation of the unit rule, yet this alone would not have been satisfactory. It was powerfully reinforced by the resistance to a third term for General Grant, but even thus it would not have been satisfactory. That reformers were contented, for the present, was due to the nomination of a man whom the bulk of them in common with the bulk of the party believed to be uncorrupt and incorruptible, as they did not believe Mr. Blaine; and scrupulous in the pursuit of his political ambition, as they did not believe Mr. Sherman; and sincerely desirous of establishing civil-service reform, as they did not believe either Blaine or Sherman to be; finally, sounder than either in regard to the currency and the reform of the tariff. They would have been gladdened by a genuine platform of principles, and not simply one ungraciously patched in deference to themselves. But was there any cause for discouragement in what they did get? And if reform within the party was not begun by the several victories we have just described, must we believe that the nomination of Hancock was all that was needed to turn out a brand-new, immaculate Democratic party? This would indeed be reform made easy.

Apparently, however, the Republican platform ought to have contained a disavowal of all the party's errors during reconstruction. This, at least, is what Mr. Bayard's reproach of General Garfield amounts to. No candidate inside their own ranks whom the Republicans could fitly have chosen would have been exempt from the general criticism of the party for the measures, more or less well meant and more or less well-advised, by which the transition was accomplished from civil war to the actual equality of all the States under the Constitution. Every Republican statesman of prominence has been implicated in them, and posterity will judge him according to his superiority to the heat and unwisdom of the times in which they were enacted. We do not fear the result of this judgment when applied to Mr. Garfield, as compared with any of his prominent rivals. But just now neither he nor his party is much interested in such a vindication, because the period in question is closed. This is what the respectable class of Southern men whom Mr. Bayard represents do not see or do not acknowledge. For the sake of restoring the Democrats to power they desire to prolong the reconstruction grievance, just as it was to the interest of the carpet-baggers and their allies, the Northern Machinists, to pretend that the war was not over long after the excuse for military government had been taken away. In fact, the war and reconstruction ended simultaneously when President Grant resolved to let his successor have the honor of withdrawing the troops from South Carolina and Louisiana. There has never been one moment since then when arbitrary power could attack any Southern State except at the same peril with which a Northern State could be outraged.

When we spoke lately of "a final discarding of military ideas and military methods" at Chicago, we did not mean to imply that Grant's renomination and election would have given him one atom of authority over the South not already possessed by Mr. Hayes, or have led to any attempt to oppress the South on his part. They would have given him the party's condonation for the abuses of his civil administration due to his "military ideas and methods"; but, then, these were as clearly manifested in the San Domingo intrigue and the whiskey trials as in Southern affairs. We might, therefore, have anticipated a repetition of the disgraces of 1868–1876 over the field of the whole Union impartially. Now, we must say once more, with every concession in favor of General Hancock's character, that his Order No. 40 and letter to Governor Pease, sane and salutary as they were when issued, and historically precious to him and his posterity, are no guarantee against his resorting to military ideas and methods in an untried sphere. But, as this does not concern the South specially, we can also add that his professional training lays him bare to the assaults of the politicians and office-seekers just as Grant was exposed, but under a still greater disadvantage. General Grant had the prestige necessary for rallying to the support of unpartisan government the best section of his party, the best men of all parties. General Hancock has none of this: his services in the war were great but inferior, and they are too remote, and the spirit of the people is no longer exalted by the inspiration of the triumph of the Union. In the next place, General Grant received the Government officered throughout by his own partisans, with a few Johnsonian exceptions. The first question which President Hancock will have to face will be the retention of his opponents in place, and whether he will firmly take his stand on business principles of administration without regard to party, or will surrender at discretion to the horde of applicants for the spoils of victory. It is needless to say that the pressure thus brought to bear on him will be out of all proportion to that under which Grant miserably succumbed.

THE BRADLAUGH INCIDENT.

LONDON, Saturday, June 16, 1880.

THE Bradlaugh incident must be considered as one of the misfortunes of Mr. Gladstone's Government. His treatment of it has not been perfect; but the situation was one in which it was next to impossible to avoid mistakes. Probably Mr. Bradlaugh is among certain classes the man of all others most detested in England. He is supposed to be an atheist, disloyal, and unclean. All these things are enough to prejudice any cause with which he is associated, though it be accidentally. Atheism is not a new thing in the House of Commons or in society; but it must be decently veiled and rather insinuated than expressed. There is nothing in Mr. Bradlaugh's writings which has not been said, and said without rebuke, by men of the highest position in literature and in society. But what they have hinted at he has shouted in stentor tones; what they have said as esoterical doctrines for the wise only he has proclaimed to the multitude, to men, women, and children without distinction. There are precedents for his most detested social doctrines in the writings of political economists, philanthropists, and physiologists. His political heresies have been shared by men of the highest position. His "Impeachment of the House of Brunswick" is far less damaging to monarchy in England than Thackeray's lectures on the Four Georges, or than the disclosures contained in the published diaries of Mr. Henry Greville. His atheism, it is notorious, is shared by half the scientific men and speculative philosophers of our time. Yet these things do not affect favorably the estimation in which Mr. Bradlaugh is held. The doctrines which form the whole of his mind and exclusively occupy his writings are merely incidental in the works of more liberally cultivated men. A page or two might be picked out from the voluminous writings of the late Mr. Mill which beneath their reserve of form yet cover almost the whole doctrinal ground of Mr. Bradlaugh's

Malthusianism. The agnosticism of some of the most eminent men of letters of our time, the positivism and materialism professed in the chairs of distinguished university teachers and advocated in our scientific schools, are as distinct a negation of the fundamental doctrine of theology as anything which Mr. Bradlaugh has put forward. But in the case of the distinguished men whose names will occur to every one these heresies are covered with the graces of style, and are overshadowed by ideas and reflections which bring them into relation with general sentiment. Mr. Bradlaugh is, in the eyes of a large number of people, and especially of that class of people who make current opinion, simply the condensed essence of all that is objectionable in the writings and thoughts of men in whom there is very much that is not objectionable. His opinions and conduct seem to be made up of the worst parts of the opinions and conduct of everybody else. I am giving this as a true description of Mr. Bradlaugh, not as he is in himself, but only of him as he is seen in the perception of the upper and middle classes. To them he is a sort of monster. Given this estimate of him, it is easy to understand the storm of passion and frenzy of alarm which his appearance in the House of Commons has excited.

Mr. Bradlaugh has been described by a very accomplished judge of men and things as an inverted puritan, or, as we may say, a stern impuritan. He has all the fanaticism and all the coarse disregard of other people's feelings often found in the reformer and nearly always in the iconoclast. There is no reason to believe that he is not entirely honest in the opinions which he professes. Probably he loves notoriety. Certainly he has a taste for, and the capacity to distinguish himself in, conflict. His own feelings do not appear to be very sensitive, and he has very little regard for the feelings of others. These are reasons, perhaps, for not liking the man, but they are not reasons for denying him justice; the action of the House of Commons in regard to him has certainly neither been just nor considerate nor manly. It cannot be denied that Mr. Bradlaugh has made serious mistakes. When he presented himself first in Parliament as the duly elected member for Northampton, he made the request to be allowed to affirm instead of taking the usual oath. He was understood to do so not only on the technical ground that this privilege had been conceded to him in courts of law, but on the moral ground that to take an oath was against his conscience. In the subsequent stages of the controversy, however, Mr. Bradlaugh declared that though he would rather affirm, yet he was willing to take the oath. That being so, it seems as if Mr. Bradlaugh had no right to claim liberty of departure from the usual course merely because he faintly preferred, or even very positively preferred, the form of affirmation to that of swearing. If he did not labor under disability of conscience there was no disability from which he could reasonably ask the House of Commons to relieve him. Many members, Jews, Christians, and theists would on the whole prefer to affirm rather than invoke superfluously the Divine name. But this preference is no ground for exemption. If Mr. Bradlaugh can take the oath now, as he avers that he can, in good faith and with full acknowledgment of its binding power, he ought to have taken it at first without making any fuss about it, and without raising the embarrassing personal question which has distracted the House of Commons, divided the Liberal party against itself, and placed Mr. Gladstone temporarily in a minority.

It is at least open to doubt whether legally Mr. Bradlaugh can affirm. It is also open to doubt whether a man who has declared that the words, "So help me God," are to his mind an unmeaning formality, and that the New Testament is to him a book like any other, is really taking the oath when he repeats those unmeaning words and goes through the empty gesture of reverence. The oath is a mental affirmation; it does not consist merely in the physical production of certain sounds or in the use of a certain gesture. The two committees, therefore, to which Mr. Bradlaugh's case was referred had a certain justification when they decided, the one that the law did not allow him to affirm, the other that his mental state made it impossible for him to take an oath. The vote of the House of Commons which asserted these two propositions was not indeed dictated by any regard to them. It was the vote, with few exceptions, of personal vindictiveness and theological passion. It was also inspired by a desire to injure Mr. Gladstone personally and to damage his Government, by forcing him and it into the supposed championship of Mr. Bradlaugh. All these consequences would have been avoided if Mr. Bradlaugh had consented in the first instance to do what he wishes to do now, and had taken the oath without giving the explanation which makes it no oath; or if the Government, instead of referring the matter to a select committee, had proposed a resolution in the whole House authorizing him to affirm; or, still better, had introduced and pushed rapidly through the House of Commons a bill abolishing the oath altogether, and substituting for it an affirmation binding upon all members. It is said that the House of Lords would never have passed such a measure. They probably would not have done so if it had affected to abolish the oath in their chamber as well as in the House of Commons. But a bill confined solely to regulating the procedure of the House of Commons would scarcely have been rejected by the House of Lords.

As it is, both parties in the state are in an embarrassing position. The person who comes best out of the matter is Mr. Bradlaugh himself. The Tories have made the fatal mistake of converting him into a martyr and the representative of a principle which must triumph. They imprisoned him for some four-and-twenty hours, and then grew so afraid of what they had done that they were in a hurry to release him without his making that submission which is usually required from persons who have offended the authority of Parliament, before their offence is purged. Mr. Bradlaugh no doubt committed a breach of order in refusing to withdraw when he was commanded by the Speaker, acting under the authority of the vote of the House to do so. But as a matter of tactics, Mr. Bradlaugh acted with sagacity. He was standing on the defensive, and vindicating not only his position as a duly elected member of Parliament, but the right of the constituency which had chosen him. No one could blame him for forcing his adversaries to the extremest exercise of their power against him. If he put himself a little wrong, he put them greatly wrong, and forced them into an attitude which they dared not maintain. With the exception of the incidents attending his final removal from the House nothing could have been better than Mr. Bradlaugh's manner and deportment. His speech at the bar in vindication of his right to take his seat showed that he possessed consummate oratorical power. It was respectful to the House in form, but conveyed beneath its carefully-chosen words, and indicated in its modulated tones and restrained gestures, the substance of a defiance amounting almost to a threat. Yet the menace was one to which no exception could be taken, for it was given in the name not of himself or of any crowd outside, but in that of law which he conceived to have been set at naught, and of public opinion which had been disregarded. The challenge which the House threw down he took up and flung back. Yet in all this a subtle perception was manifest of the sensibilities of Parliament, which he very delicately managed. There is nothing which the House of Commons dislikes so much to hear of as the People, in an abstract sense, as a power superior to themselves, and ultimately controlling them. There is no term in the rhetoric of demagogues which is more copiously used, none which occurs so readily to the tongue of the half-educated mob-orator. Mr. Bradlaugh's sense of the peculiar susceptibility of his audience was shown by his carefully avoiding this rhetorical abstraction. There can be little doubt if he succeeds in taking his seat that he will gain and keep the ear of the House. Mr. Bradlaugh is not only an orator by nature and by assiduous cultivation, but he has also the instinct of the debater. Nobody will be more observant than he of the rules of the House or more deferential to the suggestions of the Speaker.

But whether he wins a triumph for himself or not, whether he succeeds in keeping his own seat or in winning it again if he is deprived of it, it is certain that the principle for which he has contended will obtain a speedy victory. The last remaining theological test must go the way of all others. It is no longer necessary to be a member of the Church of England, a Protestant, or a Christian to have a seat in the House of Commons. Jews and Roman Catholics, Mahommedans and Parsees, worshippers of Mumbo-Jumbo, believers in the vilest superstition and heathenism, are now eligible. The present Parliament will not have expired without doing away with the theistic test. No one denies that a man has a right to be an atheist, or rather that he must be an atheist if he cannot convince himself of the truth of revealed or of natural religion. No reasonable person denies that a man who is an atheist has a right to say that he is one, and that he ought not to be hindered from proclaiming his opinions—that is, that he ought not to be forced into hypocrisy, either of silence or of false profession, by placing him under social and political proscription. In what form or at what time the final severance of the exercise of political and civil rights from theological conditions will come it would be hazardous and useless to predict, but it will come soon, and it will be complete when it does come. † † †

THE NEW EASTERN QUESTION.

PARIS, June 25, 1880.

OF the various nationalities which are to be found in the East there is none deserving of so much sympathy as the Greek. The little kingdom created in the first part of this century was unfortunately deprived of the provinces which were necessary to it. The progress of Greece has nevertheless been great; the trade of the Greeks in the East has increased marvellously. During the last war, when it seemed that the Ottoman Empire was on the eve of being destroyed, the Cabinet of Athens preserved a remarkable discretion. It was urged to remain quiet by all the great Powers of Europe; it

knew that Russia, who was at war with Turkey, had never felt much affection or interest for the Greek nation. During the debates of the Congress of Berlin the claims of Greece were, however, discussed, and everybody felt that something was due to the wisdom of the young King, who had not introduced new elements of discord in the East, and to the patience of his people. France, always renowned for her Philhellenism, was allowed to become the mouthpiece of Greece in the Congress, and it was unanimously decided that a new frontier must be sought for the little kingdom. This frontier was not definitively fixed, and the King found it necessary to make a journey to the West in order to prepare the work of the Conference which is now being held in Berlin. The change of government in England rendered his task more easy; he would only have found a minimum of support with the Cabinet of Lord Beaconsfield; he found suddenly a maximum of support, which he could hardly have anticipated. Who could feel more sympathy for his claims than Mr. Gladstone, who has such an ardent love of Hellenism and such an unmitigated contempt for the barbarous and destructive rule of the Osmanlis? Mr. Goschen's mission marked, in the strongest possible way, England's change of attitude towards the Porte. At Vienna, on his way to Constantinople, Mr. Goschen had an interview with Baron Haymerle, and he is said to have astonished the Austrian diplomat by the vivacity of his anti-Turkish sentiments. At Constantinople Mr. Goschen was only prevented by an invariable diplomatic tradition from expressing his sympathies and his political feelings in the compliments which he had to address to the Sultan when he presented his credentials.

It is difficult even now for the Turks to understand the change which has taken place. They find that the strict execution of all the clauses of the Treaty of Berlin is now demanded by everybody, but the severest demands are not those of the Power which conducted its armies to the very gates of Constantinople, but of the Power which has so long held the integrity of the Turkish Empire for a dogma. Russia went home almost empty-handed; she took but a few Asiatic districts from the domain of the Sultan. England is in possession of Cyprus, a large island placed between Constantinople and the Isthmus of Suez, and commanding the naval road to Syria. It is not to be wondered at if the Turks turn to England and say: "Give us back Cyprus or be more kind to our faults." Cyprus may perhaps be given back, as the Ionian Islands were once, but if it is, it is not probable that it will fall again under the Ottoman Empire. This is the secret of the future; meanwhile, the Powers are engaged on the boundary of the Greek kingdom. The King had two objects in his visit: he had first to insist on certain limits, naturally the most favorable to his people; he claimed not only Janina but Metsovo, which is even more important for the Greeks, as it is the key of two great valleys which form two large basins, one opening on the Adriatic, the other on the Gulf of Salonica. Greece, if it is to become a strong kingdom, could, in my opinion, even better dispense with Janina than with Metsovo, as railways, which always follow the great geographical basins, will undoubtedly be built some day from Metsovo to the two seas. The line which is claimed by the Greeks would add to the kingdom the whole of Thessaly even to the north of Mount Olympus and almost the whole of ancient Epirus. The Conference is just now engaged in studying the various lines proposed for the future boundary, and it is assisted in this work by a technical commission of geographers. The Greek and Turkish envoys are not admitted to this Conference, and they can only see the ambassadors between the sittings where their fate is decided.

I have said above that the King of Greece had a twofold object: he not only recommended a certain line of frontier, he had to feel the pulse of the great Powers on another question—the question of executing the resolutions of the Conference. This is a most difficult question, and for many reasons. According to a former agreement, the resolutions of the Conference are adopted by a simple majority of votes; they do not, therefore, represent necessarily a unanimous desire, even if all the Powers accept them in form. On the other hand, the Conference is not engaged in an arbitration, the results of which would be binding on the two Powers which have accepted or asked for it. What is taking place is a mere mediation; the mediators have only to recommend a certain solution to the two parties, they have not bound themselves to enforce their decision. It is consequently permitted to ask, and the King of Greece did not fail to do so, how the resolutions of the Conference will be executed. It is not certain, though it may be hoped, that Turkey will accept the decisions of the Western Powers; still, if these decisions do not represent a unanimous wish, the Porte will naturally be tempted to refuse to give way before Greece. There are very few examples of a Power abandoning a province without a struggle, unless under very strong pressure at least; and the fatalistic theories of the Turks incline them to submit always to force rather than to persuasion. The statesman with whom the King of Greece conversed in France on this difficult question of the occupation of Thessaly and Epirus, asked him how many troops he could lead into these provinces; he answered candidly that the Greek army at the present moment hardly numbered three thousand men, most of whom were volunteers. Some astonishment was expressed at the smallness of this number, as the Turks have even now about eight thousand men in these provinces. The small districts of Albania which were awarded to Montenegro by the Treaty of Berlin are still in the hands of the Albanians, who have formed a league and are not willing to have their territory dismembered. The Turkish troops which have been sent against the Albanians have practically become the allies of the insurgents, and the case of Montenegro shows what difficulties may be encountered if large provinces like Thessaly are to be annexed to Greece; the King did not conceal his opinion that it would be necessary to occupy these provinces with a great military force, as Austria has occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina.

But who would furnish that force? Austria had her own army all ready, and her expedition had all the character of a war; if she did not meet with any great opposition it was precisely because her forces were overwhelming. The King of Greece soon convinced himself that in the actual temper of the French and of the English Parliaments it would be very difficult for him to obtain a military force composed of French or of English troops. The very notion of a new joint expedition like the Crimean would excite the greatest alarm in the city of London and in France. The Liberal Cabinet could not speak of a foreign expedition, with all its risks, and, though Gambetta may have warlike ideas, he is obliged to conceal them very carefully. The optimism of the present day would soon be followed by the greatest apprehensions if France and England should embark together in an adventure of such import as the occupation of distant provinces in the East. People would fear the resistance of the Porte, the darkest designs on the part of Powers which might secretly favor this resistance, the possibility of a general war. It was, therefore, resolved that other means must be tried; the King of Greece was invited to increase his army, and the Greek Parliament is now taking the first measures to this end. There was some mention made of an occupation by mixed forces belonging to other countries; but the neutral countries of Europe, such as Belgium and Switzerland, have always shown a decided repugnance to lending their troops to Europe. King Leopold is not likely to do now what his father refused to do. The Greeks are looking for help in other directions; they would willingly say, as Charles Albert once said, "L'Italia farà da se," but they remember that this proud saying was followed by the disaster of Novara.

The King of Greece seems, at any rate, to have obtained one serious guarantee: it is understood, if I am well informed, that the naval forces of France and England will protect Athens and the Piræus against a possible attack by the Turkish fleet in case war breaks out in Thessaly. Great efforts are also making in Berlin to impose such conditions on Turkey and on Greece that all the Powers can agree to them. It is thought that this unanimity will have a great effect at Constantinople, and will prevent the Turks from resisting the resolutions of the Conference. The secrecy which surrounds its deliberations has been thus far well preserved; still, it can be guessed that its work is not an easy one. It is, to a great extent, influenced by external considerations, which have nothing in common with the welfare of Greece. The Greek question has become the nucleus of all the forces which are at work in the various countries. Russia "ne boude pas, elle se recueille"; she has become very timid, she is afraid of Germany, and she is watching her opportunity. The German Chancellor is in a good-humored frame of mind towards everybody, yet he cannot but feel that his plans have been very much disturbed by the change of government in England; he is trying to win favor again with Russia. Austria follows her old and traditional policy. France has become less passive, and Gambetta said a few days ago, in the heart of Belleville, that she was now ready to resume her rôle in Europe, and to play again her part in the history of the world. The most acute observer would have some difficulty in divining how the elements which are now at work will crystallize, how the nations of Europe will group themselves, in what manner the interests of Austria, Italy, Russia will be satisfied. The desire for peace is universal. We are in an era of "good feeling"; but a keen observer must see that this state of things might very easily be altered. No country has any very definite programme; the old Conservative policy in the East has been abandoned, and, it must be confessed, for very good reasons. The rule of the Turks is definitively condemned; but when it comes to the organization of the numerous provinces of the Turkish Empire one difficulty rises behind another. Rumania wishes to become a kingdom; Bulgaria, Rumelia, Servia, Albania, Montenegro, and now Greece are so many centres of agitation. Let us hope that so many causes of disturbance will produce no real disturbance, and that the wisdom of the European statesmen will succeed in solving so many problems without the dreadful *ultima ratio* of nations and of kings.

THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY'S DICTIONARY.

LONDON, June 26, 1880.

WHATEVER interest Mill Hill, Middlesex, N. W., may possess as the home of some of Charles the Second's favorites, as a haunt of Franklin when he was working for the cause of the Colonies, as the site of a famous Nonconformist Academy, and the place at which the Redemptorists have built a stately college, none of these things would have moved me to visit it. To be sure I took these things by the way, and I enjoyed the rural peace so strangely near the heart of the great city; but I was not thinking of Nell Gwynn, nor of Franklin, nor of the varying fortunes of the academy which had died and risen again to a new form, nor of the Redemptorists as I stood at the close of a long summer day before the gate of a quiet cottage which bore the not uncommon name Sunnyside. I had almost forgotten my errand, and was thinking mainly how hard a place Mill Hill had been to get at. To judge by my experience, if you study your time-tables with especial care, and in addition to that ask and take the advice of a resident, you will lose much time and all your patience in reaching by rail a place which is ridiculously near London. Be not deceived. It is not only the unwary foreigner that is so entrapped by local trains: the Londoners are as often perplexed as any innocent stranger, and I am doing a service to mankind when I warn all persons to eschew Bradshaw, A. B. C., Metropolitan Railways, and other devices of the devil, and resort in all such cases to the friendly offices of the hansom.

But my troubles were ended, and the reward of my pilgrimage began when I was ushered upon the scene where the preliminary work of the Philological Society's Dictionary is going on, and was cordially welcomed by the editor, who has buckled down to a task which demands by its very conditions a long stretch of years. For the greater security of the precious materials a detached room of galvanized iron has been built in Dr. Murray's yard, spacious, bright, cheery, but a very workshop in its simplicity. The walls are lined with tiers of pigeon-holes, 1,129 in number, as I was told in case I should happen to be of a statistical turn of mind, and these pigeon-holes are filled with slips of a uniform size, especially prepared for the purpose, made up into bundles in varying degrees of forwardness. A third of A is fairly ready for printing, but printing is not thought of before 1882. The process of sorting the slips passes through several stages, from mere mechanical alphabetizing on until it reaches the assistant, Mr. Herrtage, who makes a preliminary draught of the article, which then goes to the editor for final revision, or rather for a provisional preparation for its proper pigeon-hole, as every bundle may be brought out from its rest for additions and corrections. Of course, with the army of readers already enlisted the material is growing so fast that it cannot all be published within the compass prescribed by the Clarendon Press, but the treasures of the *scriptorium*, as Dr. Murray calls his house, will be available for future research.

It may, indeed, weary the eye of faith somewhat to strain its vision into 1895 for the complete fulfilment of the promise. Still, if we can round the century with an English dictionary really worthy of the name, it will be something to be heartily thankful for. At present there are comparatively few points of the history or usage of words that are definitively settled, and the contrast to Grimm, Sanders, Littré is at once mortifying and irritating. American literary men are great consulters of dictionaries—none more so, except perhaps the Scotch, who know that they cannot trust their usage, while we only feel at times uncertain of ours. Indeed, we are far more nervous than we are willing to admit even to ourselves. Despite our attempted independence, the charge of Americanism is very galling to our men of letters, and, as our grammar is more regular than that of our English cousins, so we are prone to pick our words and phrases, and by over-daintiness to rob our style of native freshness and ease. The better American writer, when he does not mimic, is likely to be a trifle old-fashioned, and you can frighten even the average American littérateur out of any phrase by telling him with due emphasis that it is bad English; for, apart from certain popular writers who deal professedly in exaggeration of our provincial peculiarities, our authors are not satisfied with good American. Now, if we must run to the dictionary in every time of trouble, let us have one which it will be worth while to consult. For my own part, I should theoretically prefer the courage which would enable us to be ourselves; but as a dictionary is a covert from the tempest, I wish to see the timid adequately protected, and the hesitating led by a faithful *ductor dubitantium*. I can remember having been induced to give up several expressions, which I afterwards found to be excellent English, because some one raised objection. It seemed safer, at all events, to employ other terms. So once in translating Catullus's "ait fuisse navium celerrimus" I wrote, by way of mimicking the syntactical peculiarity of the line, "claims to have been." This rendering I abandoned at the suggestion of a fastidious friend, to find some years after that the distinguished Latinist Munro, at one of the great centres of English scholarship, translated the two words in exactly the same way—bad English or not. With this incident freshly brought to my mind by the discussion in the *Nation* I asked Dr. Murray to produce "claim, *v. intr.*,' and we found that the lawgivers of English from Jewell down furnish ample warrant for the use.

I need not go into the mechanical details of the work. Every scholar of this generation knows the use of slips and pins and elastic bands, and how much time such simple devices as movable bookracks have saved the world; but it was for all that very interesting to see the machinery in operation, and a high pleasure to talk with the director of the whole undertaking, sunshiny and confident and energetic, with all the keenness and the perseverance of his race. You do not pray that he may complete his work; you count on his doing it, and you feel the strong desire to help which is always inspired by the sight of successful activity. The cordial invitation to Mill Hill which Dr. Murray gave publicly in his address as President of the Philological Society, was wisely given. Every one who comes within the *scriptorium* feels the spirit resting on him; and under this fresh impulse I desire to call the attention of American readers once more to this undertaking, for which many eyes and many hands are yet needed. I have before me a list of some six hundred words from Ab to Ad for which illustrative quotations on earlier or later instances are wanted, and such lists will be issued from time to time, and be distributed among the regular readers and the friends of the dictionary. Surely in this way every American scholar might be able to help, especially as it is not necessary to write to Mill Hill, for Professor March, of Lafayette College, is the marshal of the American forces, who are doing good work, as I was most happy to learn. But the mention of Professor March's name reminds me that he has worked so faithfully and so effectively that it is very unlikely that anything can be done by a new appeal; and yet as I was, if I mistake not, the first American to visit the *scriptorium*, I cannot leave my impression unrecorded, or forbear to say a word which by chance may further the good cause.

V.

Correspondence.

THE *NATION*, GENERAL GARFIELD, AND GENERAL HANCOCK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There is one thing which I am more concerned about than even the election of General Hancock to the Presidency—that is, my esteem for the opinions of the *Nation*; for I think it much more important for the country to have such a judicial and impartial censor as this journal has been than to have either of the parties in possession of the Administration. But the labored vindication of General Garfield's Crédit Mobilier and De Golyer Contract transactions on the part of the *Nation* makes the unhappy impression upon the unbiassed mind that the independent Republicans are sugar-coating an unpleasant pill to swallow it more gracefully. Every one expected that they would take the Republican candidate, be he who he may, for the phantom of the South back of the Democratic party is at any time enough to drive them all into the fold. But let me ask the *Nation* if its vindication of General Garfield has done more than represent him as a man who is always "on the make," ready at any time to do anything that will pay? And is that "indiscretion" upon which the *Nation* lays all the blame of his questionable transactions anything more than the spontaneous impulse of his natural character determining his conduct?

Several questions the *Nation* does not bring up occur in reading its vindication of him. One is, Why did not General Garfield confront Ames before the committee and cross-question him, instead of writing an *ex-parte* defence for circulation among his friends? Why was he subsequently denounced by many respectable Republicans of his own district for his complicity in this Crédit-Mobilier business if "his conduct in 1871 is not to be judged in the light of 1880"? (*Nation*, 783, p. 6). Does not his connection with the De Golyer contract show that he is willing "for a consideration" to use his influence as a member of Congress and chairman of the Committee on Appropriations to secure a contract for the benefit of lobbyists? and does it alter the character of *his* services to maintain that the said contract was no worse than contracts with the Government usually are? So that I am constrained to feel, much against my wishes, even with no other information than the *Nation* itself furnishes, that its vindication of General Garfield is unsatisfactory, while as a reply to the charges as they appear in the *Sun* and *Herald* it does not seem to meet them at all.

But what as to General Garfield's record in politics? With the single exception of his creditable stand against inflation by paper and by silver money he has been found on both sides of the same question, according as one or the other was most acceptable to his party. He resisted every attempt the Democrats made to carry out his own previously-expressed views on the use of the army at elections, and the employment of deputy-marshals. He has been both a protectionist and a free-trader. And lastly no one has degraded himself more to "wave the bloody shirt" and point to the unclosed "chasm" between North and South than he has, although it made his record an inconsistent one when he saw that further political honors depended upon this sacrifice of truth and consistency. And just as he was rewarded for his De Golyer Contract services, so was he rewarded with a seat in the Senate by a party which delights to honor its candidates for office in proportion to their moral turpitude.

May I furthermore ask the *Nation* if it means to imply (in No. 783) that by the nomination of General Hancock the Democrats embody the idea of "military interference with civil jurisprudence at the very time the Republicans have abandoned it"? Will the *Nation*, whose instruction I value more than that of any or all other journals put together in the Union, show me why a general of the army would misuse it to oppress one part of the country for the benefit of the other any sooner than a depraved politician like Mr. Blaine, who would stop at nothing to reduce the South again to a condition of vassalage to the Republican party, and to carry out his implied threats in the Senate about the South not being truly represented in Congress because the color of his party is not sent there? Did not the choice of the Republican party lie between General Grant and Mr. Blaine, and can so astute a journal as the *Nation* maintain the position that the nomination of General Garfield by the merest accident is "a final discarding of military ideas and military methods"? The *Nation* and the "rest of mankind" know that there never was a more unpremeditated act of a political party than the Chicago nomination, which represents nothing but the anxiety of a political party to retain its spoils at any cost, and hatred and suspicion of the South.

General Hancock never could have been nominated without the votes of the Southern delegates, who were not in a single case "machine men," but representatives of the people. Bayard was the almost unanimous choice of the South, as the first ballot showed, and would have been entirely so but for their knowledge that no Southern man could secure Northern votes; and General Hancock never could have secured our votes if he had not *proved* that his opinions as to the "supremacy of the Constitution and of civil jurisprudence" were the same as Washington's at a time when not only the military satraps but the political statesmen of the Republican party sneered at the Constitution and set at naught all the civil jurisprudence of the South. General Hancock is to the South the very embodiment of the idea that military methods will now for ever cease, and that the Government as conducted by Washington, Jefferson, and Madison will be resumed for the first time since the war, because his letter of March 9, 1868, to the "military" Governor Pease of Texas was the only deliverance made by a person in power from 1865 to 1874 which maintained the supremacy of the Constitution. Not even your "ideal" Republican, Senator Edmunds, has ever given the least indication of any respect for the Constitution or "civil jurisprudence" when the interests of his party could be maintained at their expense.

The issue, as we of the South see it, is whether our irresistible gravitation toward a centralized government shall go on, and the said centralization crystallize under the auspices of a party whose whole history and every act of legislation have embodied the idea of hatred to the South and her oppression, and, if need be, suppression, for its own supremacy, under a candidate whose record furnishes not one act to show that he is above his party; or under the auspices of a party whose platform is the supremacy of the Constitution, and a united people no longer estranged by an inevitable war inherited from former generations in the diverse constitutions of the several States which created the Union, under a candidate who, as a major-general, by his devotion to the Constitution, law, order, put to shame all the political statesmen of the Republican party, and "whose opinions on civil affairs are" *not* "unknown," as the *Nation* says, but whose letter, referred to above, is a better state paper than any Republican President ever wrote. The *Nation* refers to "General Hancock's utterances in Louisiana in 1867" in such a way as to lead me to suppose it has not recently read his letter of March 9, 1868, to Governor Pease, of Texas. Will the *Nation* read it and tell its subscribers what better platform the Democratic party could have than that letter with which to meet a party that still tenaciously holds on to the power to use troops at the polls, which it usurped in defiance of the Constitution to maintain its supremacy, and which unmistakably evinces a determination thereby to use that power again if it can?—Respectfully, WM. R. ATKINSON.

CHARLOTTE, N. C., July 5, 1880.

THE INDEPENDENTS AND THE CANVASS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The correct position of the Independent Republicans towards the Presidential campaign is very well stated in your issue of July 1, and also in the circulars of the Philadelphia Reform League, but there is one aspect of the case which, in my opinion, ought to be emphasized even at this early day. I refer to the more than probable determination of the "Bosses" to bring forward General Grant as a candidate in 1884, and the influence which this intention must have on this year's election.

Already it is openly proclaimed by the Grant men that they are certain of the nomination of their man four years hence, that Garfield cannot be elected, and that in 1884 the country will more than ever need a "strong man" to wrest it from the (then existing) Democratic misrule under Hancock. The "third-term" cry will have lost all of its force when two terms have intervened since General Grant's last possession of power, and "306" clubs—referring to the number of Grant's supporters at Chicago—are to be formed within the next three months in every Northern county. Talk like this may be heard daily by any one who, like the writer, possesses the good or ill fortune to know enthusiastic Conkling men intimately. Much of it may be mere swaggering, but it would be folly to disregard the sentiments it discloses. These entail, in my opinion, a great responsibility on the Independents.

If Garfield is defeated this year, there can be no doubt that Boss Government will, in the Republican party at least, obtain a new lease of power. The principles of the Independents were triumphant at Chicago, and were again vindicated by the election of Governor Jewell to the chairmanship of the National Committee. If after all this the party is defeated, the Bosses and their henchmen will all unite in one great chorus, "We told you so." The cause of civil-service reform will be momentarily crushed, not only by the victory of the hungry Democrats, but especially by the defeat of its chosen champion.

It argues great political simplicity to believe that the Conklings, Logans, and Camerons would very greatly deplore such an issue. Arthur could be provided for by the United States Senatorship from this State—a place which but for his Vice-Presidential nomination he would have tried to obtain, and which now is coveted, with the Boss's approval, by the notorious Thomas C. Platt; and whatever temporary inconvenience might result in the loss of patronage by reason of Hancock's election, would be amply compensated four years later by the return of the "old man" and the "old set."

Under these circumstances Independent Republicans should see that this year presents to them their one great opportunity. They, more than any other section of the party, should work for Garfield's election. Having for once a candidate after their own heart—handicapped as he is by the Arthur blunder—it behoves them, even more than last year, to show their fighting mettle. In New York State their position is most commanding. Here, it seems to me, they should organize by counties and let the State Committee, elected at Albany, at once begin a thorough canvass to bring out the "conscience vote." The advisability of a State Convention has been much discussed, and possibly it might be well to issue a call for one. But at all events it is only by thorough organization and hard work, as well as by keeping in view the effect which the result of this canvass must have on the Machine, that the Republican ticket, and with it the Independent principles, can achieve success. Truly yours, F. W. H.

MOUNT VERNON, N. Y., July 3, 1880.

THE FUTURE OF THE INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The query is made, why, if the so-called Independent Republicans are satisfied, or reasonably satisfied, with the Presidential ticket and the results at Chicago, there remains any necessity for the continuance of their separate organizations? It may be answered that now, and for two or three years hence, is the time when this element may be most useful to the country and to the party. "Reform within the party" being at last possible, it is for the men who have made it possible to continue together as a progressive and aggressive element inside the party. This view, I may say, is held by the Young Republicans of Massachusetts and of Rhode Island, the National Republican League of Pennsylvania, the Independent Republican organization of New York, and by progressive Republicans in many other States, particularly Illinois and Missouri, who acted in co-operation with representatives of those organizations at Chicago. For this reason they have recommended the continuance of Independent Republican organizations, and the following suggestions for their immediate work have already received the approval o many of the most active men among them:

1. The best service that can be done for the Republican cause in the coming campaign is to obtain the most direct comparisons of the principles which the respective parties support or have supported. It has long been a difficulty in the way of our political education that the old-fashioned political debate, which was so remarkable a feature of the memorable Lincoln and Douglas campaign, has been given up, and most men nowadays see only their own side of the question, and read only the newspapers of their own party. If the Independent Republicans, by challenging debate from the Democratic side, and by promoting such debate as a general plan of the campaign, can bring back the old methods, and especially if they can by means of a free platform and other invitations to the private citizen, interest in practical work those who are now apathetic (particularly the younger men), they will do the best thing that can be done not only to elect a Republican President, but to back up that President by intelligent support from within his own party.

2. In the present feeling of too many party managers as to civil-service reform and honest money it remains for the Independents to emphasize these principles in the canvass, and to insist that they shall be made prominent in it. It is to be hoped that Gen. Garfield's letter of acceptance will speak clearly and ringingly on both points. If not, the Independents may fairly ask for his full views on these specific questions. The battle for sound money is in one sense won; in another it yet remains to reap the fruits of the victory by insisting that no dollar is a dollar unless it is or can be at any time exchanged for so many grains of gold. The issue of civil-service reform is still more distinctively in the hands of those known as Independent Republicans. The first work is the education of the party and the public to what civil-service reform does and does not mean, for there is no question on which there is so much misapprehension in the minds of business men. I am glad to be able to say that Mr. George William Curtis has promised to write a brief practical tract on this subject, which will be published by a non-partisan organization for political education now in process of formation, for use not only by Republicans but by Democrats who desire to see this question properly brought before the people.

It was proposed last year to introduce into the House a simple Civil-Service Bill, so simple that "this particular measure" could not be objected to, which should have the specific result of keeping out from the public service the illiterate and unqualified dummies of party Bosses. It is to be remembered that it is for this negative purpose that competitive examinations are useful, and that the positive test comes in the period of probation which follows. But the ill success of Senator Bayard's attempt to compel a record on the sister question of a sound finance made this unadvisable. It is to be hoped, however, that a similar measure may be introduced at the coming session, and representatives, especially Republican representatives, be held strictly to a record on that subject. A member of the New York Association has already in hand the still more important work of preparing a more comprehensive and effective bill in consultation, after the German fashion, with those experts throughout the country who know most about the subject; and on this or its equivalent the final battle must be fought, as the forces become recruited for the work.

3. The party can only be kept what it should be by the maintenance of absolute independence inside the party by this element. Party relations will never be what they should be in this country until the party is compelled to tell the citizen why he should vote with his party, instead of asking him why he should *not* vote with it. The designs of the "managers," who are still intent on keeping hold of the machinery of the party, can only be balked by defeating their candidates when these are unfit. And now that "scratching" has come into fashion, let it never go out. Coupled with this is the necessity for training the public to entire independence of party names and party issues in municipal government. It is, indeed, here that the education can be most easily begun which shall keep national parties to their work of presenting the issues of principles on which the whole people desire to express their opinions.

The danger, of course, before such a movement is that it may itself become selfish and over-conservative and fall into the old ruts. The first safeguard against this is the essentially negative character of the movement as regards men. So long as it is fighting for principles and has no candidates of its own, it is less likely to be captured by designing politicians. The movement has hitherto not been spared the criticism of the press, and with an enlargement of its membership and an active co-operation in its work on the part of those enrolled under its name, the dangers which have wrecked similar organizations before ought to be avoided. It is to be hoped that the influence of the movement, so far chiefly a negative work of purification, may now be as manifest in a positive direction. It is to my own regret that, having had to do with the starting of the movement in this State, I for one am prevented by business absence abroad from taking that positive part which should necessarily supplement the negative. But those whose good fortune it is to share in reaping the fruits of their victory are, I think, determined that now that the party has profited by their criticism, it shall also profit by their co-operation. The campaign of 1880 is likely to be one of the closest in our history, not in Oregon or Florida or Louisiana, but at our own doors, and it is of the utmost importance that no vote which the results at Chicago have fairly won for the Republican party shall be lost to it.

R. R. BOWKER.

NEW YORK, July 5, 1880.

Notes.

WE learn from the *N. E. Genealogical Register* that Mr. Charles W. Tuttle has in preparation lives of Sir Humphrey Gilbert; of Capt. John Mason, the founder of New Hamphire; of Capt. Francis Champernowne; memoirs of Edward Randolph, William Blaxton (Blackstone), the first settler on the site of Boston, of Hugh Percy, Duke of Northumberland; and an historical account of the conquest of Acadia by the Dutch in 1674.——A campaign life of General Hancock by Col. J. W. Forney will be one of the literary curiosities of the season.——D. Lothrop & Co., Boston, will shortly bring out an American edition of 'The Englishman and the Scandinavian; or, A Comparison of Anglo-Saxon and Old-Norse Literature.'——A. Williams & Co., Boston, have in press a second edition of Rear-Admiral Preble's 'History of the Flag of the United States of America.'——'Passages from the Prose Writings of Matthew Arnold' is announced by Macmillan & Co.——James R. Osgood & Co. have in preparation a Congressional district vote-map of the United States; and the following works: 'Dramatic Biographies,' edited by Laurence Hutton; 'Self-Culture,' by the Rev. James Freeman Clarke; 'Records and Reminiscences of the Radical Chestnut Street Club,' edited by Mrs. John T. Sargent; 'Poems,' by William Winter; 'Illustrations of the Earth's Structure,' by Professor N. S. Shaler and W. Morris Davis; 'Wm. M. Hunt,' by Dr. Angell; and 'Modern Perspective,' by Professor Wm. R. Ware.——The suspension of the *Literary Journal* for want of support leaves a distinct void in our periodical literature. It was original in plan, interesting in its contents, and a pleasure to the eye. Some of its features will be transferred to the *Publishers' Weekly*, under Mr. Leypoldt's direction.——We regret to record the death of the Rev. Barnas Sears, formerly President of Brown University, and latterly the devoted agent of the Peabody Fund for promoting education at the South. The selection of the Trustees could not have fallen upon one better qualified to discharge the delicate and important task committed to him. He was in the seventy-seventh year of his age.——F. A. Brockhaus, in Leipzig, has begun the publication of a popular scientific work, entitled 'An Illustrated Natural History of Animals' ('Illustrirte Naturgeschichte der Thiere'), edited by Ph. L. Martin, of Stuttgart. The work, when complete, will comprise two volumes, and will be issued in fifty numbers, of about fifty pages each, at a cost of eighteen kreutzers per number. The first volume will treat of mammals and birds, the second of reptiles, fishes, insects, crustacea, and the lower animals, both verbally and pictorially. The sub-editors are Professor Knauer, of Vienna; Dr. Heineke, of Oldenburg; and Dr. Rey, of Leipzig. The illustrations will be furnished by F. Specht, R. Friese, R. Kretzschmer, and artists of equal reputation.——A 'Numismatic Dictionary' now publishing in French at Leipzig by Weigel deserves the attention of all those who have a passion for the subject. The author is Alexandre Boutowski, who has bestowed fourteen years upon it, to his great personal disadvantage. *Polybiblion* bestows the highest praise on the sixteen *livraisons* (pp. 1,056, 8vo) which have already appeared.——Hachette announces the third edition since 1842 of Charton's 'Dictionnaire des Professions,' or Business Guide as it might be called in the sense in which the phrenologists used to offer their services in determining one's proper vocation. In a country of government endowments and examinations and "careers" like France such a work has a special value; but it ought to be of use elsewhere.——The fourth and fifth *fascicules* of the new Vapereau (F. W. Christern) carry us to Victor Hugo. Gambetta's name leads all the rest in the degree of attention his career receives (5 pp.); Guizot has 4 pages allotted to him, Beaconsfield nearly as many, the account stopping short of his late defeat, and so losing the moral; Gladstone, Garibaldi, Jules Favre (whose death is unrecorded), and the Emperor William fill 3 pages each; Dufaure, Dupanloup, Francis Joseph, Émile de Girardin, Grévy, and Paul Granier de Cassagnac fill 2 pages and upwards. The American portion we still find inadequate and somewhat antiquated, except in the case of General Grant, whose biography occupies 3 pages, and chronicles an event not yet come to pass—a "réception pompeuse" in New York in December, 1879. Mr.

Evarts's present secretaryship is unnoticed, and so is Mr. Frederick Douglass's marshalship. The latter, we read, is a "nègre publiciste," which seems an odd designation. His journal, the *North Star*, becomes "L'Abeile du Nord." Mr. Hayes gets half a page of mention, but, such are the uncertainty and unreasonableness of our politics, neither of the actual candidates for the Presidency is alluded to.——Part 10 of Koolman's 'Dictionary of the East-Frisian Language' (Norden: Herm. Braams) finishes the letter *J* and well-nigh *K* also. Interesting nautical terms are *kabüse* (caboose), *kat-anker*, *kîl-halen* (keel-haul), etc. For their etymologies the articles *kalf*, *kellen* (kill, quell, quail), *klamp*, *klap* (clap, as of thunder), *klappen* (as to clap on the back), etc., are noticeable. *Junge* and *kat* are particularly rich in proverbs.

—An authoritative word on a subject not often discussed intelligently appeared in a recent number of the Salem *Gazette*, from the pen of Mr. Henry F. Waters. Mr. Waters contests with Mr. Ben Perley Poore the honor of having the best collection of Colonial furniture in the country, or he may be *facile princeps*. He is also a diligent searcher among the ancient records, and one of his arguments is based on the particularity of the inventories contained in the probate registry down to 1694. Thus, "so careful were our ancestors to enumerate even such trifles as 'three old rusty currycombs,' a 'rusty gun-barrel and a skillet with a broken leg,' 'a broken frosnet and a cod-line,' 'three stools and half a box,' etc., etc.," that a desk or a bookcase would certainly appear in such lists if it existed. But these articles are not named; consequently the newspaper item which furnishes Mr. Waters his text, and which states that "a solid mahogany secretary brought from England to Salem before 1692 is in the possession of a Hartford citizen," is in error. And doubly so, for the claim of so great antiquity is again upset by mention of the "solid mahogany." Here, for the benefit of our readers, we may quote Mr. Waters's own words:

"The larger furniture of the Colonial period (meaning by that the period down to the creation of a Provincial form of government in 1692) seems to have been made of oak chiefly, or combined occasionally with pine, chestnut, cedar, and walnut. After the change in the form of government, when the fashions also seem to have been changing, walnut seems to have become the most fashionable wood in use, while the shapes and the style of decoration had also become more or less changed. The chest, especially, which had been gradually encroached upon by the addition of drawers beneath the box, now merged into the more useful form of a chest of drawers—all drawers and no box—which was no chest at all. Birch and maple were also used, evidently for cheapness. Mahogany succeeded as the favorite wood for cabinet-work, and the first furniture made out of it is said to have been made by Wollaston, in London, out of a few planks given to Dr. Gibbons in 1720. Of course its introduction into the Colonies would be much later."

Mr. Waters has also something amusing to say about *Mayflower* and other old china, which would be worth repeating if we had space.

—A study of "Frontier Folk," by Mr. George Booth, is perhaps the most readable paper in the *International Review* for July; his subject has been much written about, but generally in a desultory way, so that a great deal of what he has to say has the effect at least of freshness. Frontier folk are, he points out, mainly nomadic; every one is either "an elegant gentleman" or a liar and horse-thief; homicide is venal compared with theft, though killing a man at sight is much rarer than in the Southwest; self-conceit is a universal characteristic, and the visitor is invariably required to "allow" he has never seen a finer "claim" or tasted better food; their cooking, however, is abominable and their manners as bad; every stranger who doesn't eat with his knife is cordially despised as a "tender-foot," whereas a mean revenge is taken in permitting only the term "Missourian" to affect their own sensibility; some of them, having lost the run of events, still speak of "abolitionists" and "Lincoln's hirelings." The miners and prospectors are much more agreeable—hardy, fearless, and sociable. The army has a hard time, according to Mr. Booth, who draws anything but an attractive picture of military life on the plains; officers and men are pestered and preyed upon by frontier lawyers, and the supremacy of the civil authority works them many discomforts; they are always busy, and it is not unusual for cavalry to pass six or eight months without seeing a permanent camp; many of the men are continually employed in manual labor, and sometimes go into action with no previous drill. Scouts, half-breeds, "squaw-men" or renegades, and cattle-raisers—many of the last being "young men of excellent education and social position"—go to make up the remainder of the frontier folk. There is a review of Brande's 'Beaconsfield,' noting a thoroughly un-Teutonic mass of historical blunders; the labor question is discussed by a "reformer" in a way which the editors rightly think "easily susceptible of refutation"; Mr. Hamerton completes his review of Mr. Poynter's 'Lectures on Art'; Julius Wilcox contributes a narrative-paper, in the nature of an "exposure," on "The Wrecking of Life Insurance Companies," the statements of which would be incredible if they were not notorious; and Dr. Holmes writes a long essay upon "Jonathan Edwards," for criticism in detail of which there is perhaps as little call as we conceive there is for the article itself.

—The English art journals have contained little of interest lately, but we may mention some of Mr. Hamerton's recent *Portfolio* paragraphs and several early sketches by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, which a loyal contributor furnishes to the June number of the *Magazine of Art*. "The Queen," it seems, "is not merely a *dilettante* admirer of painting, she is herself an artist," though apparently not a great one, to judge from the cuts of four etchings—two of little girls and two of dog's heads—signed "V. R., 1840." In the May *Portfolio* Mr. Hamerton has an answer to some crass articles of the *Pall Mall Gazette* that is worth reading for the neatness and good temper with which it snubs writers who, trusting to their "good, sound common sense," as it says, "sometimes deal with subjects for which they have neither been fitted by nature nor prepared by education"; apparently the Jingoism of the *Pall Mall* had spread to its art department. The June number reviews a volume of wood-cuts issued by the Messrs. Scribner in the main very favorably, remarking that "wood-engraving, imitating the qualities of many different kinds of art, has never been carried so far in Europe as it is now in America," and finding but one objection to them, namely, a painful sense of the toil involved. Painters, by the way, who concern themselves much about the paraphernalia and machinery of painting may be glad to learn that Mr. Hamerton has devised a means to avoid some of the toil and delay involved in sketching in oil from nature; it consists in spreading a sheet of "gossamer" manifold-paper over the canvas after it is covered with paint, so that the sketch is ready for a "fresh coat," as it were, without waiting for the "priming" to dry. Other painters will probably go on in the old way.

—The importance of rightly conceiving a writer of genius and, failing this, the inevitableness of missing what is really valuable in him, were never more conspicuously illustrated than in the instance of Mr. Ruskin. Many persons whom he delighted in their youth have long since ceased to read anything he writes, out of sheer inability to keep their tempers in the process. And indeed any one who seeks sound doctrine in not only such extravagances as the prospectus of the St. George's Society, but in Mr. Ruskin's closest reasoning upon his chosen theme of fine art, must appreciate the feeling of the exasperated German who termed him "a wild man." Unhappily, however, genius is a thing of subtle complexity, and his habit of saying "wild" things with arrogant gravity, intolerable as it is to the sincere and sober-minded, need prevent no one from sifting his utterances in the confidence that the result will almost always repay the trouble; and from trouble of this sort no one who reads literature seriously expects to be dispensed. For example, in his article on "Fiction—Fair and Foul," in the last *Nineteenth Century*, there are a number of just sentiments set forth for the most part with the familiar charm of Mr. Ruskin's vibrating diction. This has got a hearing for many paradoxes, but to object to it on this ground would be to make the same mistake that Mr. Ruskin himself, *mutatis mutandis*, would make; it is at once the distinction and the privilege of the critical spirit, for which he has no aptitude, to enjoy his musical and affecting eulogy upon a pastoral life, and to accept the amount of truth it contains, without being disturbed by the incompleteness of this or irritated by the counter philippic against the civilization of cities. This is the basis of his present argument, of which the burden is the connection between the inanity and misery of large cities and modern fiction—*i.e.*, "foul" fiction—on the one hand, and between "natural conditions"—*i.e.*, country life—and the novels of Scott on the other. How much grotesqueness and narrowness is exhibited in the exposition no reader of Ruskin, of course, needs to be told; one wishes it could be reviewed by Dr. Johnson—in which event honors would be easy, it may be imagined. Nevertheless, whoever will dismiss from his mind the popular notion that Mr. Ruskin is a "great critic," and Mr. Ruskin's own notion that he is a philosopher, economic and otherwise, and consider him simply as a rhapsodist with a mastery of English prose, will infallibly find that pleasure, of an order high enough to be in itself profit, is to be got from the whimsicalities which perhaps only the license of an "insular" imagination could exalt into profound truths. Even Dr. Johnson would delight in such a passage as this:

"The companionship of domestic, the care of serviceable animals, soften and enlarge his life with lowly charities, and discipline him in familiar wisdoms and unboastful fortitudes; while the divine laws of seed-time which cannot be recalled, harvest which cannot be hastened, and winter in which no man can work, compel the impatiences and covetings of his heart into labor too submissive to be anxious, and rest too sweet to be wanton."

One or more further papers are promised, and though they will probably consist of a "critical" examination of Scott as the chronicler of this kind of life, they will undoubtedly be seasoned, as this is, with something considerably more valuable.

—A paper on "Landscape Painting" in the same number reminds us, however, how seriously Mr. Ruskin has always been taken by a large portion of his fellow-countrymen, and with what results his vogue has been attended. Its author, Sir Robert Collier, is a new name to us, but his appearance in the *Nineteenth Century* gives him authority and makes it fair to take his paper as an example of much of the fine-art criticism in vogue in England. He is a disciple, albeit he protests discriminating, of "the eloquent writer who first claimed its place for landscape art," and what he has to say is really, so far as it goes, Ruskin minus eloquence after all. It is worth while to note what this residue is. Sir Robert Collier begins by remarking that landscape painting is wholly modern, and he brings a convincing mass of evidence in support of the fact; his argument that the peoples who filled the woods with dryads and fauns and the streams with nymphs had no "appreciation of the beauty of inanimate Nature," is possibly less convincing, but he is very confident that they did not care for "mountain scenery, which has most attractions of all for many people," himself among others very evidently. Landscape painting did not even appear with the Renaissance, and although there were some fine backgrounds to figures, and "Titian sometimes painted weeds finely," in general even Claude and the Poussins "thought that the effect of sunlight was to be rendered by dark, undefined shadows, instead of by gray shadows, sharp-edged, and were guilty of numerous other blunders and delinquencies." As late as Sir Joshua's time it was underestimated, but now opinion has changed, and "there can be no question that less intelligence and culture are required for some appreciation at least of historical and portrait painting than are required for the appreciation of landscape." Still, he has heard "educated men, even men pretending to knowledge of art, gravely maintain that there is nothing picturesque in the Alps!" One reason for the slow growth of the art he attributes to the advantage which the figure-painter has in being able to paint from the model indoors, whereas "the landscape-painter is dependent on the weather"; he justly says, "In the most settled weather what was in light in the morning is in shade in the afternoon," and then there are "the sun, the wind, the rain, and the gnats." Spite of all these disadvantages a great deal has been done, though we have yet to await "the Michael Angelo of landscape." There is Turner, "by general consent the greatest of landscape-painters"; and Constable, "excellent in his careful work, though often coarse and careless, and so mannered as to be easily imitable"; and Stanfield, "perhaps the greatest of marine painters"; and a Düsseldorf school which, however, "is somewhat open to the charge of aiming at tricky and theatrical effect." With the Fontainebleau men Sir Robert has little patience; he thinks they were a lazy lot, who ignored all the difficulties of perspective, drawing, space, distance, sunlight, and color. Corot he especially dislikes, and thinks "the introduction of poorly-drawn fauns, dryads, and other classical persons, ill-adapted to northern fogs," a mistake; his "oaks are as wavy and undecided as his aspens, and his rocks are as soft as sand-heaps." Daubigny "at one time towered above the school," but he soon became "careless, coarse, and blotty." However, even in France there is hope: "The French *salon* certainly now gives some evidence of a new departure, promising better results." "America, too, can boast her Church and her Bierstadt undaunted by the Rocky Mountains and Niagara." They are indeed.

—*Westermann's Monthly* for June brings an interesting article from the pen of Prof. Carl Vogt on the geographical distribution, past and present, of animal life, and the possible bearings of migration on such distribution. It attacks with rare vigor some of the hurriedly advanced and rapidly accepted doctrines of evolution. The author restricts his remarks to the later, or Tertiary, period of geological history, and deduces his conclusions from careful comparisons of its extinct mammalian fauna *inter se* and with the fauna of the present day. The view upheld by some of the leading expounders of evolution, that certain recently discovered animal remains can be considered not only as the ancestors of genera whose pedigrees have been abundantly marked out by a series of connecting links, but as the progenitors of entire families, and possibly even orders, and that, consequently, knowing these ancestral types, we can readily indicate the centres of dispersion whence all the closely allied forms have been spread broadcast over the earth's surface, is stoutly contested by the German savant, who, while admitting that migration may considerably shape geographical distribution, rejects it as an explanation of the broader phenomena as they present themselves. Prof. Vogt insists on the palæontological evidence as to the separation as early as Eocene times—if not previously in the Cretaceous epoch—of the Transatlantic continents; and concludes that, this fact being granted, the forms differentiated in that and the subsequent periods, and which to a great extent run parallel in Europe and America, cannot be considered as derivatives from a common stock whose original abode was in this or that country, while its progeny wandered forth and finally spread itself over the greater portion of the habitable crust. The assumption of separation is based on the fact that of about 140 Eocene genera nearly an equal number, 67, are peculiar to Europe and to America, and only 3—*Coryphodon*, *Lophotherium*, and *Chalicotherium*—common to both countries. This being so, the author ridicules the idea of a possible interchange of forms due to migration, and sets forth an ingenious theory, which may be termed that of "parallel development," to account for the forms which are found closely allied on both sides of the Atlantic. This theory maintains that distribution over distant areas of closely-related families of mammalia is no proof of "radiating" migrations from a central point of dispersion; that, on the contrary, it is more probably the result of local developments, which spread from several distinct roots, and the "branches of whose family-trees gradually approach, and more and more nearly resemble each other, instead of becoming more and more dissimilar, as required by the generally accepted theory." The three perissodactyl forms above enumerated as common to the Transatlantic continents—*Coryphodon*, *Lophotherium*, and *Chalicotherium*—are accordingly considered by Professor Vogt as independent and coincident evolutions both in Europe and America from probably widely diverging ancestral types, just as the European horse traces its descent to *Hipparion* and *Anchitherium*, and the American to the forms commencing with *Eohippus*. In like manner the tapirs are considered to have been developed from two distinct stocks, the American lineage dating to *Helaletes* and *Hyrachyus*, and the European to the *Lophiodonts*. The author, it will thus be seen, rejects the assumption of a Hæckelian Promammal, and arrives at the general conclusion that the existing fauna originated in four distinct regions—the Australian, Madagascar, Old and New World regions—which were already isolated at least as early as the Eocene period, and of which the Australian is the oldest.

WALPOLE'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.—THE CONSERVATIVE OPPOSITION.*

IN 1832 the Tories were defeated all along the line, and the Toryism of George the Third and Lord Eldon was destroyed past hopes of revival. Sir Robert Peel, at the very moment of defeat, created the Conservative party, evoked the conservatism of the nation, checked what threatened to be a revolution, within three years broke the strength of the Whigs, and in less than ten returned to office at the head of the ablest and strongest body of Conservatives which has held power during the century. This astounding feat of parliamentary statesmanship is the true theme of Mr. Walpole's third volume. Nowhere can the principles which guided a Conservative opposition under the ablest of all modern Conservative statesmen be better studied than in Mr. Walpole's clear, calm, and impartial narrative; and there is no political topic which at the present moment is better worth study. For though Peel was emphatically a working statesman, who cared and perhaps knew little of the abstract principles of politics, he understood the art of politics better than any man who has lived during the century, and, whether consciously or not, conducted the Conservative opposition to victory through adherence to rules which it concerns every modern politician to understand. Students of parliamentary generalship find in the study of Peel's tactics the same sort of guidance which young officers find in the study of the campaigns of Wellington or of Napoleon. In neither case do students find a body of principles. In each case they have before them lines of practical conduct from which an intelligent critic can deduce the true principles which lead to success in parliamentary or in military contests.

The first principle of genuine conservatism is the acceptance of what are termed, in the slang of modern politics, "accomplished facts." Peel met the Parliament of 1833 with the following declaration:

"It had been said that he was opposed to all reform; the charge he directly denied. . . . He was for reforming every institution that really required reform; but he was for doing it gradually, dispassionately, and deliberately, in order that the reform might be lasting. . . . The King's Government had abstained from all unseemly triumph in the King's speech respecting the measure of reform. He would profit by their example, and would say nothing upon that head, but consider that question as finally and irrevocably disposed of. He was now determined to look forward to the future alone. . . . There were no means of governing this country but through the House of Commons; and, therefore, he was determined to take his stand in defence of law and order from motives as truly independent as those by which any member of the most liberal opinions, and representing the largest constituency in the kingdom, was actuated."

These words sound nowadays commonplace enough. When uttered they changed the course of English history. The resolution to consider parliamentary reform as "finally and irrevocably disposed of" barred Tories off from the two errors of defeated parties—abstention and reaction. They

* 'A History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in 1815. By Spencer Walpole.' Vol. III. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

might well have followed the example of Wilson Croker and thrown up the game. This folly is the favorite resource of many Continental politicians. They might, again, have thrown themselves into schemes of reaction—there was much to tempt Tories towards this path. Ideas of revolution and counter-revolution were in the air. O'Connell had something which looked almost like a drilled force behind him. The Orange lodges were an army ready to overthrow the new constitution. No precedent yet bound English opinion to the acceptance of constitutional changes. It did not seem a vain hope that what one bill had created another bill might destroy. Party hatreds unknown to the present generation divided class from class. Panic fears such as still torment Continental statesmen harassed even the calmest minds in England. Lord Grey seemed to Tories to have entered on a path which led to a Reign of Terror; the Tory leaders seemed to the Whigs to be preparing for civil war. In Ireland there was social war already. In England the country districts were oppressed with poverty, the towns were the abode of Chartism. The characters of men had a revolutionary tinge. Brougham and Durham were just the kind of leaders who have again and again on the Continent heralded in a revolution. The Duke of Cumberland was just the man for a *coup d'état*. When for once he had the chance, he showed in Hanover of what stuff he was made. Yet no one can doubt that, from a conservative no less than from a national point of view, abstention or reaction would inevitably have led to a violent democratic triumph.

When Peel assured the country that he accepted the new constitution he saved his party from ruin; but he did much more than this: he rallied to them in a moment all the conservatism of their opponents. To do this may seem no great feat, but the achievement is one which not one French statesman has yet been able to accomplish. From the day when Marie Antoinette intrigued with the Left to thwart Lafayette, Continental Conservatives have all but invariably preferred the alliance with revolutionists to the candid admission that moderate Liberals had triumphed. If any French Conservative of Peel's ability could assure France that Conservatives frankly and honestly accepted the Republic, the long era of French revolution would be closed, and French Conservatism would become the ruling influence in the Republic. Thiers late in life learnt the elementary principle of sound Conservative policy, and in virtue of this fact died the leading statesman of France. If any proof of Peel's sagacity were needed it is afforded by the career of his bitterest assailant. When the corn-laws were abolished the Conservatives refused to follow the lead of Peel; they preferred the reckless and unprincipled guidance of Disraeli. He could not from his position accept free-trade as Peel had accepted reform. He induced his followers to adopt a sham policy of attempted reaction. From a party point of view the different effects of the different policies are noteworthy. Peel's acceptance of reform at once re-established Conservative influence, and within ten years made the Conservatives masters of the situation. Disraeli's refusal to recognize free-trade kept his party substantially out of power for thirty years. When at last they obtained a spell of office the end was gained by adopting in substance the policy of Peel, and accepting all the great measures carried by Mr. Gladstone before 1874.

The second principle of Conservative Opposition, as developed by Peel, is to show that the reform of every institution which really requires reform can be best carried out by Conservative statesmen. It other words, a leader of Peel's type should always offer the country good administration instead of organic change in the constitution, and should, if possible, show that he can achieve more as a reformer of practical abuses than can really be carried out by his opponents. Of the skill with which Peel developed this line of action it is hardly possible to speak too strongly. When the Whigs passed really great measures, such, for example, as the act for the amendment of the poor-law, the Conservative leader appeared as a patronizing ally. All the odium which every stringent measure excites fell on the Government, whilst the credit due to enlarged views was shared if not monopolized by the Opposition. The English Corporations Act was turned by the House of Lords into a "Conservative arrangement" which, as even old Eldon admitted, did "great credit" to Lyndhurst; but Peel perceived at once that Tory vehemence was spoiling the Conservative game. He nominally defended the action of the House of Lords, but he rejected all their amendments. He stepped in as the patriotic patron of the Government, snubbed the Tories who were trying to escape from his hands, and "persuaded the nation that a Conservative minister at the head of a Conservative party might become the instrument for accomplishing efficient reforms." At the same time, wherever the Whigs were not strong Peel so acted as to increase their weakness. The wrangles session after session over the tithes bill, and the futile attempts to reform the Irish corporations, were, if not caused, certainly stimulated by the parliamentary tactics of Peel. If party contests be regarded simply as a form of warfare, no strategy was ever more admirable. Each day weakened the Government, each day strengthened the Opposition. Nothing but the death of William the Fourth prevented the Whig Government from falling to pieces in 1837. When at last the Whig leaders kept office through the protection of a body of aristocratic waiting-maids the Conservative victory was complete. The only question was how long Peel would think fit to drag his opponents through the dirt, tied to his chariot wheels. The years 1839 to 1841 marked the lowest and most ignominious stage of the Whig collapse. When Peel returned to office he took the fruits of a victory which had been won long before he thought fit to insist on the possession of nominal no less than of actual power.

No one who enjoys skilful generalship can fail to admire Peel's parliamentary campaign. He had no doubt two great advantages. He was the most accomplished administrator of his age, whilst his opponents were mere children in the arts of practical government. The House of Lords, from its constitution, gives an advantage to a Conservative government which is often overlooked but can hardly be overrated: the strongest Liberal government is hampered by a kind of opposition which never thwarts the very weakest of Tory ministries. Still, if Peel had advantages he deserves the credit of having used them with greater effect than any other parliamentary leader who has left a name in English history; and if success as a party leader be the measure of greatness, Peel's campaign between 1832 and 1841 ought to ensure him a fame at least equal to that of Pitt. The rout of the Coalition was a more showy achievement, but a brilliant victory ought not to be deemed as great a triumph as a successful campaign. The question, however, which perpetually haunts the reader of Mr. Walpole's work is whether one can regard a parliamentary contest as a contest and nothing more. Looked at in any other point of view, Peel's leadership suggests several questions which are constantly lost sight of by writers on political history. Is it, in the first place, possible to combine real conservatism with thoroughly good administration? We doubt it. In a country, at any rate, like England half the difficulty of good administration is caused by the necessity for overriding special "interests"; but a government which really "harassed interests" would, whatever its name, not be in reality a conservative government—it would not long retain the support of conservatism. This was the weak point in Peel's policy. Long before he repealed the corn-laws he had ceased to please his supporters. The real or supposed profit of the "landed interest" had at last to be sacrificed to the welfare of the nation: Peel preferred the prosperity of England to the strength of his party. He earned, rightly or not, the fame of patriotism, but his followers, logically enough, deserted him. Reflection suggests that the policy by which he succeeded carried within it the causes of its own ruin. Is it, again, really desirable that reforms should be carried out by the men by whom they have been opposed? When Disraeli termed Peel's system "organized hypocrisy," he hit its weak point. The blow went home none the less because it came from the hands of an assailant prepared to carry the system a step further under the cynical plea of "educating his party."

Is it, in the last place, at all clear that Peel's talents and statesmanship did not in the long run cause at least as much injury as benefit to his country? His triumphant opposition meant, in effect, the weakening of Government at a time when the nation required that the Government should be strong. It meant, also, the deliberate maiming of reforms which, if not properly carried out, lost half their benefit. O'Connell, it is almost certain, might have been conciliated. It is more than probable that if, between 1829 and 1840, the spirit of Catholic emancipation had animated English administration in Ireland the cry for repeal would not have arisen, and a large body of Irish Catholics would have become thoroughly loyal to the constitution. If we ask why it was that English dealings with Ireland continued to be a "system of alternate kicks and kindness," the answer is to be found in the policy of the Opposition. In plain truth, Peel ought to have been the great Liberal statesman of the day. Fate made him a Conservative party leader. His doom was a sad one. He delayed through life the very measures which it is his glory to have passed, and gained his greatest parliamentary triumph at the cost of depriving the emancipation of the Catholics of half the benefits which ought to have resulted to the nation from the greatest modern act of religious toleration.

THE NOVELS OF MR. HOWELLS.*

IT is perhaps indicative of the radical defect in the romances of Mr. Howells that his latest book should have been so generally greeted as his most serious and "important." One cannot help feeling that if his literary purpose had had any marked ampleness hitherto, an examination of the doctrines of Spiritualism, as illustrated in the life and expounded by the lips of a sincere fanatic, would not have been taken as a token of his abandonment of trifles

* 'The Undiscovered Country. By W. D. Howells.' Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1880.

for the larger and more dignified realms of romance. This, at all events, has heretofore been true of his literary purpose; the charm of his novels exists independently of a certain slenderness which one perceives in the pith of them. We think of no works of the kind, the aroma of which is so abiding, whose substance perishes so quickly from the memory as 'Their Wedding Journey,' 'A Chance Acquaintance,' 'A Foregone Conclusion,' 'Private Theatricals,' and 'The Lady of the Aroostook.' They leave the impression of "studies," although in the ordinary sense they are not "studies" at all. There is nothing ragged and incomplete about their form, which indeed is something very near perfect in respect of construction; nothing merely suggestive or half thought-out in their ideas and characters, and no lack of events and decorously dramatic situations of sufficient vividness to ensure remembrance, so far as it depends upon their agency. But they have the effect of "studies" because of the way in which one character or a single phase of life is accentuated by the complete subordination in interest of its accessories, which are nevertheless as carefully finished as they could be if they contributed positively, instead of out of self-effacement, to the importance of the central figure or the main element. In 'A Chance Acquaintance' it is Mr. Arbuton; in 'A Foregone Conclusion,' the priest; in 'Private Theatricals,' Mrs. Farrell; in 'The Lady of the Aroostook,' the picture of the South Bradfield *milieu*—and very nearly only these—that the titles of the respective stories recall. These are, all of them, examples of admirable portraiture. Two of them, Don Ippolito and Mrs. Farrell, are fine—as good as anything of their kind in American, and indeed one might almost add contemporary, fiction. They belong to the order of literary creations justly to be called types—in itself a rare distinction—and though they may not be wholly novel they are thoroughly human and real. The fervor and the weakness, the nobility and cowardice, the breadth at once and the narrowness of the former are depicted with a delicacy incisive enough to be called power. In the spectacle of an Italian priest, pure but not ascetic, reverently sceptical, with a mind wholly whimsical and a soul of corresponding intensity, overwhelmed by an unpriestly but wholly natural love for an attractive young American girl, we have certainly great potentialities both of character and situation; and Mr. Howells makes a great deal of them. The conception of a woman who laments grievously her inability to lament her innate insincerity, always seems an inspiration, however old it may be, if it is well expressed; and Mrs. Farrell is, in this respect, almost well enough portrayed to rank with Beatrix Esmond.

But even in these, and in spite of their monopoly of interest, one feels the absence of something—a lack of the quality which, ever since the modern depreciation of Scott set in, has been a good deal underestimated, but which is indispensable in the equipment of the novelist of the highest order—a lack of romantic imagination. Realism can never successfully substitute photographic detail for this short-cut to truth, and the greatest realists do not attempt it. Mr. Howells's realism is, however, a definitely held creed; and though it is very likely a delightful personal trait which leads a novelist modestly to distrust his imagination, to regard constantly the limit beyond which the romantic becomes melodrama, and to have a kind of nervous dread of exaggeration, nevertheless, if he is unable to avoid theatricality instinctively, nothing is clearer than that his conscious effort to avoid it fetters his natural force. What romantic force Mr. Howells may naturally possess is indeterminable, but it is at least certain that he has effectually curbed it, and that even his two most vivid characters are circumscribed by a treatment which seems to disclose an apologetic anxiety in their author lest they be taken for monstrosities. At the end of 'Private Theatricals,' for example, he finds himself encumbered with Mrs. Farrell. What he should have done with her we don't pretend to say; but it is plain that he made an actress of her because he shrank from the tragic *dénouement* demanded by her character and career, and excused his expedient on the ground of her inbred "histrionism." Considering the title of the book, one is almost justified in calling this conceit whimsical, rather than fanciful; but what we wish to point out is that the intellectual fastidiousness which it illustrates is both too extreme in itself and connected with too unromantic a theory to deal adequately with the large and important elements of fiction. Mr. Howells's theory is apparently that this is an "every-day world," full of picturesque and, if you like, tragic material; but that, however grave the tragedy, it is after all and in the main an "every-day world." Indeed, after reading one of his stories in which a tragic episode of any sort occurs, one sometimes feels as if he had been tricked by the old device of representing everything marvellous as having taken place in a dream of the narrator; only, with Mr. Howells, it is the romantic instead of the marvellous that is thus treated, and we need not point out that it is the reality of its romance that is the life of the novel, and its service in illustrating the truth that reality is in one way or other romantic—or, in other words, that this is not really an "every-day world"—the most considerable that it performs.

The truth is, we suspect, that the conditions to which all contemporary men of letters in America subscribe have had their effect upon Mr. Howells. Superficially it is singular, but it is at least the fact, that young as our literature is, the best work that is now done in novel-writing is done by writers of a general literary culture rather than an exclusive devotion to, or perhaps even a special aptitude for, the writing of fiction. Whether the development of the critical faculty is necessarily hostile to the development of the imagination we need not enquire, in order to recognize the general rule that literary versatility rarely marks the highest excellence in any one department of literature. A writer who, like Mr. Howells, can produce good verses, good criticism, good descriptive and contemplative essays, good editing, good stories light and grave, is hardly likely, *cæteris paribus*, to beat the "born novelist" at his own business; and there is little doubt that the classification of literary labor in older countries has a good deal to do with the development in each department. Mr. Blackmore, for example, has nothing like the eminence in his country that Mr. Howells justly enjoys with us, but Mr. Howells has never written anything equal to 'Lorna Doone.' He avoids all the faults of 'Lorna Doone'; its melodrama would jar on his sensibilities rudely; before reading 'The Undiscovered Country' we should have said its loitering would tire his patience; but such a picture of life he does not give us. He makes "studies," as we say, and then dresses them up charmingly with an attentiveness to form that successfully suggests cunning machinery. But nearly everything beside the *motif* of the study is "machinery." The two men in 'Private Theatricals'; everybody in 'The Lady of the Aroostook,' except the "Lady"; the hero, Ferris, in 'A Foregone Conclusion," are all machinery. They are diligently observed, carefully portrayed, and eminently lifelike, but they are not very much alive; somehow they do not move us profoundly, and we have a suspicion that they have never deeply agitated the susceptibility of their author. If we add that we find the same defect in Mr. Howells's women we shall be guilty of a great temerity, but we confess that, taking them in the mass, they do not seem to us the important creations they are almost universally assumed to be. It is impossible to make any *à priori* objection to them; they are admirably characterized and allowed to discover themselves to the reader without any interpreter's work on the author's part; they are greatly superior, it seems to us, to the run of Mr. William Black's women, to whom they are often compared; and, in fine, they have a fresh and natural air and unconscious carriage about them that are very charming. But it is impossible to rid one's self of the notion that they are clinically studied, as it were. Their portrayal leaves the impression of a number of little essays, surprisingly "'cute," in which all their accidents which illustrate character are elaborated or hinted at with extraordinary tact, their foibles betrayed with a not uncharitable and most edifying malice, and their lovableness or sterling worth, or both, as the case may be, generously set forth. The character of Lydia Blood is an admirable essay on the Yankee "schoolmarm," the result clearly of close and candid observation; that of Florida Vervain is another on the sweet-tempered but peppery maiden who is weakest when seemingly most strong, and *vice versa*; that of Mrs. Vervain a fragment on the colorless, peevish woman; and so on. In each case, instead of making acquaintance with his women, one is admiringly occupied with Mr. Howells's acuteness in informing himself so completely about the different varieties of the sex; it is not unlike looking at a painting and, instead of contemplating it, wondering how the painter could have made it so like nature. The deduction is not that he has given us a *quid pro quo* for nature, but that he is a little—or a good deal—in advance of our own acquaintance with her. One cannot help feeling that Mr. Howells knows too much about women's *peculiarities* to create really satisfactory women.

It is well to be a little jealous of what is called "the sphere" of the novel, and to recognize the fact that there are novels and narratives just as distinctively as there are good and bad novels. Both from their lack of substance and their lack of romantic imaginativeness, Mr. Howells's books are almost of a hybrid character despite their sufficient form. But whatever they are it is more certain than anything else about them that they are delightful reading. The very qualities which injure them as novels are delightful. We have whole libraries of romance, but the peculiar charms of an unromantic bleakness, of a spiritual tenuity, of a thin gilding of the picturesqueness of commonplace, have hitherto gone uncelebrated. We know the sustenance of meat and the stimulant of wine in the provender of fiction, but the tea which Mr. Howells dispenses is of a delicious fragrance and refreshing to jaded palates. Why should there not be the *romans, de société* if they are executed with so much intellectual fastidiousness and so much refined humor and art? Such a remark as "You don't know how my heart leaps with delight every time that young woman don't play on the piano" (or words to that effect) would atone for a more flimsy comedy than 'A Counterfeit Presentment'; a sentence like "His face had that distinctly fresh-shaven

effect which once a week is the advantage of shaving no oftener" will reconcile any reader to the dulness of 'The Lady of the Aroostook'; and if it contained more such characterizations as "She sat absently feeling on the porcelain-toned piano in the hotel parlor for the music of the past" we should have a correspondingly higher regard for 'The Undiscovered Country.' They are all death to romance, but they all and their like show how charmingly inadequate Eastern "culture" has proved itself to subdue the natural and unmistakably trans-Alleghanian humor of their author, however evident its effect in modifying its expression. We cannot better express what we mean than by saying that, everything considered, and slight as it is, 'A Parlor Car' seems to us Mr. Howells's best and most characteristic performance.

So far as his latest book is a departure, therefore, we regret it, and trust that Mr. Howells will ascribe the indiscriminate applause it has evoked to what we believe to be its real origin—the failure of his admirers to appreciate his subtler merits, and a readiness, arising out of a consciousness that he is admirable, to accept with heartiness anything of palpable qualities. He has always had too few admirers, and on just grounds he can never have too many. But those who read him with the sincerest pleasure will, we are convinced, lament the misconception of his real strength implied in the abandonment of a field in which he has been so successful for more serious and "important" works. In 'The Undiscovered Country' the love-story is of the slightest possible texture, and no character is firmly accented except a Spiritualist and some Shakers. Both these have possibilities, and Mr. Howells has taken too much pains to fail to illustrate them; and both have the local color of America. Their possibilities are not great, however, and their local color is of itself, of course, nothing in their favor. The last chapters only rise into anything like a quick interest: one episode—the interview between Ford and Elihu—is remarkably well done, but how far it shines by the light of contrast it would be difficult to tell. The tramp incident is wholly possible, one reflects, but in reading it it seems wholly artificial. The literary execution is, it need not be said, excellent in the main, but even the grace of Mr. Howells's diction is unequal to its task, which is, in brief, to endue with human and contemporary interest the abstract doctrines of Spiritualism and their effect upon a strong and sincere but visionary devotee. This we take to be hopeless, and its inevitable failure here obscures the one masterly feature of the book—the character of Dr. Boynton, which, if it were acted upon by forces capable of exciting even an intellectual sympathy, might have ranked among Mr. Howells's few typical creations. As it is, the merits of the book remind us of Johnson's remark about women's preaching: "It is like a dog's walking on his hind legs. It is not well done, but you are surprised to find it done at all."

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
About (E.), Le Roman d'un Brave Homme, swd	(F. W. Christern)
Story of an Honest Man, swd	(D. Appleton & Co.) $0 50
Archæological Institute of America, 1st Annual Report	(Cambridge)
Beauty's Daughters: a Tale	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Farrar (Rev. F. W.), Ephphatha: Sermons	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 50
Hoernle (A. F. R.), Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages	(Trübner & Co.)
Inglis (J.), Our Australian Cousins	(Macmillan & Co.) 3 50
Letourneau (Dr. C.), La Sociologie, swd	(F. W. Christern)
Littell's Living Age, Vol. 30	(Littell & Co.)
Ludlow (N. M.), Dramatic Life as I Found It	(G. I. Jones & Co.) 3 50
Man Proposes: a Tale	(Lee & Shepard) 1 00
Nohl (L.), Life of Mozart	(Jansen, McClurg & Co.) 1 25
Pont-Jost (R. de), No. 13 Rue Marlot, swd	(Lee & Shepard) 50
Phillips (W. H.), Who is Your Wife?	(E. J. Hale & Son)
Renan (E.), English Conferences	(Jas. R. Osgood & Co.) 75
Rutherford (W. G.), Cæsar's Gallic War, Books II., III.	(Henry Holt & Co.)
Seymour (G. E.), Elementary Arithmetic	(G. I. Jones & Co.)
Sturgis (J.), Little Comedies, swd	(D. Appleton & Co.) 30
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 22, 1880.

The Week.

THE Indiana campaign has been opened by Mr. Albert G. Porter, lately First Comptroller of the Treasury, and now the Republican candidate for Governor. Mr. Porter's speech at Indianapolis was carefully prepared, and he probably means to make it last through the canvass. It is divisible into three portions: the glorious record of the Republican party and the shameful record of their opponents; the plans of the Solid South on coming into power; the humble origin of General Garfield and the aristocratic career of General Hancock, who "was, perhaps, following the mazes of the dance" while "that widow's son was industriously at work in the carpenter's shop, on the tow-path, and at the farm" to earn a living for himself and his mother. In praising the party for having brought greenbacks to a par with gold, the ex-Treasury official made no mention whatever of the silver dollar as forming any part of the currency or giving any cause for anxiety; concerning revenue reform and civil-service reform he was equally silent. Some of his statements showed that he is in possession of quite special information. Speaking of his own canvass he said: "This is not a race of candidates: it is a race of the people for the people's best interests"; and further on: "I ask of the people—the Republican party—that they will give me such help in this canvass as they can so effectively render." He explained the long delay at Chicago by the difficulty of choosing between such excellent candidates as Grant, Sherman, and Blaine, whose qualities are happily all combined in General Garfield; and the quick work at Cincinnati by the Democratic poverty of choice. Finally, he exposed in a masterly manner the grand Southern conspiracy to increase the Supreme Court to twenty-one judges, to declare the Constitutional amendments void, to pension the Confederate soldiers, to compensate the slaveholders, and to gain twelve new Senators by dividing Texas into five States and admitting Utah and the Indian Territory.

Those of Mr. Porter's hearers who also listened to Mr. Schurz in the same city on Tuesday evening have received a valuable lesson in political oratory. The talk of a self-styled "man of the people," who simply means by this boast that he is a member of the Republican party, was naturally received with boisterous cheers. It was unnecessary for Mr. Schurz to deprecate such demonstrations on the part of his audience, not only because silence was the highest compliment they could pay to the method of his appeal, but because his rhetoric was not even remotely addressed to their passions or their feelings. The question of the coming election he stated in this way: Have we had reasonably good government during the present administration of the Republican party? If so, can we expect a change for the better if the Democrats get back into power? With his usual moderation he argued that the answer to the first question must be in the affirmative; and he derived a negative answer for the second from a soldier's incapacity for civil affairs, from the heterogeneous composition of the Democratic party, the peculiar temper of its Southern portion, its universal greed for office, the ascendency in it of dangerous and dishonorable financial doctrines, and its utter indifference to civil-service reform—its necessary indifference, for, said Mr. Schurz, if General Hancock should announce his intention to abandon the spoils doctrine and could be believed, "it is not unlikely that the [Democratic] hosts would disband at once." He then showed what Mr. Hayes's administration has done towards improving the civil service by making fit appointments and few removals except for just cause, ensuring promotions, and weeding out the knavish and incompetent. Against the remarkable fidelity and freedom from loss with which the public business is now conducted, he held up the result of a general change among the Federal employees even before corruption should set in, and drew for tax-payers a powerful picture of the costliness of the experiment. He traced the growth of sounder principles of finance and civil-service reform among the Republicans, and concluded that their success was demanded by the best interests of the Republic, whereas to vote the Democratic ticket would be "to take a gambling chance." He adroitly praised Mr. Garfield not according to his "last utterance" but his past record, to which, Mr. Schurz said, "he need only be true in order to become a wise, safe, and successful President."

The dissenting opinions of the Indiana judges in the Constitutional Amendments Case make the reasoning of the majority seem rather weak. Judges Niblack and Scott take the ground that, as a general rule, when a question is left to the determination of an indefinite body of voters, it is immaterial how many votes are cast, and that the court had no right to go beyond the actual returns of the election to ascertain whether the amendments received the votes of a majority of all the qualified electors. Judge Niblack admits that if the amendments had been submitted at a general election, and if the returns of the general election had shown affirmatively that a majority of those voting had not voted for ratification, there would then be good authority for holding that the amendments could not have been adopted. But in this case the amendment in question was submitted "at what was to it a special election." "True, it was submitted on the first Monday in April, the day of our township elections, and the machinery, so to speak, of those elections was used in obtaining a vote upon it. But a separate ballot was required and used in voting both for and against it, and separate and distinct returns were required and made as to the vote upon it to the Secretary of State." This is the point where the difference arises between the majority and minority. The majority think that, inasmuch as the township elections showed a vote so large that the number of votes cast in favor of the amendments was not a majority of it, the court was bound to take judicial notice of the fact, and to decide that there was nothing to show an adoption by the people. The minority, on the other hand, think that the court has no business to go outside of the vote on the amendments itself for information as to what the full number of qualified voters is, and that they should confine themselves to the consideration of the votes cast for and against the amendments. This is, of course, in accordance with the general current of authority on the subject, which, however, the majority thought was controlled by the language of the Indiana constitution and statutes. We may add that the opinions are rather technical, and the rapidity and unanimity with which several of our contemporaries reached the conclusion that the majority opinion was part of a Democratic scheme to "fix Indiana," deserves special commendation as an exhibition of professional enterprise, particularly as they had not at the time had the advantage of reading the minority opinions.

The party press has been creditably free in its strictures on Mr. Garfield's letter of acceptance, and it is easy to discern in the praises of the more obsequious journals a constraint which betrays the general disappointment. The letter has, in fact, met with a very flat reception. Nobody felt any pride in the Chicago platform, or supposed that it would hamper the candidate if he was disposed to improve on it. Even to discuss its shortcomings would have been to lend it too great significance. Mr. Garfield's letter is an amplification of the platform without improvement, but unfortunately it cannot be explained away in the same manner. In this dilemma it looks as if the party would have to "take to the woods." The Independents are asking themselves the question whether, if General Garfield had been, like Sherman and Blaine, an avowed competitor for the nomination and had published his letter as a bid, they would not have excluded him also from the list of tolerable candidates.

One circumstance which ought to have affected his letter was wholly lost on Mr. Garfield. With his mind intent altogether on healing the breaches in his own party, he overlooked the fact that, if elected, he will have to govern with a Congress Democratic in both branches. This

was equivalent to a dispensation from party narrowness, and permitted him to go to the very extreme of independence and frankness in stating his views of the true national policy in regard to each of the controverted topics of the day. At some points he would have approached the Democratic majority, in many he would have been not farther from them than from his Republican colleagues, in all he would have extorted the respect of both parties. Considered as the substance of the writer's possible first message to Congress, its inappropriateness and feebleness are apparent at once. It neither invites co-operation in a patriotic spirit nor promises a firm resistance in accordance with well-defined principles. The unworthy phrases in which Mr. Garfield's ideas are concealed, or his old professions recanted, betray a want of backbone of which Mr. Hayes's letter gave no sign, and which must greatly embolden a hostile legislature.

It may be doubted whether there is any propriety in a candidate for Vice-President making an elaborate confession of faith by way of acknowledging the compliment of his nomination. In the first place, it is apt to be no compliment; and in the next, as the office has no political weight or influence whatever, except in case of the President's demise, the latter might well be left to speak for "the firm." The custom, nevertheless, had its advantage for General Arthur, who was looked upon, if not exactly as the wicked partner, at least as the poor relation. He has availed himself of it effectively, and must be surprised to find his character rising by simple contrast with his chief. Only two points in his letter, which is nearly as long as Mr. Garfield's, require mention. "Our paper currency," he says, with a directness certainly not imitated, "is now as good as gold, and silver is performing its legitimate function for the purpose of change. The principles which should govern the relations of these elements of the currency are simple and clear. There must be no deteriorated coin, no depreciated paper; and every dollar, whether of metal or paper, should stand the test of the world's fixed standard." This has a very different ring from talk about a happy equality. General Arthur distinctly gives the civil-service plank his approval, and says he believes in tests of fitness for office, though the "particular measure" of examinations seems to him inadequate. "The rules which should be applied to the management of the public service may properly conform in the main to such as regulate the conduct of successful private business. . . . The tenure of office should be stable." He has, he says gravely, always acted on these principles. Following Mr. Garfield, he defends the right of office-holders to be political "workers," but probably does not mean to cover the case of such as work against the Republican party; just as, as the *World* points out, Mr. Garfield does not mean by his doctrine about taking advice of Congressmen in regard to local Federal appointments, that he would consult Mr. Lamar before filling a Mississippi vacancy. The straightforwardness of General Arthur's letter is its great merit.

In addition to his other sins, General Hancock is charged with having a son who made a clandestine marriage with a young lady whose father is a rebel sympathizer, and who, after the marriage, set his son-in-law up in business on a Mississippi plantation. "Here young Russell has been in sympathy with the rebels of the South. He joined the Mississippi bull-dozers, and at the last election was as much in favor of obstructing the freedmen's vote as the rankest rebel. On this point the views of the father and son harmonize." The Baltimore *American's* exposure of General Hancock's disloyalty at the time of McClellan's removal from the command of the Army of the Potomac is corroborated by the Buffalo *Express*, which is able to "furnish some information" on this point, to the effect that "a gentleman residing in this city" (Buffalo) remembers, and "probably can never forget, the intense excitement and dissatisfaction that prevailed among McClellan's friends and admirers." General Hancock "used the most violent language," and "said that the people ought 'to hold indignation meetings in every town and hamlet, and pass resolutions,'" etc. All this must have been under great excitement, because, according to a correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune*, the General is of a very phlegmatic turn. He "does nothing but eat, drink, and enjoy himself sensually," "never reads books," and, "if he were not a major-general," would probably be "a country landlord who sits around and lets his wife do the cooking, while his son attends to the bar."

General Hancock's traitorous disposition and willingness to conciliate rebels are further illustrated by his hauling down the American flag in order to make a dinner more pleasant for General Beauregard. But to this we have already alluded. A verbatim copy of Beauregard's note was sent to "a gentleman in Toledo" from "a friend in Vicksburg," who luckily happened to be living in New Orleans at the time. In the year 1866 or 1867 General Hancock met General Grant "on the street," when General Grant accosted him in a friendly way, saying "Good morning, General Hancock." To this General Hancock made no reply, but merely touched his hat and passed on. Some time subsequently they met at a wedding-party, when General Hancock turned his back on General Grant. With regard to the charge that in 1877 General Hancock notified some one that in the event of Mr. Tilden's taking the oath of office he should recognize him, the Chicago *Evening Journal* points out that "it is quite immaterial to whom the letter was addressed," and that it would have been quite as bad" to have sent such a notification "to a brother major-general, to a brigadier, or to any other officer." It seems to us it would have been just as bad if it had been communicated orally to a corporal of the guard. It should not be forgotten, however, that the period referred to was an exceptional one, and that for several months we were only preserved from civil war by our universal disinclination to fight. The excitement of the period had a marked effect upon the imaginations of all but the strongest men, and it would not be fair to hold every one to a strict account of what he did and said then. General Hancock may have been inclined to take his resolution to support Tilden on learning that the Administration had determined to let General Stewart L. Woodford kidnap him with a swift gunboat. We should like, by the way, to have some accurate information from our contemporaries as to which side General Hancock favored during the war. Most of the facts in his career would seem to accord best with the supposition that he was a rebel Brigadier.

With the luck that has attended several of their investigations, the Democrats have so far got small comfort out of the Wallace Committee's enquiry into election frauds. Last week this committee resumed their sessions in this city, and have listened to the luminous testimony of Mr. George Bliss and Commissioner Davenport, with the net result, so far as we can make out, of freshening the public recollection of one of the most scandalous chapters in the history of the Democracy. The story of the naturalization frauds of 1868 is well enough known, but in twelve years its flagrancy has more or less lost distinctness; thanks to the present investigation, however, we shall not be surprised to find Mr. Davenport's exhaustive account doing good service on the Republican stump. His tabulated statement of the '68 naturalizations is very easily cut out and pasted in the hat, and a reading of it will only need to be enforced by insistence that the Democratic party "is everywhere and always the same." Davenport's conduct in 1878 was undoubtedly "arbitrary," and, if we have understood his various defences, he has himself generally maintained that it was necessary to fight the devil with fire, and has let the matter go at that. The vast disproportion between his arrests and imprisonment of men till after the close of the polls, and the convictions procured, is significant. But, as he remarked the other day, he has been waiting in vain "all these years" for somebody to sue him for false imprisonment. Transformed as the courts now are, it seems clear that this course would have been a wiser one for the Democrats to have taken, as it would certainly have been cheaper and more consistent.

There was nothing picturesque about the arrival of the obelisk on Tuesday, for it came like any other freight in a vessel's hold. This prosaic mode of transportation had at least the advantage of preventing any claim for salvage that did not cover the vessel also, as well as any claim for customs duty by reason of irregular entry upon a foreign coast. The safe arrival of the monument is a matter on which all con-

cerned in its bringing over are to be heartily congratulated. Instead of a period of four to six months, as was at first anticipated, the transfer has occupied as nearly as possible eleven months; but no part of the delay was due to any failure of the machinery contrived for taking down and stowing the mass, and the whole operation reflects the highest credit upon Lieutenant-Commander Gorringe and his associate, Lieutenant Schroeder. A broken shaft, which was repaired in mid-ocean, was the only accident of the voyage. The setting-up of the obelisk will be the exact reverse of the lowering, and will be one of the summer sights for New-Yorkers, though it can hardly be as impressive as the overthrow. The site is yet undetermined, though Central Park seems the only available place. But for the ugly Worth monument already there, the intersection of Broadway and Fifth Avenue would have offered perhaps the nearest approach to the conditions under which the Paris obelisk is visible.

It already appears clear from the testimony in the *Stonington-Narragansett* enquiry at New London that little or no advantage was really taken of the few moments that elapsed between the vessels' sighting each other and the collision. There was plenty of signalling, but it was either so confused or so misunderstood as to be of no practical benefit. The captain of the *Narragansett* says that when he sighted the *Stonington* he sounded two short blasts in quick succession, put his helm to starboard, rang to "slow" and stop, and sounded two blasts three times, and then rang to back and gave three blasts—in short, did all that he could exactly as it should have been done. The *Stonington* commander affirms that at no time before the collision did he hear the signal that the *Narragansett* had stopped, and that the two whistles indicating her change of course were given only a minute before the vessels came together. Each account is corroborated by other testimony. For some minutes, however, the whistle of the *Narragansett* had been heard on the *Stonington*, and was interpreted as a general fog-alarm, the three blasts indicating her change of course undoubtedly being thus misunderstood. It is difficult to excuse this, for the pilot rules make the length of the blast distinguish between a general alarm and a specific signal—a difference which the captain of the *Stonington* appears clearly to have belittled or ignored. On the *Narragansett* the conduct of the officers, so far as yet appears from the testimony, afforded no ground for the general censure of the passengers, which latter is perhaps explainable by the great and unavoidable confusion. Both vessels were moving at nearly a "fair-weather" rate.

There was a further decline during the week in the rates for foreign exchange, and at the close gold could have been imported with but slight loss—less than one cent per pound sterling. The tendency of the foreign exchanges is to gold imports, and it is now likely that these will begin in the early future. With such a prospect all the domestic influences continue in favor of an increase of loanable funds, the surplus reserve of the New York banks having risen during the week to nearly $18,500,000. The condition of the crops in the Northwestern States improved during the week, and speculation at the Stock Exchange, from having been directed to lower, turned towards higher, prices. All classes of investments were in great demand, and United States four per cent. bonds advanced to 108¾. The Clearing-House exchanges and the reports of railroad traffic both indicate that the volume of mercantile business is very large, and the tone of the various trade markets is more settled and confident than for a long time. The present estimates are that the yield this year of food products of all kinds will be the largest in the history of the country, thus ensuring both an abundance of cheap food and of money.

The Compensation for Disturbance Bill still occupies the House of Commons to the exclusion of other matters, and has undergone several amendments at the hands of the Government itself. Its fate is more than doubtful. It is urged as an exceptional measure to tide over the present distress, and to save the necessity of a military occupation of Ireland if evictions are allowed to go on, with the humane disposition of individual landlords as the sole restraint upon them. But it is also declared to be a mere carrying out of the spirit of the Land Act of 1870, which recognized a right of property in the rent-paying tenant. In that case, the *Economist* contends, the act should be permanently modified in the sense of the present bill, for crop failures may certainly be expected to occur again. Moreover, it is feared that though the legal remedy is limited and temporary, the effect on the mind of the peasantry will be lasting, by weakening the sense of their obligation to pay rent at all. Doubtless to the relief of Dean Stanley as much as of any one, the House has declared its opinion that the proposed monument to the late Prince Imperial in Westminster Abbey would be inconsistent with the national character of the edifice. The Dean has accordingly notified the trustees of the memorial fund, who must now go elsewhere for a site. The recall of Sir Bartle Frere has again been made the subject of enquiry in the House since the news of the refusal of the Cape Colony to be party to a conference looking to confederation of the South African colonies. This refusal dissipates the dream of the Jingo Government which furnished the only pretext for the Zulu and other native wars and the annexation of the Transvaal, and removes the last excuse for keeping Sir Bartle Frere at his post.

The collective note embodying the determinations of the Supplementary Berlin Conference was presented to Premier Tricoupis at Athens on or about the 17th of this month, and was, of course, readily accepted. To the Porte it "was to have been" presented about the same time, and there has been telegraphed all over Europe a great variety of speculations concerning the attitude of Turkey in response to it. That her answers will be evasive, as long as evasiveness is encouraged by a hope of serious dissensions among the great Powers, may be presumed with certainty, although voices in favor of gracious yielding to the inevitable are not wanting in the Sultan's councils. Both Mahmud Nedim Pasha, Minister of the Interior, and Abeddin Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, are reported to advocate a peaceful course. Osman Pasha, who counselled resistance, has been removed from the War Office, but he holds an office in the Palace, and his influence is still deemed great. Besides, many high trusts are now in the hands of Albanians, whose country is to be despoiled of districts for the aggrandizement of Montenegro and Greece, and the Sultan himself deems it his duty to yield only to actual force of arms. The question is, Will Abdul-Hamid's attempts to procrastinate and, if possible, to resist be secretly encouraged by one or another of the Powers? And, if not, will the European concert stop short of execution by combined force, if collective dictation and admonition fail of success?

Russia is evidently anxious to promote violent measures. Goschen and Tissot, the ambassadors of Great Britain and France, are said to be most outspoken in their representations to Abdul-Hamid concerning the perils to which defiant opposition to the decree of Europe would expose his empire and even his throne—M. Tissot reminding him of the fate of Khedive Ismail under similar circumstances. Italy, though somewhat piqued by late rebuffs while acting "in concert," is too much inclined to win the favor of Greece and Montenegro—the gainers by the Berlin decisions—to pursue a different policy. But the intentions of Austria are gravely suspected, her interests in the affairs of the Balkan Peninsula being generally believed to demand the preservation of a strong Ottoman Empire; and Germany, now so cordially allied to Austria in view of possible future conflicts with Russia, is supposed to be inclined to strengthen this bond by supporting her ally's interests wherever they clash with those of the great Slavic power. Bismarck, however, seems intentionally to play an apparently double game, giving orders, on the one hand, to fit out a naval contingent for a joint expedition to the Archipelago, and, on the other, lending the Porte German official wisdom—for financial reorganization—in the persons of some conspicuous Prussian functionaries. Meanwhile, the Albanians—no doubt secretly encouraged by officers of the Porte—continue to prepare for resisting any surrender of their territory; and, on the other hand, the Pan-Bulgarian agitation, north and south of the Balkan, is assuming threatening proportions, in the hope—which is probably also encouraged—that Russia will ultimately make an effort to revive the San Stefano treaty.

REPUBLICAN PROPAGANDISM AT THE SOUTH.

TO a number of influential Republican newspapers it has seemed a solemn duty for the party managers to embrace the South in their plan of campaign. To send speakers into States which could by no possibility be won over at this election from the Democracy would at least be an assertion of the national character of the party, and this cannot be thought a purely abstract consideration. But it would also stiffen and confirm the Republican sentiment already existing at the South, help maintain the organization, and perhaps save some Congressional districts. Wherever intimidation prevents the full polling of the party vote, the presence of delegated representatives of the main body would inspire courage, and give reality to the connection between the Northern and Southern wings, now only traceable in the comparatively small number of Federal appointments. The dread of encountering rudeness and violence would be no excuse for shirking the duty of discussing Republican doctrine on Southern soil. Every instance of interruption, in proportion to its grossness, would react at the North in favor of the party which, whatever its sins, has never resorted to mobs for silencing its opponents. The manly way, too, of curing Southern intolerance is not to denounce it at a distance, but to meet it and put it to shame; and happily there is a local trait which ensures the success of such an attempt—we mean the fondness for joint political debate on the stump. The so-called "Mississippi plan" was a bad example of a good custom, and if, as is reported, the Republican Executive Committee are preparing to canvass the South, we hope they will instruct their orators to invite controversy at all their meetings.

For the good of the country at large it makes very little difference whom the Committee select for the purpose. The canvass will be a touchstone for both parties. On the one hand, we can predict in all the centres of population a self-restraint that will relieve the Republican speaker of any fear for his personal safety. On the other, we may be sure that he will more or less consciously adapt his discourse to the place and circumstance, seeking for a common ground of agreement or honest difference, and carefully avoiding certain familiar modes of advocacy calculated for another latitude and the opposite side in the civil war. There would be something extremely edifying in the prudent utterances of a Blaine, a Boutwell, or a Logan, before an audience which would resent castigation of the Brigadiers, and would laugh at the terrors of a solid South. Still, we do not counsel any experiments likely to bring in question the sincerity of the canvass, and wisdom would dictate the sending of the best and discreetest heads the party can muster. They would not be missed at the North, because all eyes would be fixed on them in their Southern tour, and their speeches be reported by the Associated Press, and read with an interest entirely novel to this generation. If they succeeded in justifying their mission they would be making converts on both sides of the line. They would, from the necessities of the case, elaborate the best possible party platform, namely, the body of opinions and aspirations which can be vindicated in a hostile camp, and will therefore be divested of claptrap and demagogy.

Under the best auspices, it must be admitted, the task would be one of unusual difficulty, requiring extraordinary tact. The historical claims of the Republican party would have to be dismissed altogether, or treated with philosophic breadth in terms not borrowed from the preambles to convention platforms. Its title to existence must be derived not from what it has achieved but from what it means to achieve. Here begins the perplexity, which has been vastly increased by Mr. Garfield's letter; for the single important particular in which the party's and the candidate's declarations are precise and unequivocal is the Federal supervision of Federal elections. As we remarked last week, this is an altogether acceptable issue for the Democrats, and Republicans must, of course, face it at the South unhesitatingly; but if it constitutes their sole stock in trade their usefulness on the stump is certain to be very greatly curtailed. The principle may be never so sound, the fact remains that the supervision will be controlled by the party in power, and that the absence of supervision will be to its detriment. Practically, therefore, this feature of the Republican policy is as liable to the charge of selfishness as any, and strengthens the inference drawn from its ambiguous utterances on other topics that its chief concern is to retain possession of the Government. If Mr. Garfield had made a purely formal acknowledgment of his nomination, it would have been possible at the South, as at the North, to put aside the platform as a test of party purposes, or to have interpreted it in the light of his well-known position on the currency, the tariff, and on civil-service reform. It would have been fair to claim for the party the merit of its chosen leader, and hold him up as the exponent of a tendency superior to the calculated professions of a mass convention. But this resource has been taken away. The candidate, in endeavoring to identify himself with the platform, has translated it into something inferior to the original—more partisan and less patriotic, and, where it trimmed evenly, leaning to the baser side.

We shall not, therefore, be surprised if Mr. Jewell finds it impracticable to devise a line of argument for his Southern speakers. What, for example, could they say in behalf of civil-service reform? They must explain the party's reward of defiance of President Hayes's order by the elevation of Messrs. Cornell and Arthur; the speeches of Secretaries Evarts and Sherman at the Cooper Union last fall; the reporting of the Chicago platform without the civil-service reform plank, and its insertion on compulsion with a bad grace and after Mr. Flanagan's honest disclaimer; and Mr. Garfield's defence of the right of Congressmen to share in making appointments. They must do more: they must satisfy their hearers that the reform does not mean maintaining the *status quo* of the Federal appointments at the South, even if it does not mean the "clean sweep" called for by a correspondent on another page. On the currency and the tariff their remarks will be still more interesting and delicate. In Virginia, especially, they can profitably labor with their own brethren on the subject of honest money and the public credit. In short, the Republican propagandist at the South, be his views what they may and his sincerity what it may, will find his path beset with difficulties well-nigh insurmountable. If he begins with exposition he will halt in his exhortation; and if he begins by exhorting, he will be in danger of ending in a disastrous failure to make clear the grounds of his appeals. We cannot resist the belief that the present is a much less favorable occasion for a Southern canvass than Mr. Hayes's nomination afforded, and that every obstacle to it which existed at the close of the Chicago Convention has been aggravated by Mr. Garfield's letter. Nevertheless, we still hope that it may be undertaken, as it offers the first chance for genuine debate in twenty years—debate which cannot be had north of Mason and Dixon's line. We should not be opposed to it even if each party confined itself to proving the total depravity of the other. This would not be a very lofty contest, but it would be easier for both sides, though the intellectual exercise in dodging assaults would be mutually considerable. A good deal of humbug would perish in the encounter, and a good many illusions.

THE CIVIL-SERVICE ISSUE IN THE CANVASS.

A RESIDENT of Washington who was one of the earliest advocates of civil-service reform, with ample opportunity of studying the situation in Washington during the last three years, and having a personal acquaintance with the President and his Cabinet without the bias of official relationship, contributes some views and observations that help to explain the course pursued by the present Administration in regard to the civil service. The substance of our correspondent's observations are these:

When Mr. Hayes was nominated for the Presidency in 1876 he had studied the abuses of the civil service, he had seen its corrupting influences in Congress, and the corrupt purposes to which Congressmen apply it; he understood the changes necessary to effect reform, and he believed that a healthy sentiment within the party had defeated Conkling and Blaine in the Convention and was sufficiently powerful to effect a great change under a new administration. When Mr. Hayes came to Washington he still believed in all of this, and was sincerely desirous of making his mark in Presidential history by accomplishing two great results—the pacification of the South, and the reform of the civil service. His inaugural, which had been prepared before he reached Washington, reiterated all that he had promised in his letter of acceptance, and his selection of Mr. Schurz as a member of his Cabinet was for the purpose of having the foremost civil-service reformer of the party as an

effective element in the new administration. But so soon as Mr. Hayes sent his nominations to the Senate an explosion of wrath was felt, and the same Senatorial intimidation which so successfully brought down General Grant in 1869 was tried upon the new reform President. The "Senatorial Group," or great machine managers of the Senate, cared little about Mr. Key, but they hated Mr. Schurz. Eight years before they had forced the "Man from Appomattox" to put a politician like Mr. Boutwell in the Treasury, and nothing seemed easier than to force Mr. Hayes into a similar surrender. From the humiliation of having his nominations rejected Mr. Hayes was saved by the indignation meeting in New York, and the Senatorial managers retreated but bided their time.

But, apart from this clog in the Senate, Mr. Hayes speedily found himself enveloped in a cloud of baffling influences. In the first place, he was not a reform President triumphantly elected on that issue, but, on the contrary, the reform issue had been thrown to the dogs by the great men of the party during the campaign, and he had been dragged into office at the last possible moment by the party tactics and discipline of such efficient workers as the two Chandlers. Furthermore, he found himself handicapped by debts of gratitude. He owed his nomination to the management of Mr. Sherman, and his office (many people thought) to the zealous advocacy of Mr. Evarts. Both of these gentlemen had the Presidential bee in their bonnets; neither had serious convictions about civil-service reform; each feared the party indignation about the Louisiana compromise, and the threats that were thrown out relative to the conference at Wormley's Hotel. It was their policy to conciliate the party, and in the absence of Sir Robert Walpole's pension-list and secret-service fund, they were for resorting to the usual American corruption fund of Government patronage and civil-service appointments. But, worse than all, a singular apathy had fallen upon the better portion of the party. The events which followed the election had made civil-service reform seem a much less important matter than it had previously appeared. The conduct of the Democrats in the House of Representatives, moreover, had proved that there was no element of reform in that party, and that the "spoils system" was never so greedily maintained and shamelessly operated; and for the party in possession of the executive branch of the Government to practise "hands off" while the party in possession of the legislative plundered right and left, was more than ordinary political nature could endure. Finally, when the President began his work and published his executive order, and sought to remove Arthur and Cornell, he found himself defeated in the Senate and derided in the Iowa Republican Convention. He found, moreover, that his mild, negative policy, philosophically right and thoroughly sincere, had made him a kind of Quaker general, whose conscientious scruples would neither allow him to plunder and devastate the enemy's camp nor allow him to hang the spies and emissaries sent in to stir up sedition in his own. In other words, the President could not use the civil service to break in pieces the New York Machine—*i.e.*, to control primaries and carry conventions; but Mr. Conkling could use the whole Government patronage within the State to defeat or belittle the reform purposes of the President.

If Mr. Hayes had been a different kind of man; if he had been a natural reformer, bold and earnest; if he had been such a man as Mr. Tilden, shrewd, audacious, and unscrupulous, it is very evident that he could have made warm work for Mr. Conkling, and could have awakened among the better class of citizens the same spirited indignation which came to his support on the steps of the Custom-house in March, 1877. But Mr. Hayes is not a natural reformer nor an aggressive politician. He found his Cabinet, with one exception, against him. The Republican press were against him. Such papers as the *Tribune*, which had clamored for reform, turned and clamored against any reform which might help the Democrats. The reform element in the party seemed to think that, having forced the nomination of Mr. Hayes, it was his business to effect a good result. To Mr. Hayes himself it seemed as if he stood alone, as if the country was not yet ready for civil-service reform; and he shrank from being classed with the "traitor Presidents," Tyler and Johnson, and concluded that all he could accomplish was to secure a pure and decent administration of the Government in the public offices in Washington.

Whether this diagnosis of Mr. Hayes's case be, indeed, the true exposition of his change of policy, it is not our purpose to discuss. A man's motives are known generally only to himself, and it is not unlikely that when the diaries and autobiographies of his Cabinet and friends and advisers come to be published they will not agree as to what the reasons were which influenced the President, and indeed that they will offer the most diverse reasons and demonstrate the most opposite motives. But what has been stated concerning Mr. Hayes furnishes a tolerably clear exposition of the weakness of the Presidential office, of the influences which will surround any President, and of the impossibility of procuring positive, effective reform by simply "defeating a ring" at Chicago or "breaking a slate" at Cincinnati. What, then, is the position of that unorganized party known as the Independent voters? What chance of effecting some reform have those intelligent and conscientious persons who see that a debased civil service is the material of the modern political "machine," the corrupting element of our Government?

In the first place, it may be conceded that many persons who in 1876 deemed a pure civil service vital, now regard it as merely desirable. An administration so clean as Mr. Hayes's has made them forget the dangers which the Grant régime brought prominently into view. But, on the other hand, there is a larger body of voters who are examining the evil from another point of view, who do not, as they say, "take much stock in civil-service reform," but who are beginning to see clearly the dangerous and tyrannical power of the political "machine." The "Scratchers" of 1879 brought into being the revolt of 1880. The hopeless duty of scratching Cornell bore the unhoped-for result of dividing the New York delegation and defeating Grant. The growing disgust felt toward the machine will not only lead to fresh "bolts" and new breaches of discipline within the ranks, but will also add to the number of reflecting persons who, as they are emancipated from party shackles, become necessarily independent voters. Sooner or later these persons will see that the "machine" is merely one side of our present civil service, and that the purpose of party managers in having a bad civil service is to have a good "machine." If it were not so, such "practical politicians" as Mr. Conkling would care nothing whatever about the civil service. So soon as he found that the civil service had become a mere instrumentality of government, a thing to be managed on business principles exclusively for the benefit of the American people and not for the benefit of professional politicians, he would be quite willing to hand it over to the "doctrinaires," and deliver his "crushing speeches" on more "practical" subjects than appointments and confirmations. When people begin by hating this or that machine, they are in a fair way to end by detesting all political machines; and whoever is heartily opposed to machine politics is not very far from the conclusion that a debased civil service, be it national, State, or municipal, is the material, and the only material, out of which the American political machine is made.

In the second place, the Democrats have done their utmost during the last six years to demonstrate the fact that the defeat of the Republican party does not mean reform. A minority party ought to be, and ordinarily is, the party of reform; and if the Democratic leaders had been possessed of ordinary political sagacity and a decent portion of patriotic integrity, they would have made their party the party of reform, and would have insisted as strenuously as the *Nation* has ever done upon a pure, non-political civil service. If they had done so, and had coupled with their professions an illustration in the management of the Senate and House of Representatives, the great body of the Independent vote would have gone over to them, and the country would now be assured that a great and growing danger had substantially been stamped out. Instead of doing so, they maintained as stoutly as the worst of their following could desire the spoils doctrine, and showed, both by the wholesale indecency of their removals and the low character of their appointments, what the country must expect if the whole executive "patronage," as it is called, should pass into the hands of a Democratic administration. The humiliation of successive defeats has not given to the Democratic party a higher creed than its old maxim that to the victor belong the spoils. Success cannot be expected to do more for it. The new Administration, starting from a low plane, would bring into office an inexperienced, undisciplined throng of needy working politicians, strong in the belief that the public offices had been

rightfully captured, and should be unscrupulously used to maintain their party in power. In a word, it is evident that while the Independent vote has dictated something to the Republican party—has defeated the nomination of Grant and Conkling and Blaine—it has made no impression whatever on the Democratic party.

This consideration seems to us decisive for all those who hold that the taking of the public offices out of politics is the main question now and as long as it remains unaccomplished; and who at the same time believe that a beginning has been made by the Republican party, and distrust its friendliness to civil-service reform when in opposition more than they despair of overcoming its lukewarmness and hostility while in power. The argument, we admit, does not serve when applied to the tariff or the currency, and it is sadly weakened by General Garfield's retrograde attitude on all these points. But it avoids what we may call the Providential view of political duty, which consists in standing aloof and leaving the issue of events to a higher power, and which is exemplified in the celebrated story of the backwoodsman, his wife, and the bear.

SORGHUM SUGAR.

A STRIKING feature of American agriculture is the enormous aggregate yield of most of the crops which are cultivated. It is not merely that we have an extensive country laid out upon the large scale, with great prairies, rivers, lakes, and railways, but that the country is inhabited by a singularly homogeneous people, subject to like influences and motives and having on the whole very much the same wants and aspirations. It may even be said, in one sense, that the kinds and amounts of crops gathered depend less upon soil and climate than upon the cheapness of land and the uniformity of the methods of cultivation. The number of bushels of Indian corn harvested, for example, or the number of hogs, even, that are fed with the corn, are well-nigh inconceivably large because almost every one has a hand in growing these "crops." Even broom-corn, from whose panicles common brooms and brushes are made, yields a crop in this country such as has never been thought of elsewhere. The plant is a native of the East Indies, and has long been cultivated there and in Italy, and brooms have been made from it time out of mind; but to-day the familiar corn-broom is almost as much an American article as if it had been here invented, and as if the plant were indigenous to our soil. Where multitudes of intelligent, and in some measure instructed, men are thus occupied with a kind of farming whose details are essentially the same over a wide extent of territory, the introduction of a new crop suited to the conditions and circumstances of the country, or of any new machine, method, or invention which helps to grow or harvest a crop, has very great importance. This truth has been made manifest repeatedly in the case of machines for reaping, mowing, and threshing, and of devices for the better management of milk, and is now receiving new illustration by a great movement in the cultivation of sorghum for sugar, which is rapidly becoming a matter of truly national significance.

Nearly thirty years ago the French consul at Shanghai sent home seeds of a sugar-producing sorghum which attracted much attention; for it was seen at once, and perhaps even more clearly then than it is now, that a Northern sugar-cane would be a great desideratum. It was not long before other varieties of the sweet sorghum were brought from Zululand to Europe, and both the Chinese and the African plants were soon introduced into this country, where their seeds were widely distributed. Hopes were entertained at that time by many people that the general cultivation of sorghum at the North would have an important influence upon the great question of the day—the relations of slavery to labor; and no little excitement attended the dissemination of the plants. These anticipations were not to be immediately realized. On the contrary, it soon appeared that, although the sorghum-plant yielded an abundance of sweet juice, there was some difficulty in the way of getting from this juice profitable quantities of solid, crystallized sugar. It was shown, indeed, long ago by the highest chemical authority that there is an abundance of cane-sugar in the sorghum-plant, particularly when it is thoroughly ripe, and it is now known that the failure to get crystallized sugar, though due in some part, perhaps, to the immaturity of the plants, must be chiefly attributed to improper methods of procedure in attempting to clarify the juice and to prepare the syrup for crystallization. It has finally been made clear that unless the juice is properly managed most of the cane-sugar contained in it easily changes to an uncrystallizable variety of sugar, so that nothing but molasses is obtained on evaporating the juice. The necessary operations are not difficult, but they require prompt action. The juice should not be left to itself after expression: a small quantity of lime must be added to it, to neutralize the slight natural acidity; and the defecated juice should be boiled down speedily to the consistence of syrup. As in the making of maple-sugar, very simple appliances yield good results.

After a few years of active effort, the conviction became general that there was no likelihood of the plant's competing with the sugar-cane of the South, and with this conclusion the general public lost its interest in the subject. But the cultivation of the plant was continued nevertheless, and became widely extended in the Southern and Western States. Many farmers continued to grow small quantities of sorghum for the sake of the syrup, which is readily obtained and which served to replace molasses for household use. During the war, sorghum molasses was of no little significance to the people of the Southern States. It will be remembered that General Sherman, in describing his March to the Sea, mentions the destruction of sorghum products as a noticeable means of distressing the enemy. At the West the African varieties of sorghum seem to have been preferred to the Chinese, because the plant itself is less liable to be broken down by the prairie winds, because it ripens earlier, and because its juice was thought to crystallize more readily. For a number of years samples of crystallized sugar have occasionally been prepared from sorghum syrup at the West, and a certain mild interest in the question of sugar-making has been manifested there all along, until, within the last year or two, the attention of the agricultural public has again been everywhere awakened, and the conviction has become general that the subject is really one of vast importance.

The period of comparative quiescence which succeeded the excitement of twenty years ago appears to have been of no little use both in perfecting the sorghum-plant and the processes by which sugar is prepared from it. It was fortunate, withal, that both the Chinese and the African plants were introduced into this country, since, by the crossing and hybridizing of varieties, new and better kinds of sorghum have been obtained, several of which are particularly well adapted for the Northern States. It is claimed for the several varieties that one or another of them will succeed wherever Indian corn can be grown, so that there is hardly a State in the Union from which the cultivation of the plant is necessarily excluded. It seems to be plain, at all events, that henceforth the corn-growing States are to be sugar-producing States also. Indeed, the general resemblance of sorghum to Indian corn will, perhaps more than any other single circumstance, ensure its successful growth in this country. The resemblance between the two plants is so close and the cultivation they require is so nearly similar that, from the farmer's point of view, sorghum is hardly to be looked upon as a new crop. It grows well on "corn land," even of the lighter and drier sorts, and has no marked needs or peculiarities to be studied and allowed for; and since every farmer in the land knows how to grow corn the transition to sorghum cannot fail of being easy. Our farmers have, moreover, in process of time, arrived at singularly cheap and effective methods of corn-growing which are almost absolutely applicable to the new crop.

Both the cheapness of its culture and, practically speaking, the familiarity of our farmers with the method of culture place sorghum upon a wholly different footing from the sugar-beet, a plant which has often been commended as worthy of cultivation in this country, and for the encouragement of which money bounties and grants have at one time and another been unwisely voted by the legislatures of several States. To say nothing of our climate, to which sorghum in its several varieties is now well suited, the beet-root is known to require rich ground, careful culture, and much labor. Another advantage to be credited to sorghum is the freedom of its juice from offensive impurities. Beet-juice is contaminated with some substance which renders the brown sugar obtained from it unfit to be eaten. In order that it may be palatable, beet-sugar has to be refined to brilliant whiteness, and the molasses obtained incidentally in the process of manufacturing beet-sugar is useless except for purposes of distillation. The better kinds of sorghum are free from this reproach. The juice of approved varieties has no disagreeable flavor, and both the brown sugar and the molasses obtained from it are palatable and fit for domestic use. Hence the crop is particularly adapted for our American conditions and well suited to the habits of our people. Any small farmer may make sugar from his sorghum crop as readily as the New-Englanders make sugar from maple sap, and the residual molasses will serve as well as maple syrup for family use. More than this, the sorghum-plant yields large quantities of seeds rich in starch, which are capital food for poultry, swine, and cattle, and the refuse stalks from which the saccharine juice has been expressed are excellent fodder, which can readily be saved for winter use. As with Indian corn, so with sorghum: one conspicuous merit of the crop is its adaptability. Both large farmers and small may cultivate it with profit, and it may be put to many different uses.

The question of sorghum sugar has recently been studied very satisfactorily by Professor Collier, of the Department of Agriculture at Washington. He finds that there is no difficulty in making from sorghum an abundance of sugar of first-rate quality, which will compare favorably with the best product from sugar-cane grown in the most favored localities. He confirms the fact that the percentage of crystallizable sugar in the juice is largest when the plant is dead-ripe—that is to say, when all parts of it have thoroughly matured. His plants maintained this condition of maximum sweetness very well when once it was attained, some of them for a period of two

months, which gave him nearly twice the time that is commonly had in Louisiana to work up the cane. He finds also that the process of manufacture has been very satisfactorily improved and methodized of late years, and that former failures to get crystallized sugar from sorghum syrup are to be attributed for the most part not to the absence of such sugar from the plant, but to improper manipulation of the juice after expression. In a considerable number of trials, with different samples of sorghum from various localities, he obtained, as the average yield, more than a ton of sugar to the acre of land. In one instance he got three tons of sugar to the acre, and he has no doubt that from some of the Southern varieties two tons of sugar may be obtained practically. The significance of these results is well brought out by the statement of the Commissioner of Agriculture that there were imported into this country from abroad in the year 1878, 1,741,650,000 lbs. of sugar, to say nothing of molasses, while the yield of sugar from the tropical cane in the Gulf States amounted to only about 250,000,000 lbs. Our people are said to consume sugar at the rate of about forty pounds to each person every year; but for fifty million inhabitants this would amount to a couple of billions of pounds, which, at no higher price than five cents the pound, would come to a hundred millions of dollars per annum.

One interesting result of Professor Collier's researches is that the making of sugar from corn-stalks, as invented by the ancient Mexicans and practised by our ancestors during the War of the Revolution, has much more merit than had commonly been supposed. He finds that the methods now in use for obtaining sugar from sorghum are applicable to corn-stalks also. Somewhat unexpectedly, though the fact accords absolutely with what is known to be true of sorghum, the thoroughly-ripened stalks, from which hard, ripe ears of corn have been harvested, yield the most sugar; and there are doubtless many places where sugar may be profitably made from corn-stalks after the crop proper—the grain, namely—has been gathered. In general, however, sorghum is to be preferred to corn as a sugar-producing plant. Professor Collier has no hesitancy in predicting that within five years all the sugar needed for use in the United States will be produced by American farmers, and he deems it probable that within ten years we shall export more sugar than we have ever imported.

ENGLISH JOURNALISM.—I.

LONDON, Saturday, June 12, 1880.

ONE of the most curious features of Mr. Gladstone's mind is his intense dislike to London, London people, and London ways. The society, the clubs, the wealth, the luxury, and the frivolity of the capital offend his austere and puritanical tastes; but of all things relating to London that which he dislikes the most is the London press. He never misses an opportunity of contrasting it unfavorably with provincial journalism. The secret of this preference is easy of discovery. Mr. Gladstone is criticised by the newspapers of London: he is flattered by the newspapers of the Provinces; and it is one of Mr. Gladstone's most conspicuous weaknesses to hate criticism and to relish flattery. In this respect he resembles Garrick—"Who peppers the highest is surest to please." He prefers to be abused even in the most rancorous manner to being fairly and candidly estimated, if the fairness and candor involve any degree of qualification or of disparagement. Mr. Gladstone is always fond of referring to the superior knowledge of the provincial press as compared with its London contemporaries. The newspapers of the great manufacturing towns of Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham are regarded by him as the true exponents of political opinion. What they think, he is in the habit of averring, the nation thinks. The truth is that what Mr. Gladstone thinks provincial papers think. They take the word of command from his mouth and echo his opinions, and that which is merely a return of his own voice to him he takes as an independent utterance confirming his own judgment.

Mr. Gladstone resembles in one respect the provincial notoriety who finds that while he was all the world at home, he is only one of the world in London. His preference of the provincial newspapers is the preference of the social lion for the society in which he can dictate, over the society in which he has to recognize the equal claims of other men; and he seeks a refuge from contradiction and the mental independence of the London press in the obsequiousness of provincial journalism. In the speeches which he made in Mid-Lothian and in other parts of the country he referred to the support given him by the newspapers of the large towns outside London as an augury of the successful issue of the general election. He has since, on at least plausible ground, maintained that in this estimate of them he has been justified by the result. The metropolitan journals prophesied defeat; they were wrong. The provincial journals prophesied success; they were right. Therefore Mr. Gladstone's conclusion is that provincial journals understand and reflect public opinion, while the metropolitan mistake and mislead it. But Mr. Gladstone confines himself to the year 1880; he does not look back to the year 1874, when the provincial journals prophesied his victory at the polls, and he very soon found out they were completely wrong. The fact is that the great majority of the provincial papers are Liberal, and that, the wish being father to the thought, they always prophesy a Liberal victory. They are like a clock which is not wound up; the index-finger points steadily to one hour on the dial, and therefore within the course of the twenty-four hours which make up day and night it must be minutely and accurately right at least twice. But there are metropolitan journals and metropolitan journals. Some London newspapers, unlike the majority of their contemporaries either in town or country, were right both in 1874 and in 1880. In the former year they predicted Mr. Gladstone's defeat; they warned him months beforehand of the mistakes which he was committing. They told him what was already the feeling of the country, and earned his dislike and animosity by doing so. He did not take the warning. Encouraged by the chorus of approbation which came to him from his friends of the provincial press he went his own way, and the result was that he found himself in a minority and out of power. In 1880 the same journals confidently predicted, and did a good deal to prepare for, the Liberal success. But it is not enough for Mr. Gladstone that the metropolitan press should be right when he is right; it must also be wrong when he is wrong. To have foreseen things which he did not foresee, and to have warned him of perils to which he shut his eyes, is an offence which it takes some time for him to forgive. There is no doubt that Mr. Gladstone is justified in his dislike of many of the features of London journalism, and that is easily explicable. It is his fault rather than his misfortune to have made acquaintance only or chiefly with its least worthy members. During his former tenure of power his relations with the press of London were confined almost entirely to those members of it who condescended to hang about him for information, who ministered to his appetite for flattery, and who were content to hold, or at any rate to express, any opinion which he might dictate to them. Of course when he fell from power these summer friends deserted him, and were as malignant and unscrupulous in their vituperation as they had been in their flattery. It is by this experience, which reflects quite as much the infirmity of Mr. Gladstone's own character as the unworthiness of the London press, that he seems to judge metropolitan journalism, which he is always denouncing.

Unfortunately, to use a phrase of Goethe's, there are but few voices while there are many echoes, and the most ignoble and unworthy sounds are reverberated as noisily and incessantly as more noble and intelligent utterances. Everybody knows the fable of the ass and the lion's skin; but occasionally we have the more pitiable spectacle of the lion in the ass's skin. The king of the forests condescends occasionally to imitate the voice of the more ridiculous animal, and his unnatural bray is followed by a great many very natural "hee-haws." The provincial press and the second or third-rate members of the Liberal party have echoed Mr. Gladstone's attacks upon metropolitan journalism. Even Lord Hartington's common sense, which too often runs into something like commonplace, failed him so far upon a recent occasion as to lead him to the mere repetition of Mr. Gladstone's disparagements of the newspapers of London in comparison with their provincial contemporaries. This was at the dinner lately given in the Devonshire Club to Mr. John Morley. The candidate for Westminster has now become, as you are aware, the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Very lately in that capacity he proclaimed the doctrine which seems to be becoming an article of faith with his party—that the true indications of national opinion are to be looked for in the provincial newspapers. That being so, it is fair to ask why the *Pall Mall Gazette* should come out at all, or why, at any rate, Mr. John Morley should think it worth his while to edit it? It would be reasonable for him to retire in favor of the Manchester *Guardian* or the Birmingham *Daily Post*. A London evening journal ought surely to be something more than an organ of organs of provincial opinion.

The fact is that this vital difference of opinion between the London and provincial journals is little more than a fantasy of Mr. Gladstone's own mind. The men who conduct the one are, for the greater part, of the same training, character, and associations as those who conduct the other. The only difference is that with a few exceptions the editors of provincial newspapers are young men who have not yet won the highest success in their profession, or somewhat older men who have distinctly failed in it. In every career capacity and character gravitate towards London. Journalism is no exception to the rule. It holds good with regard to the professions in art and in literature. Provincial newspapers are edited by men who have either not yet succeeded in working their way to London, or who have failed in maintaining themselves there. Here and there, no doubt, an exception may be found. A man of real newspaper capacity may be tempted by offers too liberal to be resisted to undertake the editorship of a great provincial paper, but these instances are few. No one who can live in London will live, if he can help it, at Birmingham, or Leeds, or Manchester. The journalist established in one of these great towns somewhat resembles a colonial bishop in the frequency of his absence from his diocese. He comes to London as often as he can. He tries to get into the political clubs of his party. He cultivates relations with his local member, and through him with the subordinate officials, about whose places of business he hangs, and from whom he busily endeavors to extract information. In fact, so far from society in London offering a hindrance

to the formation of sound opinions and the acquisition of accurate knowledge in politics, a provincial journalist who affects to look down upon it is always doing his utmost to force himself into it. The only difference between him and a conductor of a London newspaper is that the one gets by fits and starts, and in an imperfect manner, the opportunities of that general acquaintance with public affairs, and of that political information, which are constantly open to the other.

In subsequent letters I may, if you think the matter has any interest for your readers, review in more detail the characteristics of journalism in England, both in the country and in the provinces. B.

Correspondence.

"A CLEAN SWEEP."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It seems to me that the *Nation*, in giving utterance to an expression of horror at the contemplation of a "clean sweep" as likely to follow General Hancock's election *and* inauguration (we have unfortunately learned that one of these events does not necessarily follow the other), has lost its usual admirable equipoise.

Certainly, in the South, men who feel most repugnance to politicians of the "loaves-and-fishes" school—and that school never found much favor here—would be grievously disappointed should an incoming Democratic President fail to make a "clean sweep" of the carpet-baggers and negroes who for the last twelve years have divided among them the Federal offices throughout this section. Even Mr. Hayes should have done it, and would perhaps have been glad to do it, only, as these men furnished the "returns" by which the Electoral Commission found it possible to declare him elected, he could not. Besides keeping them in place and rewarding the Returning Boards who did the fraudulent work, he had to provide for most of the "Visiting Statesmen" under whose auspices and with whose assistance it was done. And General Garfield being himself one of the "Statesmen," though not himself thus rewarded, presumably sympathizes with them, and will not probably, if President, remove either them or the others now holding and dishonoring Federal commissions in the South.

I venture to ask the question, and shall be glad to have it answered: Is the South wrong in desiring, so far as this section is concerned, a "clean sweep"? Let the Editor of the *Nation* put himself in the place of a Southern subscriber, and however little he may desire position for himself, I fancy he will say that the prospect of retaining the present incumbents of Federal office in the event of the success of General Garfield, and of their removal should General Hancock become President, is of itself enough to justify the South in being "solid" for the latter.—Very respectfully,

R. B. Hilton.

Tallahassee July 10, 1880.

WHY INDEPENDENTS SHOULD NOT SUPPORT GARFIELD.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Allow me to take issue with your reply to the Wilmington *Every Evening* in the *Nation*, No. 782. I think that the Democrats have a right to complain of the action of the so-called Independent Republicans. In 1876 these Republicans virtually pledged their support to the candidate best representing their views, as set forth in the appeal of the Fifth Avenue Conference. Did they keep that pledge? In 1880 the New York "Scratchers" reiterated the appeal of 1876, and immediately accepted Garfield as their ideal candidate, whose superior could not be nominated at Cincinnati.

The Independents are ostensibly free-traders. The Cincinnati platform demands a tariff for revenue only. They are opposed to "stalwartism." The Democratic candidate affords ample security for the honesty of that party's desire to allay sectional strife. Will the Independents yield him even a qualified endorsement?

But you say, or at least insinuate, if the Democratic candidate is a man of high character he is chosen from policy and not from principle. That is exactly what I would say of his opponent. The action of the Chicago Convention proves to my mind that nothing but the fear of defeat prevented the nomination of Grant or Blaine. And speaking of "the innate wickedness of the bulk" of the respective parties, let me give you a few samples of the delegates to the Chicago Convention: S. W. Dorsey, Powell Clayton, and O. A. Hadley, of Arkansas; Sayles J. Bowen, of Washington, D. C.; F. C. Humphreys, of Florida; John A. Logan, Emory Storrs, and Green B. Raum, of Illinois; H. C. Warmoth, W. P. Kellogg, John T. Ludeling, A. S. Badger, Jack Wharton, J. Henri Burch, and Don A. Pardee, of Louisiana; J. A. J. Creswell, of Maryland; G. S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts; Roscoe Conkling, C. A. Arthur, A. B. Cornell, Edwards Pierrepont, Thomas Murphy, G. H. Sharpe, of New York; W. E. Chandler, of New Hampshire; James McManes, J. D. Cameron, and John Cessna, of Pennsylvania; E. W. M. Mackey, R. B. Elliott, C. C. Bowen, and W. J. Whipper, of South Carolina; Webster Flanagan, of Texas. Perhaps you can lengthen the list, but as it is I think it represents more "innate wickedness" than the entire Convention at Cincinnati.

Allow me further to suggest that in your Crédit-Mobilier editorial you omit to mention that March 20, 1868, Mr. C. C. Washburn, of Wisconsin, exposed the true nature of the connection between the Crédit Mobilier and the Union Pacific Railroad, and that General Garfield was present and voted with the friends of the Crédit Mobilier to refer the subject in order to shut off debate. And in all the votes Garfield's name appears for, never against, the interests of that corporation. Compare this with Garfield's sworn testimony that he did not know the nature of the connection between the Crédit Mobilier and the Union Pacific until informed by Judge Black in the winter of 1869–70. Moreover, was not his conduct throughout that of a friend of the Crédit Mobilier?—Yours, etc., W. I. Chase.

339 Centre Street, Chicago, June 27.

WHY INDEPENDENTS SHOULD HESITATE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have looked to the *Nation* with confidence, for the last six years, for an able and candid discussion of political questions. But I fancy that I find a slight departure from its usual judicial tone in its treatment of the late National Conventions and their work, especially in the articles in the last issue entitled "Campaign Issues," and "Why Independents Side with the Republicans."

Four years ago a well-known writer in an article in the *North American Review* criticised the Independents for falling into line in so great haste, and the *Nation* assented to the justice of the criticism. Is it not possible that there is ground for the same criticism in this campaign? Has there not been too great hopefulness on the part of Independents in persuading themselves that reform is really progressing in the Republican party? Do they carefully bear in mind some of the striking events which immediately concern them and the principles which they cherish, which have occurred within four years? In 1876 the party in convention, by a large majority, signified its preference for a Presidential candidate by adhering through five ballots to such reformers as Blaine, Hartranft, Conkling, and Morton, and, as your Cincinnati correspondent pointed out at the time, finally nominated Mr. Hayes rather than Mr. Blaine by the merest accident. Even then a candidate succeeded whom the Fifth Avenue Conference had excluded in saying that it must be no one "who, however favorably judged by his nearest friends, is not publicly known to possess those qualities of mind and character which the stern task of reform requires."

It is true the Convention gave to reformers a tolerable platform, though neither the platform nor the candidate was the model which the *Nation* had suggested (No. 567); but from that time forward, as the *Nation* had frequent occasion to observe during that campaign, the party managers, including the candidate for Vice-President, gave notice that the platform was to be utterly ignored. It is true, too, that the candidate's letter of acceptance was generally satisfactory; but few real Independents can now think of that except with a sense of bitter humiliation, in the light of rewards to Visiting Statesmen, members of returning boards, and pot-house politicians; of general orders to office-holders, to be flagrantly violated by the tacit or express permission of the President, in every critical election that has occurred since. Sporadic instances of his carrying out the views expressed in his letter of acceptance have only served to bring into stronger relief his opportunities and his failures. His course has provoked the laughter of his enemies and the profound sorrow of his friends.

But has the tendency meantime been towards reform within the party? Have converts been made to the idea of the necessity of such reform? Have not many timid reformers been convinced that reform is visionary and impracticable? Let us apply a very simple test: Did Independents at Chicago make as good a showing in point of numbers or influence as at Cincinnati in 1876? Did politicians recognize as urgent a necessity for pacifying or conciliating them? A vast majority, nearly four-fifths of the Convention, sought with great persistency the very worst thing of which the Convention was capable—the nomination of one or the other of two candidates who, in the judgment of the *Nation*, about equally suggest the hopelessness of reform within the party. And it is self-evident that if Blaine, Conkling, Logan, and Cameron had been in harmony the reform element would have been in a ludicrous minority. The Committee on Resolutions emphatically rejected any allusion to civil-service reform in the platform, and the Convention only adopted a resolution after having deprived it of its virility, taking pains to neutralize even that resolution by its nomination for the Vice-Presidency. The candidate's letter of acceptance is the legitimate and logical sequel. In effect it is little less than a contemptuous assumption that Independents will fall into line, that they need not be conciliated, that it is not even necessary to be-

guile them with seductive promises, as it was in 1876. The letter shows, at least, the candidate's estimate of the progress of reform within the party. On the other hand, can it be fairly said that the Democratic Convention showed any disposition to do its worst? No man was even suggested as a candidate so offensive to the better sentiment of the country as the two leading candidates at Chicago—certainly not, if we make one exception. The choice of the Convention seemed to lie between Mr. Payne, who was suggested, in the correspondence of the *Nation* in 1876, as a candidate who would be acceptable to Republicans in the event of the nomination of Mr. Morton; Mr. Bayard, whose statesmanship, purity, and independence no one questions; and General Hancock. Of these Mr. Bayard would undoubtedly have had by far the strongest following if weight had not been given—undue weight, perhaps—to his "impediment," which the *Nation* has fully discussed (No. 766).

It will be said that the Convention would have preferred a worse nomination if it had dared to make it, but it may be said with greater certainty that the Chicago Convention would have nominated General Grant if it had not been convinced at the last moment that it would be suicidal. It will be said, too, that the Democratic candidate and platform, though fair enough to look upon, cover a vast amount of inherent wickedness and iniquity. But it is unprofitable to discuss the latent sinfulness of a party. And it is, perhaps, impolitic to keep a party in power whose most solemn promises are not "deliberate convictions resulting from a careful study of the spirit of our institutions and the best impulses of our people," but "the temporary devices of a party to attract votes and carry an election," in the fear that another party may prove equally insincere and faithless.

It is not strange, perhaps, that an Independent who has been educated in the Republican party and has usually voted with that party should "side with the Republicans" in this campaign. But is there not a state of affairs in which such an one may hesitate; may look upon the views of the *Nation*, as expressed in the articles to which I have referred, as savoring too much of optimism—of a dangerous hopefulness on the one hand, and an instinctive rather than a reasonable distrust on the other; may cast his lot with the Republicans, if at all, with the gravest misgivings; may even decide to vote for Hancock? He need not, perhaps, come to him as to a model candidate. He need not try to reconcile himself to the record of the party which nominated him. But he may say to himself that it is safer to invite a possible or a probable evil than to endorse a certain one. He may convince himself even that the party, the record of whose better days he holds precious, may do nobler service in the end if chastened by defeat than if again made insolent by victory.—Respectfully, F. W. L.

Weymouth, Mass., July 19, 1880.

THE NEW-LONDON ACCIDENT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your comment, in the issue of July 8, upon the death of Mr. Lincoln at New London I was sorry to notice what appears like an entire acquittal of the railroad management. I have been looking in vain for some public criticism of the manner in which that "observation train" was made up—viz., a long line of passenger cars, with a locomotive at each end. Such an arrangement has been universally condemned by all prudent managers for over thirty years past, owing to the inherent difficulty of securing perfect concert of action between the two machines when so separated. It was doubtless thought by those in charge on this occasion that the low rate of speed to be used and the efforts made to foresee and provide for all contingencies would cancel this risk. But the result has not justified their action. Educated mechanicians can readily cipher out the strains imposed upon the train by the want of *perfectly* synchronous movements on the part of the two massive engines, but that is not necessary. Hundreds of examples are on record showing how readily freight trains are broken apart by such arrangements, even at low speeds.

I hold these two points to be beyond all question or dispute: 1. It is not to be expected that two locomotives, when separated by several hundreds of feet, can be made to move back and forth, when impelled and controlled by two separate minds, as if they were one machine. The consequent probable lack of harmony in their movement when coupled to opposite ends of a train, and when taken in connection with the momentum due to their weight, produces strains upon the couplings that are practically irresistible within the limits of all ordinary coupling apparatus. Even if one engine only is allowed to use steam at the same time, as is said to have been the case at New London, the risk is not avoided, for the great *weight* and consequent *inertia* of a locomotive is an unmanageable element when placed at the end of a train farthest from the source of power. It acts like a slung-shot, and can hardly be controlled at the end of a long line as it might be close at hand.

2. When the public are invited to visit an exciting spectacle, like a boat-race, on a moving stage it is not reasonable, from what we know of the human mind, to expect each and every spectator, even though he be a railroad president, to keep in mind during every instant of the time the risk of the train's being jerked apart by breakage of the couplings, and to expect him so to fortify his position by grip upon railings, or by mental allowance for their omission if no such railings exist, as to render his position safe during such a shock as must needs occur when the train is forcibly and suddenly torn asunder.

It follows, then, that people should not be invited to expose themselves as these two unfortunate persons were exposed. I know the American habit is to expect every man to look out for himself, and that people often resent a caution proffered by a railroad brakeman as an interference with the rights of an American citizen. Yet, even considering this "etiquette" on the part of the brakeman, that official would doubtless have cautioned Mr. Lincoln and Mrs. Appleton if he had expected or even thought it probable that the train would be subjected to such a shock. The error was an error in judgment in so arranging the train that the shock came as a *natural consequence* of that arrangement. I am not inclined to depreciate the amount of care and attention devoted to the safety of that train by the men in charge, and I am aware that errors in judgment are disagreeable errors to criticise, but this is a case where the situation involved too great and too unavoidable risks to be allowed to pass unnoticed or unweighed by a public lacking such light as I have endeavored to throw upon it. E. S. P.

Boston, July 12, 1880.

Notes.

THE next volume of the "Leisure-Hour Series" will be 'Troublesome Daughters,' by Mrs. Walford, author of 'Mr. Smith' and 'Cousins.' ——A campaign 'Life of General Garfield' will be written by Major J. M. Bundy, of the *Evening Mail*, and published by A. S. Barnes & Co. It will contain three portraits of him.——Harper & Bros. have in press a 'History of the Colored Race in America from 1822 to 1880,' by the Hon. George W. Williams, of Ohio—a work whose title raises lively expectations. ——Mr. Charles T. Congdon's 'Reminiscences of a Journalist,' which have been appearing in the *Tribune*, will be published next fall as a book by J. R. Osgood & Co.——A. Williams & Co., Boston, have issued an Albert-type fac-simile (reduced, but within the bounds of legibility for the figured references) of Wm. Price's engraving of Boston, dedicated to Peter Faneuil in honor of his recent gift to the city of the hall which bears his name. The hall was built in 1742, but there is evidence in the text that Price's plate was first executed some time after 1723 and then retouched, and this has been confirmed in other ways. The print embraces Roxbury and Cambridge at either extreme. It offers an interesting comparison with Paul Revere's much less painstaking and comprehensive print of 1768, representing the landing of British troops at Long Wharf, the point of view being almost the same. Already, for instance, Faneuil Hall had been burnt down (1761) and rebuilt, the spire being exchanged for a cupola.——By an unfortunate printer's-error last week the late *Library Journal* was referred to in these columns as the "*Literary*" *Journal*.——The July-August number of the *Revue Historique* has a timely article, by M. A. Gazier, on the "Expulsion of the Jesuits under Louis XV." Its bulletin of current historical productions in various countries includes a summary review for the United States during the past year by Prof. W. F. Allen, of the University of Wisconsin. It is gratifying to find so considerable an exhibit, whether as regards quantity or quality. The *Revue* notices the recent appearance of vol. i. of M. Paul Viollet's translation of Ad. Schmidt's "Paris during the French Revolution," a work of great value based on the secret police reports. The translation is most legitimate, and restores the original French texts wherever cited.——Students of mediæval literature know the important part played in its sources by the pseudo-Gospels of the childhood of Christ and the Virgin Mary. This subject has been thoroughly treated in a recent monograph by Dr. Robert Reinsch (Halle: Niemeyer. 1879. Pp. 138). The author first examines the authors, contents, and date of the Greek and Latin pseudo-Gospels of the Infancy, and then the use made of them in the literature of the North and South of Europe. This second part is arranged according to countries, and in the section devoted to France copious extracts from the MSS. are given. The author has with great industry brought together in one work the entire literature of the subject.

—"An Englishwoman in the New England Hill Country" is the sufficiently descriptive title of a paper in the August *Atlantic* which is really worthy the abused epithet "suggestive." Its suggestiveness, in fact, is perhaps its main merit, for though the instructed reader will not find many causes for disagreement, he will certainly find some, and it is apparent that the writer's observations have been made through English spectacles. This, however, considering her experience and acuteness, is an advantage. Though possibly a little "thin," Mr. John Burroughs's "Pepacton: A Summer Voyage" is delightful, and Mr. Luigi Monti's "Sicilian Hospitality" and Mrs.

Wallace's "Among the Pueblos" entertaining reading. Mr. F. D. Millet, the painter, says some things that needed to be said about the late Wm. Hunt's art instruction. Mark Twain's "Edward Mills and George Benton: A Tale" can be laughed at here and there, but in the main it has the tedium natural to serious fables by humorists; we confess, too, for our own part, to have got a little tired of this particular moral, but that is a matter *de gustibus*. Mr. Aldrich reaches the twenty-third chapter of his "Stillwater Tragedy" and leaves his readers properly tantalized, though we feel justified in assuring them that everything will come out right eventually—a confidence which is, of course, an implied criticism upon the order of stories Mr. Aldrich writes. Besides the reviews, the "Club," and other miscellany, there is an article on "The Republicans and their Candidate," which seems badly belated just now, and a sound, if not particularly novel, paper by Mr. Richard Grant White, which may soothe any sensitiveness annoyed by the English article above mentioned.

—The August *Lippincott* calls for nothing beyond a catalogue of its contents. The opening article by Will O. Bates is about "American Aeronauts," and is a series of short biographical sketches, illustrated by portraits of the best known. More popular adventure is represented by the first of two papers on "Canoeing on the High Mississippi," by A. H. Siegfried. "The Early Days of Mormonism," which is compiled by Frederic G. Mather, chiefly from the reports of the neighbors and acquaintances of Smith in the beginning of his career, is interesting in its presentation of the prophet as the typical Yankee who is too lazy to earn his livelihood except by his wits, and who might have stepped out of one of Mrs. Stowe's stories. "Dungeness, General Greene's Sea-Island Plantation," "An Old English Home: Bramshill House," the latter by a daughter of the late Canon Kingsley, are articles of a like nature, which dwell on the memories that cluster about places of departed grandeur. There may be some readers who will be instructed by Mr. Varney's "Where Lightning Strikes." "Adam and Eve" and "Studies in the Slums" are continued, and there are the usual short stories, of the usual excellence.

—*Harper's* for August is a peculiarly seasonable number, and the two voices of summer ("one is of the Sea, One of the Mountains") are both freely represented in it. Mrs. Rebecca Harding Davis resumes her "By-Paths in the Mountains," and, beginning with the wilderness about the upper waters of the West Branch of the Susquehanna River, passes abruptly to the Black Mountain region of North Carolina by way of Richmond and Salisbury. The incidental sketches of Southern character are of equal excellence with the descriptions of nature. Beautiful illustrations accompany the article, but we miss the helpful map of its predecessor. Mr. Wm. H. Bishop's "Fish and Men in the Maine Islands" is also remarkable for its engravings, and is in itself one of the very best of the kind of papers indicated by its title. The double avocation of the coast population of Maine, the changes in prosperity caused by the failure of granite-quarrying and of certain fisheries, the character of the natives and their amusements, are depicted humorously and with insight. Orr's Island was one of the places visited, and Mr. Bishop discovered from their comments on Mrs. Stowe's famous novel that the inhabitants have very realistic standards in fiction. Mr. M. D. Conway undertakes in "A Martin Summer in France" to trace the evolution of a modern saint, and at least succeeds in being entertaining. Mr. C. E. Chase tells of "The Cruising Canoe and its Outfit"; Mr. James's "Washington Square" fairly attains its momentum, and fixes the reader's interest; the significant poem of the number is Mr. Longfellow's "Robert Burns."

—The Hudson, in its varied physical, economical, and picturesque aspects, is no less instructively than agreeably characterized by Mr. John Burroughs in the leading article of *Scribner's*, with the aid of designs by Mrs. Foote which merit a separate commendation. Linda Villari relates well enough "The Plain Story of Savonarola's Life," and Mr. Cole admirably interprets with his graver the portrait of the monk by Fra Bartolommeo. Principal Grant, in a fourth paper on the Dominion of Canada, has something to say of Montreal wharves, commerce, and churches, explains the mixed motives of the popular clamor for a protective policy, repudiates the idea of any real decay of "national" feeling or any inclination toward annexation, and, like a loyal Scotchman, advances as a conclusive argument against a union with the United States "the *possibility* of our having to fight some day against Great Britain." If this is the "last ditch" of Canadian independence, we can only say that the union Mr. Grant deprecates is nearer at hand than we supposed it was. Some hesitation is visible in the attempt to make a pictorial exhibition of the scenes and places in England commemorated in Dickens's novels, but a fair beginning is made with 'Oliver Twist.' Mr. Hamerton's critical estimate of Mr. Seymour Haden's etchings, apparently composed in connection with a catalogue, has the usual merits of this writer on art. It is doubtful whether more than two or three of the wood-engraved imitations of the etchings convey a sufficient idea of the originals to make them worth the pains. Mr. Cable's "Grandissimes" should be almost finished. He has by no means overstayed his welcome, but the conclusion, unless a surprise awaits us, is already in clear view.

—The most important of the three papers printed in the first Report of the Archæological Institute of America, now put forth in a handsome bound volume, is Mr. Lewis H. Morgan's essay upon the Houses of the American Aborigines. It contains a detailed description of the system of house-building practised within historic days by typical Indian tribes, such as the Iroquois and the Mandans, and of the ruins found in New Mexico, Arizona, and Central America. The facts are grouped in accordance with the author's theory that Indian life was communal in many respects, and showed traces of an older and more complete communism. The essay appears to have been written, however, not to settle any doubtful questions or to support any particular view, but to suggest the directions in which enquiry should be made, and the matters to which special attention should be given, by any expedition that the Institute may send out. Mr. Morgan puts forth his theory that the Mound-Builders were Village Indians of New Mexican origin, and constructed their mounds as platforms on which to build long, narrow houses similar to the Pueblos; and he holds that the "magnificent temples and palaces" of the Mexican Indians were also simply better-constructed Pueblos, and do not indicate the existence of populous cities or of a high civilization at the era of the Spanish conquest. The view that these Mexican ruins "were either temples or dwellings for princes and other persons of rank," as Professor Rau, of the Smithsonian Institution, has lately maintained, Mr. Morgan relegates to "the class of puerile conceptions" of which the "tendency is to stultify and disfigure American archæology." According to his own view, the tribes were comparatively small in numbers, and groups of families, aggregating several hundred individuals, lived in common in each of these great buildings, which were erected at a later time than is generally supposed. The essay, as a whole, is an excellent introductory study, and its value is greatly increased by the plans and views with which it is copiously illustrated. Mr. W. J. Stillman contributes a short account of his examination of the ancient walls near Monte Leone which have lately attracted attention. He concluded that the walls were older than the Pelasgic age, and were built as a land-defence by some immigrating colony which settled at Monte Leone when the sea still washed its bases, and he conjectures that here may have been "the original settlement of the Umbri." The third paper is by Mr. J. T. Clarke, who narrates his voyage down the Danube into the Ægean Sea, and describes the ancient sites he visited, giving a sketch of the history and ruins of each. The account of Trajan's bridge over the Danube and the description of the site of Assos are especially interesting. Throughout, the author succeeds in conveying a clear imaginative impression of the characteristics of Greek shores in classical times. This essay, like Mr. Morgan's, is introductory to more important work. The three papers, taken together, are an earnest of the sort of work which the Institute will accomplish if it finds support, and they show equally how wide and varied is the field of labor and how valuable the results are likely to prove.

—Volume xi. of the new 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.) shows by the comparative brevity of its articles that the publication has passed the meridian of its course, though the alphabetical compass of the volume (Gou–Hip) is far from indicating it. It is in the nature of cyclopædic works that the earlier parts are ampler and fuller than the latter, not only on account of editorial improvidence in fixing the limits of the single contributions before decided want of room compels strict economy, but also, and perhaps mainly, because distinct or tacit references, facilitating abridgment, to articles already given are so much easier and natural than references to contributions to be written, and therefore of partly unknown contents. A writer on Greek history, for instance, who has the articles on Athens, Bœotia, Corinth, Alexander the Great, Aristides, Aristotle, Epaminondas, and many others of similar contents before him—some of them, perhaps, written by himself—will be both inclined and able to make "Greece" much shorter in proportion than is, for instance, "Austria," which precedes, instead of completing, "Bohemia," "Hungary," etc. We are thus not surprised that "Greece," embracing geography, history, language, and literature (by Professors Jebb and Wilkins and others), fills fewer pages than "Egypt"—not to speak of "England" or "France." Unfortunately, however, that part of the history of Greece is the briefest which is least supplemented by other notices—the history of the last sixty years. The Encyclopædia contains, for instance, no separate notice of either Canaris or Colocotronis, and its "Capo d'Istria" consists of eleven lines, with a reference to "Greece," which has nine lines on the man and his administration. Next in extent and importance to "Greece" are "Gunmaking," "Gunnery," "Gunpowder," "Harbors and Docks," "Heat," "Heraldry," and "Hieroglyphics" (by Reginald S. Poole); most of these contributions are richly illustrated. Some of the biographies—such as those of Lady Grey, the Guises, Gutenberg, and most Gregories and Henries—are very meagre; among the fuller and more interesting are the sketches of the Grimms, Grote, Guicciardini, Guizot, Mme. Guyon, Robert Hall, Sir W.

Hamilton, William Harvey, Warren Hastings, Hegel, Heine, Herder, Herschel, Greeley, Alexander Hamilton, and Hawthorne—the last three being copyrighted in this country. The notices of Guzmics, Gyöngyösi, and other Hungarian subjects show a strict Magyar revision; those of Hanka, Hertzen, etc., betray a lack of Slavic knowledge. Professor W. Robertson Smith contributes "Haggai," "Hezekiah," and very valuable articles on the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Hebrew language—not untinged with fresh heresy—but not the article "Heresy." Among the most noteworthy geographical articles are "Herat" (by Sir H. C. Rawlinson) and "Himalaya" (by General R. Strachey).

—M. Paul de Saint-Victor's volume, 'Les Deux Masques' (Paris: Calmann Lévy), devoted to the study of the origin of the Greek drama and to a critical examination of the works of Æschylus, is the first part of a very extensive work which the author has begun to recast from the studies which he has been making for years past in his weekly feuilletons in the *Moniteur Universel* and elsewhere, and which will comprise, in three distinct series, some of the grand epochs of the dramatic art. The first series will be devoted to the theatre of the Greeks—Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes—to which will be added a study on Calidasa, the most celebrated poet of the Indian stage. The second series will be filled by Shakspere, and in the third series M. de Saint-Victor will study the French stage from its origin down to Beaumarchais. In his study of the Greek stage he has treated his subject differently from his predecessors, and in a manner, indeed, which, even if they had had his style and imagination, they could scarcely have employed. Mythology and history hold as large a place in his book as literary criticism and æsthetic development. Nearly half of the present volume on Æschylus is devoted to the history of fire-worship, of Bacchus, and to a marvellously comprehensive résumé of the history of the Hellenic world up to the battle of Marathon. The gods come in almost on every page of these studies of the Greek dramas, which were above everything religious fêtes. As each god and each personage enters upon the stage M. Paul de Saint-Victor lifts the mask and describes his religious physiognomy or his legendary character. A thorough master of all the discoveries that have been made during the last thirty years in the comparative science of religions, there is no stage of the plastic or moral growth of a god, no phase of transformation or of symbolism, which he does not explain when the occasion presents itself. One great charm of the book is the utter absence of pedantry.

—Two recent collections of Italian popular tales testify to the continuing interest in this fascinating branch of folk-lore. The first and most important, 'Sessanta Novelle Popolari Montalesi (Circondario di Pistoia) raccolte da Gherardo Nerucci,' (Florence, 1880), contains, as its title declares, sixty popular tales in the Tuscan dialect of Montale, near Pistoia. These stories are noteworthy for their lively dramatic form, and their language will interest the students of Italian dialects. As to their contents, they contain little that is new; we may note, however, several stories (Nos. 40, 48, and 54) which are found also in the 'Arabian Nights,' and one (No. 45) which is from the 'Decameron,' ii. 5. This last is very valuable as showing the passage of stories from literary sources to the people, a process already demonstrated as to popular poetry by D'Ancona in his 'La Poesia popolare Italiana' (Leghorn, 1878). The second collection, 'Tuscan Fairy Tales, taken down from the Mouths of the People' (London: W. Satchell & Co. 1880), is a dainty little volume of 112 pages, printed in brown ink, with sixteen illustrations, and containing ten stories from the Val d'Elsa, the Garfagnana, and the neighborhood of Carrara. These are well rendered, but are only versions of tales already printed in other collections. We may mention here that the seventh volume of the 'Canti e Racconti del Popolo Italiano,' published last year by Signori Comparetti and D'Ancona, contains fifty popular tales from the province of Mantua, collected by Isaia Visentini. The stories are given in an Italian translation.

HEILPRIN'S HISTORICAL HEBREW POETRY.*

THE general characteristics of Mr. Heilprin's second volume of translations and critical notices of Old Testament poetry are the same as those of his first volume, which appeared about a year ago, and which was noticed by us at the time of its appearance with considerable fulness. The favorable opinion which we then expressed of the merits of Mr. Heilprin's work has since been supported by the opinion of many competent critics. Especially noteworthy is the welcome accorded to the book by Dr. Abram Kuenen, the acknowledged head of the Dutch school of Biblical criticism, whose 'Religion of Israel' and 'Prophets and Prophecy in Israel' are the most important Biblical studies that have appeared since Strauss's 'Leben Jesu,' and the most worthy of that so lightly-used designation, "epoch-making books." Mr. Heilprin's desire to advance certain critical ideas rather than his own reputation for novelty or originality, led him in his former volume to fall back in many instances on the expressions of other scholars even when his own enquiries had anticipated their results; and this modesty on his part argued to some of his more careless readers that his book was largely a compilation of the results of other critics. The more careful could not have been so mistaken. At every turn there was for such the evidence of a mind as easily at home in Old Testament studies, their broader aspects and their nicest verbal intricacies, as any of the most famous critics of our time. Dr. Kuenen has amply recognized this fact in his review of Mr. Heilprin's first volume. Mr. Heilprin is, in fact, so little servile, so freely speculative, so daringly original, that not the least of his merits is his ability to refrain from the suggestion of theories which have not yet arrived at definite scientific confirmation. In the second volume we have the same unconventional treatment of the general subject as in the first, the same willingness to subject the most cherished theories to the tests of scientific study, and, consequently, the same wide departure from those opinions of the Old Testament literature which are commonly held among us. Even the translations sound the knell of many a fond illusion, resolving words that have long been used as theological weapons into the nothingness of total misinterpretation; and this, too, without the appearance anywhere of any dogmatic impulse whatsoever. Intent only on a correct translation of the ancient Hebrew, Mr. Heilprin never shows the least desire to rob a theologian of some cherished text.

The translations in this volume engross much more space and deal with texts of much greater interest than in the former. The gain in intelligibility over our common version is no greater than the well-instructed would anticipate, but to the uninstructed it must seem immense, and we can imagine the mingled feelings of distress and pleasure with which the average Bible-reader would find the cabalistic phrases which he has read so often without attaching to them any definite meaning suddenly becoming apprehensible to his understanding. But with all this there is not much if any loss of poetic charm. This is the more remarkable to an English reader, because Mr. Heilprin was not to the manner born of our common version, and apparently he has made no attempt, as many of our translators very properly do, to conform to this as nearly as possible. His success is simply that of a man who has a nice feeling for words, who likes them homely and strong, and knows that only such are a fit vehicle for the transmission of the ideas and sentiments of ancient Hebrew poetry.

The present volume begins with David, and, like the former, follows the chronological order of events and not that of the literary matter. Having shown already how little reason there is to suspect David of literary authorship, it is now shown that he is only incidentally the subject of his nation's poetry. The most considerable mention of him is in Psalms lxxxix. and cxxxii., and here it is the late echo of popular traditions already formed, and is entirely at variance with the comparatively trustworthy accounts of the historic books. Solomon, who figures so magnificently in the prose histories, "besides figuring as an author in spurious superscriptions," is not honored by either prophet or psalmist with so much as the briefest mention. To the "Song of Songs" Mr. Heilprin accords no historical relation to Solomon, either subjective or objective; hence it does not here fall within the scope of his criticism. Yet in one of his longer notes he is led to declare with emphasis in favor of the theory, defended by Graetz, which considers the "Song" a product of the age of the Ptolemies.

The twenty-third section of Mr. Heilprin's studies is one of the most interesting in his series, and reveals as well as any the acuteness of his critical perceptions. It deals with the successors of Zimri, Omri, and Ahab, the objects of the prophet Micah's severest animadversion in the book of prophecy ascribed to him. In the Book of Kings elaborate mention is made of Ahab; and a prophet Micaiah, the son of Imlah, figures conspicuously. The narrative has many points of contact with the prophecies of Micah of Moresheth. These are variously explained. Mr. Heilprin, accepting as the most plausible hypothesis that Micah introduced into his book fragments of the older prophet, applying them to the events of his own time, rescues a number of passages which he conceives to be of the more ancient date, and assigns to them a definite historical importance. Hardly less interesting here than the critical result is the side-light which it throws upon the literary methods of the prophetic period. Evidently the right of property in ideas was then but little understood, and there were no conceptions corresponding to the words plagiarism and forgery.

The next following section introduces us to the famous Moabite stone discovered at Diban in 1868. Mr. Heilprin gives a translation of so much of the decipherment as the ablest expounders—Schlottmann, Nöldeke, Kaempf, and M. A. Levy—are fully agreed upon, following it with an account from Kings of the subsequent course of events. The poetic fragment corresponding to this is found in Isaiah xv. and xvi., which have been fully established to be not Isaiah's, abounding as they do in peculiar and archaic forms of expression. Nothing else in the Old Testament, says Knobel, can be the production of the same author.

The next five sections of Mr. Heilprin's book, from the twenty-fifth to

* 'The Historical Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews. Translated and Critically Examined by Michael Heilprin.' Vol. II. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.

the thirtieth, deal exclusively with the prophecies of Amos of Tekoa, who, about 800 B.C., came from Judah to preach righteousness in Israel.

"We can almost image to ourselves," he says, "the plain, poor man from Tekoa—for he was one of the shepherds of that little town who tended their flocks on the borders of the wilderness of Judah—standing before a concourse of people at the public place of Beth-El or Samaria, reading from a scroll brought with him the last of a string of direful prophetic utterances, and suddenly breaking off at the fresh remembrance of shocking experiences, and wildly pouring forth against his hearers accusations, reproaches, and imprecations. It was heartless oppression of the poor by the rich and the guardians of justice, and shameless licentiousness fed by extortion, which wrung from him this outburst of wrath."

The translation which is thus introduced is full of energy. The translator has put his heart into it as well as his head, and the sentences clash and ring in primitive Oriental fashion. Following up this translation with others bearing on the historical events of Amos's time, he comes in the twenty-seventh section to the passage on Assyria, the nation in which Amos saw the future chastiser of Israel. The black obelisk inscription discovered by Layard at Nimrud is parallel with Amos to some extent, and so, too, is the monolith inscription found at Kurkh, and Shalmaneser's "bull inscription"; or, rather, these various inscriptions indicate the state of things which was imminent in the time of Amos, and which he might well anticipate with terror. The last three chapters of Amos have a visionary character which distinguishes them sharply from the chapters that precede them. These chapters Mr. Heilprin assigns to a period some years later than the preceding. The concluding verses of Amos, which are of a much more optimistic and consolatory character than the body of the work, bear a strong resemblance to the concluding passages of Joel and Zephaniah. They were probably added, Mr. Heilprin thinks, by some one of the redactors of the minor prophets in order to wind up the book with predictions of lasting prosperity and peace.

A chapter on the general characteristics of Amos and of the prophetic office is appended to the translations and criticisms of the prophet's book. It is introduced by an exposition of the passage in 1 Kings xii. 32–xiii. 6, in which the actual Amos is made over into a mythical person as different from him as the prophets of the historical books generally are different from the prophets whose writings have been preserved for our instruction. In the histories, miracle-working and miraculously precise revelations of the future form the staple of the narrative. In the writings of the prophets, the conspicuous thing is moral exhortation, based upon the natural relationships of cause and effect. To some it will no doubt appear that the prophets of the histories are much more exalted personages than those of the canonical prophetic books. To Mr. Heilprin it does not so appear. What impresses him in Amos and the rest of his great company is a certain moral grandeur. This he fully recognizes and to this he pays due reverence, and the concluding passages of his treatment of Amos rise with his honest enthusiasm to a height of eloquent expression which, if not anticipated in a discussion naturally somewhat dry and bare, is none the less welcome, certain as we are of its unqualified sincerity.

The thirtieth and concluding section of the present volume deals exclusively with the book of the prophet Hosea. An interesting problem meets us at the very threshold of this book in the astonishing parabolic utterances with which it begins. That these utterances are parabolic has strangely enough been doubted by a critic so reasonable in his conclusions generally as Dean Stanley. To suppose them narrations of literal fact is to credit Hosea with carrying symbolic action to a disgusting extent. The conclusion of Mr. Heilprin, who is by no means solitary here, that these utterances are purely parabolical, is a conclusion as much more pleasing as it is more rational than the other. The differences between Amos and Hosea are clearly indicated. In the latter with an equal earnestness there is an added strain of tenderness. The translations from Hosea are copious; the critical remarks are few and still sufficient. The translations are very spirited, and make many dark sayings of our common version clear as day. Some fifty pages of critical and explanatory notes at the end of the book appeal to those who are versed in the niceties of scholarship rather than to the general reader, but they will be appreciated by those for whom they are intended. We are obliged to lament, as in the former volume, the absence of any index or table of contents, an absence the more noticeable as in other particulars the book-maker has seconded the author in the most creditable and even luxurious manner. The concluding volume will, no doubt, repair this deficiency.

PURITAN NAMES.*

AN account of the Christian names given by English Puritans between the years 1560 and 1660 occupies the chief part of Mr. Bardsley's book. The period mentioned is clearly marked. The earlier date is that of the Genevan Bible—"the Puritan's Bible and the household Bible of the nation"; the later is the date of the Restoration. The relation of this period to previous periods in English Christian namings is pointed out in a prefatory chapter which is not the least interesting part of the book.

1. Before the Conquest "there were no Scripture names in England. If any are found in the old English period, they were ecclesiastic titles, adopted at ordination. Greek and Latin saints were equally unnoticed." Our readers will remember that a full account of the early English names is given in Miss Yonge's 'Dictionary of Christian Names.'

2. With William came in Bible names, saints' names, and his own Teutonic names. Godric, Godgiva, and the other old English names "bowed to them and disappeared. . . . The Norman list was a small one, but it took possession of the whole of England. Before many generations had passed, Bartholomew, Simon, Peter, Philip, Thomas, Nicholas, John, and Elias had engrossed a third of the male population." By the year 1300, nearly one-third of Englishmen were named either William or John; there were often two or three Johns in the same family. The natural result of this shortening of the list was to compel the invention of many new variations upon the names in use. Mr. Bardsley makes two main classes of these variations; (a) "nick forms," as Wat from Walter, Tibbe from Theobald, Cisse from Cecilia, Hikke from Isaac; and (b), "pet desinence" forms, as Emmott for Emma, Batkin for Bartholomew; other ancient variations on this name are Bat, Bate, Batty, Bartle, Bartelot, Batcock, and Tolly or Tholy. The favorite enclitics were "kin," "cock," "on," "in," "ot," and "et." Thus, from Johannes came both Hankin and Hancock; from Beatrix, Beton or Betoun; from Hugh came Hugyn, a name which survives in the contemporary Hugginses. "All our Wyatts in the directory hail from Guiot, the diminutive of Guy," as Wilmot hails from William. Cecilia gave the pet names Cissot or Syssot; Custance, Cussot; the Norman name Hamon became Hamnet, Hamlet. This name was very popular (Hamnet Shakspere was so baptized), and it survived into the eighteenth century. Multitudes of these forms remain in the ancient parish books; they are now almost entirely disused. For what reason? The Puritan names displaced them. "It is hard to realize that a custom equally affected by prince and peasant, as popular in country as in town, should have been so completely uprooted that ninety-nine out of the hundred are unaware that it ever existed" in England. In France these forms, or similar ones, remain in use to the present day: as in Margot, Goton, Margotin, from Marguerite; Lambin, Lamblin, Lambertin, from Lambert; Jannotin, Jacquinot, and Perrinot from Jean, Jacques, and Pierre respectively. These, and many other pet desinences of Christian names, may now be found as *surnames* in the Paris directory. The Scripture names in English use before the Reformation were (*a*) "mystery names," such as Adam, Judith, Hester; (*b*), "crusade names," as Baptist, Elias, Jordan (the two latter survive, by the way, as the surnames Ellis and Judd, Judkin, Judson); (*c*), "saints' calendar names," including all of the saints and all of the apostles except Judas; (*d*), "festival names," like Noel, Pascal, Easter, Pentecost. These classes of Christian names were not, however, large ones.

3. This entire system of naming was to be revolutionized within forty years by "The People's Bible" in Puritan hands. Mr. Bardsley says:

"No such crisis ever visited a nation's register before, nor can again. Every home felt the effect. It was like the massacre of the innocents. 'There was not a house where there was not one dead.' But in Pharaoh's day they did not replace the dead with the living. At the Reformation such a locust army of new names burst upon the land that we may well style it the Hebrew Invasion. . . . During the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, the whole of James's reign, and a great part of Charles's reign, there prevailed a practice of baptizing children by Scriptural phrases, pious ejaculations, or godly admonitions. It was a practice instituted of deliberate purpose as conducive to vital religion, and as intending to separate the truly godly and renewed portion of the community from the world at large. . . . The Puritan was ever trotting out his two big Ps, 'Pagan' and 'Popish.' Under the first he placed every name that could not be found in the Scriptures, and under the latter every title in the same Scriptures, and in the church system founded on them, that had been employed previous to the coronation of Edward VI. To reject the Richards, Mileses, and Henrys of the Teutonic, and the Bartholomews, Simons, Peters, and Nicholases of the ecclesiastic class, was to remove the Canaanite out of the land."

The old "nick forms" and "pet desinences" rapidly disappeared; and with them were lost, too, the original names upon which we have seen that they were formed; with Elena, Lina, and Linot, for instance, went Eleanor. The intruding Scripture names did not lend themselves to diminutive forms, which popular feeling withheld from them. "Not a single name, saving [perhaps] 'Nat-kin,' introduced by the English Bible has become conjoined with a diminutive." Shortening, however, was a necessity in handling many of the names not literally Scriptural; as in the case of a brother of the celebrated Praise-God Barebone, who was entitled If-Christ-had-not-died-for-thee-thou-hadst-been-damned Barebone. "Whether the title was given at the font or adopted," says Mr. Bardsley, "there is no doubt that he was familiarly known as Dr. Damned Barebone"; and he adds, quoting *Notes and Queries* (March 15, 1862), that "this abbreviated form, as his morals were not of the best, appeared to suit him better than his entire prefix." Clearly we

* 'Curiosities of Puritan Nomenclature. By Charles W. Bardsley, author of 'English Surnames.'' New York: R. Worthington. 1880. 12mo, pp. xii.-252.

are a long way already from the winning names we have left—Amice, Lettice, Aliot, Beton, Audrey, Gawyn, Custance, Gillian, and the rest.

The New Testament names, as a class, spread the most rapidly, "especially girl-names of the Priscilla, Dorcas, Tabitha, and Martha type . . . Persis, Tryphena, and Tryphosa were also largely used. . . . By slow degrees Cecilia, Isabella, and Emma lapsed from their pedestals, and the little babes were turned into Sarahs, Rebeccas, and Deborahs." As the seventeenth century went on and the Puritan movement spread to the northward of the Trent, nearly all the names of the Old and New Testaments were brought into use, even the most objectionable ones; girls were named Tamar, Sapphira, Dinah, Drusilla, Bathsheba; boys, Ananias, Antipas, Milcom, even Barabbas and Beelzebub. We must suppose that the ill-savor of these names was sufficiently corrected in the Puritan mind by the fact that they formed part and parcel of the Scripture. Unkind critics were not wanting, however, of the Puritans' scriptural devotion. Bishop Corbett is quoted by Mr. Bardsley as making a zealot minister say, in the "Maypole":

> "Brothers and sisters in the fields may walk,
> Beginning of the Holy Word to talk;
> Of David and Uriah's lovely wife,
> Of Tamar and her lustful brother's strife."

The list of eccentric Scripture names is a long one. "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego were in every-day request, Shadrach and Meshach being the favorites." Kerenhappuch Benett, Melchisedek Fritter, Maher-shalal-hash-baz and Zaphnaphpaaneah Clarke, Pontius Pilate Pegnail, and Eli-lama-Sabachthani Pressnail are a few of these names, some of them even now, or but lately, in use in England. Not a few curious names other than Scriptural were also favored, in particular some Latin names, which served at the outset as a transition from the old names to the new. "Redemptus was less grotesque than Redeemed, and Renata than Renewed." But a little later in the movement these were disused, and "the English equivalents ruled supreme." The highest point of fanaticism was reached about 1580.

Of the "grace names" that are not less familiar in New England than in Old, Mr. Bardsley gives a sufficient account in his loose-lively style, tracing the spread of the "Puritan nomenclature" in our Eastern States. The following grace names, transcribed from the registers of old Killingworth, Connecticut, may be added to Mr. Bardsley's account: Desire, Hope, Concurrence, Submit, Delight, Experience, Patience, Marah (bitterness), Deliverance, Thankful. These names are mostly of the seventeenth century. Other New England names that we have noted are Alethea, Yetmercy, Hopewell, Hopestill, and Waitstill. Mr. Bardsley's book ends with an "Epilogue on Double Christian Names." The whole embodies much curious research and makes a volume that will usefully supplement Miss Yonge's important 'Dictionary.'

PROGRESS AND POVERTY.—I.*

MR. GEORGE endeavors to show that the cause, or principal cause, of poverty and wretchedness in the midst of wealth and abundance in the world is the private ownership of land, whereby a few persons are enabled to exact from the many a rental for the use of something which is limited in quantity and indispensable to the human race. Rent signifies, of course, the surplus obtainable from the use or cultivation of any particular piece of land over and above the sum obtainable from the poorest land in use, which latter yields only the ordinary rate of wages and the average rate of interest on the capital employed upon it. It is immaterial whether the owner grants the use of the land to another for an agreed compensation or uses it himself—the surplus goes into his pocket and is denominated rent. It is likewise immaterial whether the land consist of farms, mines, forests, game-preserves, fishing privileges, race-courses, oyster-beds, water-power, stone-quarries, or city lots—all these are limited in amount, all are natural agents capable of assisting the labor of man in the production of wealth, and are indispensable thereto; they have a monopoly value, and consequently yield to their fortunate possessors something for nothing. All who do not possess land are toiling for those who do, and this is the reason why progress and poverty go hand-in-hand from one generation to another. As population increases, the landlords are enabled to exact a greater proportion of the total production of the world from the landless, and do exact it.

This thesis is by no means new. It has agitated the world for centuries, and it constitutes the foundation or starting point of agrarianism and all sorts of utopias. Yet Mr. George is not an agrarian, or a communist, or in any sense a disturber of the peace and good order of society. Whether his visions are utopian must be learned from an analysis of his argument. Granting all that he claims in the first five chapters of his book, his remedy is nothing more irregular than the exercise of the taxing power of government to confiscate rent, so that landowners shall be put upon the same level as other people, and shall get nothing except what they work for. We infer that he would apply the same principle to all other monopolies, natural or artificial, although this is not clearly stated. What is to be done with the proceeds of such extensive taxation the author does not say. He assumes that if the state were virtually the sole landlord, wages and interest would rise, poverty would disappear, incomes would be equalized, and an Arcadia would dawn upon the earth. But the only mode or process for reaching this result is the abolition of all taxes and tariffs except that upon land, which, by the hypothesis, is the collection of rent for the use of government, as in India at the present time. The case of India is an unfortunate one for the purpose of illustrating Mr. George's thesis, but he ascribes the poverty and helplessness of the Indian ryot to other causes than the mode of collecting the rent-tax. If this rent-charge went into the pockets of landlords instead of the coffers of the state the condition of the farmer would be no better, and it might be worse.

Mr. George's first postulate is that wages are not drawn from capital, and consequently are not kept down by the limits of capital, so that the cause of low wages and of poverty is not any want of capital, but must be sought elsewhere. The fact that wages are to a large extent paid out of the proceeds of the laborer's product, and that oftentimes the laborer advances his own wages to the employer and does not receive his pay until the product is sold, was pointed out some years ago by Mr. Francis A. Walker, and the doctrine is now generally accepted by economists as an important modification of the old doctrine that wages are drawn wholly from capital. Yet the effect upon wages of brushing away all the circulating capital now in existence would be so depressing that we are not permitted to expunge the wage-fund theory entirely, and set up in place of it the theory that wages are produced altogether by current labor, without reference to the fund derived from previous labor and set apart for its employment. In order to trace the inequalities of wealth among men to the prime cause of land monopoly, it is necessary to exclude other causes and especially those to which economists have for the most part assigned those inequalities. These are the Malthusian law of population and of "diminishing returns" and the doctrine that wages are limited by capital. It is the latter which Mr. George first attacks, and it may be admitted that the attack, though not entirely novel, has a great deal of force.

So much cannot be said of his attack upon Malthus, which, though ingenious and vigorous, falls far short of demolishing that stubborn earthwork. Mr. George contends that there is not necessarily any such thing as a pressure of population upon the means of subsistence, because there is evidence that population at a former period of the world's history was, over large portions of the earth, much more dense than it is now, and because the tendency of a high stage of civilization is to lessen rather than increase the number of births to each family. Neither the one nor the other of these facts, if admitted, proves anything against Malthus. Mesopotamia and Peru may have been once filled with mighty cities where now the jackal and the bat abound, yet the tendency of population to increase more rapidly than the means of subsistence may be and is an observed and demonstrable fact. All that can be argued from the examples of Mesopotamia and Peru is that they are for some reason less populous than formerly; perhaps by reason of wars, famines, pestilence, bad cultivation, bad government. Nothing goes to show that if those countries could be restored to their former physical condition their populations would not grow to the former dimensions and then begin to press against the means of subsistence. The drift of Mr. George's argument is that if there was at one time a larger population on considerable tracts of territory than now, it is an unfounded assumption to say that population tends to increase at all, still more that it tends to increase faster than the means of subsistence. There are acres of lava on the side of Vesuvius where a few years ago were fruitful fields and happy villages. There are large tracts of country in Southern Europe, which once supported dense populations, wholly tenantless by reason of the removal of timber from the uplands, which formerly sheltered them from sudden thaws and freshets. The arable land has been washed into the sea and its place filled with gravel and boulders. The law of Malthus, however, governs the adjoining districts, as it governed the now denuded districts in the time of the Cæsars. For all purposes of the argument, war, pestilence, famine, and misgovernment are the correlatives, the same thing in substance, as lava overflows and mountain floods, except that Malthus pointed out war, pestilence, and famine as the regular correctives of over-population, while lava and mountain torrents can only be counted as accidental. The pains taken by Mr. George to show that population was here and there greater some centuries ago than now is bootless. It is true that Malthus collected statistics to show the progressive increase of population under favoring conditions, and no writer of authority has ever disputed their substantial correctness. If it could be shown that the whole world was once as populous as Belgium now is, it would become important to discover what causes led to the depopulation, but the law of Malthus would not be affected by the result.

Is it true, in fact, that as civilization advances, the number of births to each family is lessened? The only evidence offered upon this point by Mr. George is that certain families in the British peerage have become extinct.

* 'Progress and Poverty: An Enquiry into the cause of Industrial Depressions and of the Increase of Want with the Increase of Wealth. The Remedy. By Henry George.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.

This is true, but it is also true that certain other families in the peerage have multiplied beyond reasonable bounds, while the British nation at large, which may be accepted as a type of the highest existing civilization, has increased during the past two centuries many fold more rapidly than during the previous eras of barbarism and semi-barbarism.

The Malthusians, when driven into a corner, have contended that the time must come, if population increases in its present observed ratio, when the last acre of arable land will be under the plough, and that since there is a limit to the amount of food an acre of land can produce, there must then be a pressure of population upon the means of subsistence. Mr. George is ready to meet them on this ground.

"For," he says, "that man cannot exhaust or lessen the powers of nature follows from the indestructibility of matter and the persistence of force. . . . Life does not use up the forces that maintain life. We come into the material universe bringing nothing; we take nothing away when we depart. The human being, physically considered, is but a transient form of matter, a changing mode of motion. The matter remains and the force persists. Nothing is lessened, nothing is weakened. And from this it follows that the limit to the population of the globe can only be the limit of space."

By space he means not space for cultivation but mere "elbow-room." It is true that matter remains and force persists, and that when a grain warehouse burns up, all its constituents still exist in one form or another, but it is not true that the resulting ashes are, equally with the original grain, adapted to the support of human life. It is true that the force which cuts down a forest and thus causes inundations which wash arable land into the sea is persistent, but it will never bring the land back from the sea or cause a blade of corn to grow on the denuded acres. If all the force which runs to waste in lifting the ocean-tides could be applied scientifically to the cultivation of land, the law of diminishing returns would still hold good. Beyond a certain point there would be no increment of the crop in response to the increment of capital, or force.

By way of final disproof of the Malthusian dogma the author points out that in any given state of civilization the densest aggregates of population are those showing the greatest accumulation of wealth—London, Paris, New York, for example. On the other hand, the most sparse and scattered populations are generally the poorest. Hence it is inferred that the wealth is great because the population is numerous. The Malthusian contends that the population is numerous because the conditions for producing wealth are great, and he holds that if the population of London, with all their existing wealth, were removed to the centre of Arizona, and forced to remain there, two-thirds of them would starve before the end of a year.

STEPHEN'S POPE.*

IN a prefatory note, indicating his authorities, Mr. Leslie Stephen modestly characterizes his book as a "necessarily brief and imperfect sketch." It is, of course, brief, but considering the voluminous literature that exists in the case of Pope, that is nothing to apologize for, and so far from being imperfect it seems to us the very ideal or type of the class of criticism into which any work by Mr. Stephen must naturally fall. It is directly written, the narrative is full without being over-minute, the discussions of doubtful points—in which any biography of Pope must abound—are candid and evidently follow upon a patient and thorough investigation; the criticism of Pope's writings sufficiently recognizes their well-understood character to avoid an elaborate consideration of them *de novo*, and is interwoven with the biographical portions in such a manner as agreeably to preserve the unity of the book. Add to these merits the account taken of contemporary writings and events, by which the subject's association with its environment is constantly kept in view, and it should be clear that Mr. Stephen has provided ordinary readers with an intelligent and compact guide to the life and writings of Pope, and has, perhaps, simplified the labors of "the ideal biographer of Pope," whom he protests we have still to await.

To explain with any precision, therefore, why Mr. Stephen's work leaves the impression of an unsatisfactory performance is a task of a good deal of difficulty; it is the more difficult because it concerns general principles of criticism, and the critic's natural equipment. "The ideal biographer of Pope," says Mr. Stephen, "must be endowed with the qualities of an acute critic and a patient antiquarian; and it would take years of labor to work out all the minute problems connected with the subject." Such a personage would indeed be an ideal biographer; there are evidences enough, however, that in the possible incompatibility between the two qualifications he mentions, Mr. Stephen's preference is for the solid qualities of the latter, and his allusion to "the qualities of an acute critic" may be taken to be perfunctory, since it is plain that his insistence is upon research. Indeed, it would not be going too far to say that to Mr. Stephen and to the school to which he belongs research is not so much the safeguard as it is the essence of criticism. This is not only the case in their practice, but it is definitely propounded in their theory. Briefly stated, this theory admits that facts are only of importance as they explain truths, but maintains that if you discover all the facts and set them in order the truth will discover itself spontaneously. It has taken a great while for the Baconian point of view, which was adopted by philosophy as soon as it was stated, to capture the citadel of literary criticism as well, but at last it has succeeded, and in Teutonic countries, at least, the advantages of its sway are considered priceless. It has, indeed, been refined upon and elaborated with results which one is at liberty to suspect would surprise its more abstract originators. It has developed what is now familiar to contemporary applause as "the historic method," the only recognized method of criticism in Germany, the triumphant one in England—where writers of the temper and tenets of Professor Seeley, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Frederic Harrison, and Mr. Stephen illustrate it admirably—and in the country of Sainte-Beuve it is now being vindicated by the scientific historian of contemporary France, and has lately been eloquently defined by Sainte-Beuve's successor to be a method "which seeks to account for a work from the genius of its author, and for the turn which this genius has taken from the circumstances amidst which it was developed. From the analysis of the writer's character," M. Scherer goes on, "and the study of his age a correct understanding of his work arises spontaneously." This is criticism made simple; after what is called "eliminating the personal equation," all that is necessary is research.

As generally happens, however, Mr. Stephen has not been able completely to "eliminate the personal equation," though it is equally clear that his attempt to do this is nothing short of heroic. His dislike of Pope's writings and contempt for his character lie very near the surface of every page. "To know a thing," says Mr. Carlyle—"what we call knowing—a man must first *love* the thing, sympathize with it." This is not true, but perhaps it is Mr. Carlyle's heightened way of saying what is incontestably true, that to know a thing one must first have sufficient intellectual sympathy for it to understand its law, and in the case of a man to "put one's self in his place," in familiar phrase. Mr. Stephen concerns himself with Pope far more than with his writings and position in literature, but it is impossible to imagine any intellectual sympathy between the two. He knows, for example, far more about Pope's life, about those minute problems which it would require years of labor to work out, and we think we may add about Pope's *milieu*, the Anne-Augustan age, than Thackeray did. Thackeray's criticism is, it need not be said, little better than obsolete at present; a critic of the present day who assumed Stella to be a natural daughter of Sir William Temple merely because "it must have been so," would be ridiculous. But the difference in matters beyond the reach of verifying documents is worth noting. Thackeray was, one may say, saturated with the spirit of the Queen Anne age; Mr. Stephen is "barnacled" with facts about it; and the way in which each treats such a detail as the celebrated quarrel between Pope and Addison may be taken as an illustration here pertinent. Every one knows the current story, and we do not intend a tedious rehearsal of it. Mr. Stephen in ten of his two hundred pages recounts the circumstances at length. After reading them several times we are unable to make anything positive out of them; indeed, Mr. Stephen says himself one is inclined to doubt after investigation whether there was any quarrel at all. But we get Mr. Stephen's opinion that it was "very improbable" that Addison should have enjoyed the joke on Steele associated with Pope's attack on Philips; that Pope was "almost subject to the illusion characteristic of actual insanity"; that he doubts whether Addison ever saw the Atticus verses; and adds that "Pope himself appears not to have devised the worst part of the story till some years later." Now, it is clear here that the historical method has broken down; the facts are few and in dispute, and Mr. Stephen's careful scrutiny of them results only in darkening counsel. Speculation is necessary, it is a question of probabilities, the critic is thrown back upon himself, upon his own force of divination and insight. And the question is important—so far, at least, as Addison is concerned. We all remember how Macaulay settled it after his rhetorical fashion by the flimsy expedient of exaggerating the charge against Addison into a "villany" and "conspiracy," and then pronouncing it incredible. Mr. Stephen's opinion seems to be the same, expressed temperately and acknowledging that there is little to go on. This is what Thackeray says: "Did Mr. Addison, justly perhaps, thinking that, as young Mr. Pope had not had the benefit of a university education, he couldn't know Greek, therefore he couldn't translate Homer, encourage his young friend Tickell, of Queen's, to translate that poet, and aid him with his own known scholarship and skill?" and he goes on to say that the conduct of each was "natural" under the circumstances. With what is "natural" a critic like Mr. Stephen will have nothing to do in general; in general he has a praiseworthy desire to get at what *is* in a given case. But it is unfortunately true not only that no synthesis would ever be possible if we had to wait for *all* the facts, of having which we can never be quite certain, but that very often at the most interesting and important juncture there are no indicative facts at all.

It is no disparagement to the value of research and erudition to recognize the fact that, owing to the construction of the human mind, the historian,

* 'Pope. By Leslie Stephen.' (English Men of Letters.) New York: Harper & Bros. 1880.

biographer, critic finds a working hypothesis a great convenience. Practically, in nine cases out of ten, he does not know how he comes by it, but in one way and another, for the most part unconsciously perhaps, he gets a conception to set out with, to be verified or disproved as he proceeds with his investigation. This is really Mr. Stephen's method; but the school to which he belongs, having in mind the abuse of it which has resulted from inadequate verification and an unwillingness to admit disproof, are excusably chary about acknowledging it. It is not easy—though it is possible—to overestimate the service which they have performed in ridding criticism of personal crotchets and caprices, in enduing it with the convincing power of candor, and, in a word, transplanting it from the sphere of passion and prejudice to that of impersonal science. But, after all, criticism is not to be called an exact science, and the personal quality of the critic, dealing with anything so fluid and many-sided as literature or life, will always be of more consequence than that of a demonstrator. It is certain, at all events, that if he consciously and conscientiously strives to repress it, he will become dull in proportion to his success. Mr. Stephen's book is dull; it is overloaded with material and in many parts is chronicle rather than history, and reads like a parliamentary report upon the mysteries of Pope's career. Partially, at least, this would have been avoided if Mr. Stephen did not look upon literary art as something very nearly akin to rhetorical affectation; but our main objection is that at the point where he is perforce thrown back upon himself and deserted by the record, and again where he distrusts the spontaneous arising of a correct understanding of Pope and gives us his own, he fails in sympathy and clairvoyance. His 'Johnson' was perhaps equally free from the graces of diction, but it was captivating in comparison, because it was both impersonal and sympathetic.

For ourselves we find it impossible to account for the existence in any society of such a man as he paints Pope, not to speak of the immense social esteem and personal affection which Pope enjoyed. When we remember how general among the Queen Anne wits were coarseness, chicanery, low views of women, brutality of satire, and so on, it is difficult to account for a judgment which regards Pope as the particular Blifil of the age. "With all his delinquencies," says Mr. Stephen, "and with all his affectations, there are moments in which we forget to preserve the correct tone of moral indignation." But Mr. Stephen seems to succeed admirably. He points out that "there is no particular merit in loving a mother," but that this is all we have in Pope's case to indicate that he was "really deserving of some affection." He refers again and again to Pope's "following Wycherly about like a dog," emphasizes the ridiculousness of his love-making on account of his contemptible physique, endlessly reiterates reprobation of his deceit and malice; curiously introduces all the qualifying commendation, we have remarked, in subsidiary clauses and sentences with "buts" and "yets"; and at the end, asking what must be "the final element in our feeling about the man," concludes his volume with: "Let us hope that it may be the pity which, after a certain lapse of years, we may be excused for conceding to the victim of moral as well as physical diseases." His reprehension of Pope, moreover, has not the perfunctory ring, but displays the vivacity of sincerity; and we cannot help feeling that it ought to be encouraging to those who fear for the effect upon morality of an abandonment of evangelical theology to find even moral considerations so carefully attended to in a literary biography by so eminent a sceptic. In fine, Mr. Stephen takes his subject with all the seriousness of a writer to whom 'Candide' is "biting sarcasm" (page 171). Those, again, who fear the renaissance of the literary methods and canons of the eighteenth century will rejoice to find that they receive little countenance from Mr. Stephen; his abundant objections to Pope's artificiality are perhaps modified by his excusing the quality in the translation of the 'Iliad' on the singular ground that it would have seemed far more flagrant if Pope had endeavored to interpret the spirit of Homer; but this is only a momentary aberration, and in general we have Pope measured by true Wordsworthian standards. Criticism is at present so unanimous concerning Pope that no one is likely to quarrel with most of Mr. Stephen's judgments, in detail, but his book justifies the natural expectation that Pope's work as a whole, his service to and place in English literature, are not likely to be seized with conspicuous firmness and presented with vivid distinctness by a Wordsworthian who admires Wordsworth because "his ethical system is as distinctive and capable of exposition as Bishop Butler's." Mr. Stephen is an authority upon the eighteenth century, but the rhetoric and classicism of the eighteenth century will never be interpreted quite adequately, we may be sure, by a criticism which sets great store by "a scientific system of thought" in poetical matters. At bottom, the two have too much in common, and the ends of truth are served only indirectly by disagreements of the doctors.

A Collection of Legal Maxims in Law and Equity. With English translations. By S. S. Peloubet. (New York: George S. Diossy. 1880.)—The object of this work, as announced in the preface, is to collect in a small compass all the principal legal maxims scattered through treatises and the series of reports. The author has collected 2,613 maxims, a rather startling number and probably far more than can be found in any two other books on the subject. The number has been artificially swollen, however, by the introduction of a great number of phrases which are not, properly speaking, legal maxims at all. Some of these are proverbs, which it is a mistake to insert in a collection of this kind. *Bis dat qui cito dat*, for instance, is the expression of a moral not a legal saw, and there is no more reason for giving it a legal status than there would be for setting down *Aut Cæsar aut nullus*, or *Dulce est pro patria mori*, as maxims of jurisprudence. Again, many of Mr. Peloubet's "maxims" are mere phrases taken at random from the authorities. *In omni re nascitur res quæ ipsam rem exterminat* rests upon the high authority of Coke, but it has no other importance. Others, again, are less maxims than statements of propositions of law. When it is laid down in the pages of the learned Jenkins that *Juratores debent esse vicini*, etc. (p. 133), it is stated as the law of England governing the constitution of juries. A legal maxim properly speaking is different from all these: it is a general legal truth which bears very nearly the same relation to actual law that a proverb bears to moral and social law. It is an exaggerated expression of a generally-observed legal truth, but it is not law in the sense of being obligatory upon any one. *Lex vigilantibus non dormientibus subvenit; Equitas sequitur legem;* There is no right without a remedy; Equity treats that as done which ought to have been done—are all instances of true legal maxims. The importance of maxims like these in our system of law is for obvious reasons very slight. They settle nothing, they decide nothing; but they have undoubtedly a good effect upon the ear. The distinction we have ventured to suggest between maxims and propositions of law in the form of maxims is frequently overlooked, but should be carefully kept in view by writers of compendiums like Mr. Peloubet's.

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Continued from page iii.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 29, 1880.

The Week.

THE publication by the *World* of an alleged decision by Judge Swayne of the Supreme Court, to the effect that the retainer of General Garfield in the De Golyer pavement business was a "sale of official influence," has been met by a flat denial by Judge Swayne. The judge says that the matter was never before him in any way. This has induced the *World* to make a thorough investigation by means of what the *Tribune* would call its "staff correspondents," with the following results: In 1874 Chittenden, the lobbyist through whom the De Golyer contract was obtained, brought a suit in the Circuit Court of Cook County, Illinois, for his services. The defendants set up as a special defence that the award of the contract was void, as against public policy, or, in common parlance, as being immoral, for the reason, among others, of the Garfield retainer. To this the plaintiff demurred—or, in other words, contended that, even admitting the facts to be as stated by the defendants, there was nothing in the defence. The judge decided that the demurrer was good. Mr. J. R. Doolittle, who was of counsel for the defendants, submitted a brief in which he made a quotation from an opinion of Judge Swayne's in another case, which he argued controlled this one, and then proceeded to state his own view of the connection of Mr. Garfield with the De Golyer contract. He naturally did this in strong language, and it was this language which was erroneously attributed to Judge Swayne. It is quite apparent from this that the facts in the case have never been passed upon by any judge, the plaintiff's demurrer in the Cook County case being only an admission by counsel for the purpose of having a question of law passed upon. But the *World* thinks that, inasmuch as Judge Swayne did originally decide a case about contracts *contra bonos mores*, and in it used language which, in a certain view of the Garfield case, would involve a strong condemnation of General Garfield, the original story is at least sufficiently made out for campaign purposes, and intimates now pretty distinctly that Judge Swayne is lying and that General Garfield's friends are in despair at the exposure.

The affair can hardly help being damaging to the *World* as an evangelical organ, which we regret extremely, as our esteemed contemporary supplies in this capacity a want long felt. The other campaign stories of the week are not bad. General Hancock has at last been exposed as having wilfully failed to do his duty in one of the fights before Richmond. He confessed, as usual, on the night before the engagement, to a man who slept in the same tent with him, that he took no interest in the fight, "because, if there was any glory in the thing, Sheridan would get it all." Accordingly, he so arranged matters that the men of his corps on coming into action only fired two rounds each, and then ran away. It only remains now for the man to appear who met Hancock the day before, and, although seeing him for the first time, clearly perceived his traitorous designs in the expression of his face, and would have felt justified before God and man in shooting him on the spot if he had had a pistol about him, like Colonel T. C. H. Smith in the Fitz-John Porter case. We have little doubt this witness will turn up before next week. The *Times* calls this an "unpleasant story," and so it is; but, esteemed contemporary, it is nothing to those which are still coming when the old soldiers get through the haying and have a little leisure. We have not yet reached the first of August. On the other hand, President Hayes, while travelling on the railroad in company with some delegates to the Cincinnati Convention, freely expressed his belief that Hancock was "a noble fellow," and would be his (Mr. Hayes's) successor. General Beauregard, by the way, requests us to say that there is no truth in the "story" to which we recently referred, that he refused an invitation to dine with General Hancock unless the latter hauled down the American flag from over his own door, and that it was hauled down accordingly. General Beauregard says he never was invited to dinner by General Hancock at all. We had suspected as much.

It appears to be true that General Grant has accepted the presidency of a mining company, on the news of which the stock made a magnificent jump from 1⅛ to 3⅝. Most people who either feel grateful to or admire him will be sorry to hear it, for the place is one which can hardly be called becoming, even if it turns out better than places in mining ventures are apt to do. It makes the third-term movement, too, seem more deplorable than ever, because there is little doubt that half the energy expended in pushing it would have induced Congress to make some fitting provision for him during the remainder of his life. It is not by any means creditable to the country that he should have to jostle for either fortune or occupation among the crowd of financial adventurers. A military position with a suitable salary, or better still, if it did not need a Constitutional Amendment to create it, a life-senatorship, is as little as his services entitle him to, and as little as the nation can, with due regard for its own dignity, afford to offer him.

His restlessness, as displayed in his continued travelling about, would seem to indicate that he finds it hard to settle down to purely private life and non-political pursuits. After twenty such years as he has passed it must be difficult to do so, and we fear his supporters are not doing anything to make it easier for him. As a correspondent suggested the other day, a great many of them treat their defeat in Chicago as only temporary, and confidently look forward to seeing him again in the Presidency, and will do their best to keep alive the same expectation in his mind. The fact is they had so good a time when he was in the Presidency, it was so bright, so happy, that they cannot and will not believe that it is gone for ever. So they hang around him and hanker after him like hungry tramps round a butcher's shop, and while away the time by measuring with their eyes the prime cuts in him, and calculating the best mode of making him go round among "the boys" and yet leave something over for the poor.

The mystery as to the intentions of the Grant leaders with regard to the Garfield canvass is not yet dispelled, though the Democrats continue to get a good deal of comfort out of interviews with them, which reveal, if not apathy and indifference, at least a frame of mind which is the reverse of enthusiastic. It is not merely that they are not prospectively pleased with the chance of four years of an Administration headed by a President who secured his nomination through an anti-Grant combination, but that retrospectively the recollection of the last four years of a reform Administration under Mr. Hayes is not agreeable to them. They could hardly have had a milder or more thoroughly sugar-coated dose of reform than Mr. Hayes has given them, but even this has been too much. Mr. Simon Cameron has been relieving his mind on this subject to a *Herald* reporter, and his remarks are worth noticing—not so much for their inherent importance as for their indicating the condition of mind in which many eminent Republicans now find themselves. Mr. Cameron declares that "Hayes's advisers are a queer lot" and that he "can't see much in them." Mr. Evarts's foreign policy has been "to protect Seward, that consul in China." Evarts, it seems, "held up one side of the coop while Seward crawled out." As to his son's letter, declining to serve as Chairman of the Republican Committee, he was very glad to see it. "Don's" health will not permit him to manage a campaign. "Then, too, why should he? It's not only a tiresome but an expensive business." "I tell you," Mr. Cameron feelingly added, "the Chairman of that Committee has to go down into his own pocket and his friends' very often." The campaign of 1876 "cost my son a pile of money." "Zach" Chandler was, it seems, very close, and funds at one time ran so low that "Hayes was whining for pocket-money," upon which "Don" gave him five thousand dollars "out of his own wallet." As to the reform

of the Indian Bureau, what Mr. Cameron wants to know is, "Who says Hayes is reforming any thing?" "If Hancock should get in," he thinks it might be reformed by putting it under the War Department. This does not suggest a "ringing campaign" in Pennsylvania.

We venture to suggest to our esteemed contemporaries who may be in want of subjects of campaign investigation the Milligan case, reported in the fourth volume of Wallace's Supreme Court Reports. Milligan was a "traitor" who was tried by military commission during the war, but within the limits of the State of Indiana, and sentenced to be hanged. That he was a bad man and richly deserved hanging there can be little doubt, but there was a question whether a man could be legally sentenced by a military commission within a jurisdiction in which there were civil courts sitting for trial of crimes and felonies of all kinds. The matter was brought before the Supreme Court at Washington, and many able counsel appeared and made arguments, among others General Garfield, in favor of Milligan. The case attracted much attention at the time, and the decision, which was that habeas corpus ought to issue, was generally regarded as a triumph for civil liberty. It brought to an end all trials by military commissions, and from that time (December, 1866) to this no Democrat has been hung in the United States except after trial according to all the forms of law and a verdict by a jury. The wide-spread criminality prevailing among the Democrats made the decision of the utmost consequence to them, and it is singular to reflect that while it was through General Hancock that Mrs. Surratt was hung, it was partly through the efforts of General Garfield that the practice of hanging Democrats by means of military commissions was brought to an end.

Ever since the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati earnest efforts have been making in this State to unite the two wings of the Democratic party upon a single electoral ticket. The Kellyites from the time of their campaign against Governor Robinson have kept up an independent organization, and their State Committee met last week at Saratoga to see what could be done for "harmony." The resignations of the Kelly electors nominated at Syracuse last April were accepted, and an address drawn up calling upon all Democrats to rally to the support of the party candidates. This address is a stirring appeal. It justifies the revolt of Kelly against the regular organization as having been made against "an unwarrantable and undemocratic attempt to use the power and prestige of a great party for personal ends"; says that it "taught officials" that "the Machine" has no place "in Democratic politics," but that, this lesson having been fully taught, no repetition of it is needed. The nomination of Hancock "has blotted out past alienations by a grand hope," and "the times are resplendent with omens of victory." The action taken in 1879 was forced upon the Kellyites by the fact that "for years there has been a growing tendency in the Republican party, and unfortunately to some extent in our own, to use organizations formed for and devoted to public objects for selfish personal ends." Having corrected this by securing the election of a Republican governor last year, the Kelly faction is willing to go to work with a will now to elect Hancock and English.

The only allusion to silver in Mr. Schurz's speech last week is probably to be found in a hopeful sentence expressing the speaker's belief that "the disagreements still existing upon financial subjects of minor importance" will be solved for the best by the Republican party. There was not, we think, any lack of candor in Mr. Schurz's comparison of the two parties. Nevertheless it is noticeable to what an extent the following account of the Democratic medley is applicable to a not very distant stage of the Republican party also:

"Thus we find there the hardest of hard-money men hand in hand with the wildest of inflationists, the freest of free-traders, and the stiffest of protectionists; we find them in their platforms declaring for the restoration of specie payments to satisfy one part, and the repeal of the Resumption law in the same sentence to satisfy the other part, of the organization. We find men who would scorn the idea of faithlessness to our national obligations in the closest alliance and co-operation with those who repudiated their debts in their own States, and who would not hesitate a moment to repudiate the debts of the Republic. . . . And it must not be forgotten that upon these different elements the official declarations of platforms have not the least effect."

An official statement of the foreign trade of the whole United States for the year ending June 30 shows that the total imports were valued at $667,885,565 and the total exports at $835,793,924. This largely exceeds the figures of any year in the history of the country. During the last half of the year there was a reaction from the extreme speculative activity which had characterized every branch of business. Within the last few weeks, and notably during the last week, there have been many indications of a return to activity and higher prices. In the trade markets the demand for consumption appears to have again overtaken the supply, and the natural result is advancing prices. Aside from this perfectly legitimate reason for a recovery from the downward reaction, the extreme ease of the money market bids fair to breed further speculation. The New York banks still hold a surplus reserve of more than $16,500,000, although the Treasury is taking in money very rapidly and is not paying it out, the Secretary having for the present deferred bond purchases for the Sinking Fund. Foreign exchange has fallen so near to the gold-importing point that several lots of cheap bar-gold, aggregating about $1,600,000, have been bought in London and Paris for New York, and are likely to be the forerunners of an important movement which is expected to begin in the early future. It is now tolerably certain that the crops throughout the country will be unprecedented in amount. At the Produce Exchange there are those who calculate on a crop of 500,000,000 bushels of wheat, and 1,800,000,000 to 2,000,000,000 bushels of corn, while at the Cotton Exchange well-informed speculators are betting on a cotton crop of 6,250,000 bales. These figures largely exceed anything on record. Railroad earnings continue to show an increase over the large receipts of a year ago. While there are these substantial factors for successful trade, credits are far from being unduly expanded. At the Stock Exchange it has been a week of advancing prices and, in the speculative share list, buoyancy. United States 4 per cent. bonds advanced to 109⅜, which, considering that they carry less than one month's interest, is the highest point ever reached for the Government credit. In London these bonds are at 112½, and the 4½'s at 114½.

General Weaver and his arithmetical friends have been for some time showing that the Greenback vote will cause a non-election of President by the people, and that the small knot of Greenbackers in the House of Representatives, of which the Rev. Mr. De La Matyr is a leading figure, will be able to control the vote there in favor of their candidate. It seems not improbable that in the popular vote more disturbance will be caused by the Greenback element than is now commonly anticipated, and perhaps this will first appear to be the case in Mr. De La Matyr's own State. This gentleman is desirous of retaining his seat in Congress, and it was supposed that a bargain had been struck with the "Nationals" by which they were to support the Democratic candidate in the Ninth District in return for the Democrats "endorsing" De La Matyr in his own. But the endorsement has been withheld, and a straight and not very strong nomination has been made by the Democrats. The Nationals are expected to wreak their revenge on Landers, the Democratic candidate for Governor. The fear of an October disaster has given rise to the rumor that the Governor means to call an extra session of the Legislature in order to submit the constitutional amendments anew to the people. It would be strange if the Republicans, under these circumstances, should not be found voting against them.

It is evident that the personal courage of the Greenback Presidential candidate is equal to his confidence, as he is now engaged in making an active canvass of Alabama, which, it is well known, is a procedure attended by great peril in the case of any but a Democrat, and a regular Democrat at that, the State being, next to Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina, perhaps the most completely given over to White Leaguers of any in the South. He has induced Mr. J. L. Pickens, who is described as "a veteran and fearless politician," to become a candidate for Governor, and the two are carrying on what is called an aggressive campaign. Mr. Pickens, in his letter announcing his candidacy, boldly tells the Democrats of Alabama that they have trampled the rights and liberties of the people under their feet and rendered the elective franchise a mockery. So far neither he nor General Weaver

has been shot at or in any way molested, which could be easily understood if the bands of intimidators regarded their canvass as futile; but they are, on the contrary, described as being "both irritated and alarmed," and it is difficult to understand their pusillanimity in merely replying to the Greenback leaders by quoting from Weaver's letter of acceptance his favorable references to Abraham Lincoln and Thaddeus Stevens. This indicates a primitive notion of the province of discussion, but it is certainly a very mild form of intimidation, and argues that even Republican orators might find a Southern stumping tour less dangerous than it is often considered.

The news from Afghanistan is highly important. Abdurrahman Khan, a nephew of Shir Ali, has been acknowledged as Amir both by the Kabulese and the British. In his younger years Abdurrahman fought against his uncle for the Afghan throne, and after 1868 lived in exile in Samarcand, under the protection and patronage of the Russians, who in an emergency expected to make him their tool against Shir Ali. During the troublous time which followed the successive overthrows of Shir Ali and his son Yakub Khan, in 1879, he received permission to go to Khokan, and soon after, in the winter of 1880, appeared in Afghan Turkestan, and gradually made himself master of a large portion of that country, as claimant for the succession to Yakub Khan. There were various other claimants, among them Yakub Khan's infant son, Musa, in whom, however, the Government of India could see no guaranty of stability after the withdrawal of the British forces from Kabul. Abdurrahman, though originally appearing on the northern borders of the Hindu Kush as a natural enemy of the British invaders and protégé of Russia, soon showed himself accessible to negotiations fully compatible with "British interests." Lord Lytton began, and his successor, Earl Ripon, continued them. Abdurrahman was allowed to cross the Hindu Kush, and advance with a small force to Charikar, in Kohistan. Near this place he was met by a deputation of sirdars, who informed him of the British terms of agreement. These he accepted, knowing that only the active support of the Indian Government could place and keep him on the throne. A great durbar was then held at Kabul on July 22, attended by sirdars and Afghan gentlemen, by delegates from Abdurrahman and many British officers. Of these, Mr. Griffin acknowledged Abdurrahman as Amir, in the name of the Empress and the Viceroy of India. Many of Yakub Khan's adherents declared their adhesion. A formal proclamation followed, Abdurrahman's name being solemnly recited in the mosques. Harmony and satisfaction seemed to prevail in Kabul, which is shortly to be evacuated by the invaders.

Of the nature of the agreement, Lord Hartington, Secretary for India, has given a lengthy explanation in the House of Commons. "No formal engagement has been entered into with Abdurrahman Khan. He has simply been recognized as Amir of Kabul"—not of all Afghanistan. He "has been informed that no negotiations can be entered into as yet, respecting Kandahar or the districts named in the treaty of Gandamak." To Herat no reference is made in the abstract. It is probable that the British Government means to keep "the districts"—or most of them—to protect Kandahar as an independent state, and to help its Wali or the Amir of Kabul in conquering Herat. "No foreign minister or foreign interference will be allowed at Kabul." This, if verbally correct, is a distinct declaration that another Russian mission to Kabul, such as was Stolietoff's in 1878, will lead to another invasion of Afghanistan—under Gladstone's auspices. "Temporary assistance is promised the Amir" against rivals, fanatical enemies of the English, or sirdars bent on independence. "He will not be asked to receive a British mission, but a Mohammedan envoy will be sent to Kabul on behalf of India." This arrangement is obviously intended to prevent another Cavagnari massacre, the mob of Kabul being expected to be less ferocious towards Moslem than towards Christian representatives of the Empress. "It is hoped the troops will soon be able to retire, handing over the city to the Amir"—not the whole country, a portion of the troops being just now engaged in fighting Ayub Khan of Herat, whose forces, operating against Kandahar, have reached the Hilmend, above Girishk. Nor are "the arrangements for the retirement of troops altogether contingent upon the proceedings of Abdurrahman Khan or the people of Afghanistan." "The uncertainty of Afghan politics," Lord Hartington candidly admits, "is so great that it is impossible to feel that all our troubles there are ended"—a real foreboding, in view of the latest news that Gen. Burrowes's brigade has been "annihilated" at Kandahar, and that the remainder of the garrison, under General Primrose, has retreated into the citadel.

Considering the number of lives which have been sacrificed on both sides, the amount of suffering inflicted, a large part of it on helpless women and children, by the destruction of their villages, and considering that the war proves to have cost up to the present $75,000,000, instead of about $15,000,000, there is something worse than melancholy in the news that the principal object of the war—the forcing of British envoys on the Amir—has been abandoned. Abdurrahman Khan is not to be asked to receive one. But the work of slaughter seems to go on, in spite of the fact that peace is certain. Wherever a party of armed Afghans get together, which they are sure to do frequently as long as the invaders remain in the country, the British cavalry goes out and charges and sabres them. Two hundred out of a mob of eight hundred were slain in this way the other day, the only possible result being to make the survivors hate the British name more cordially than ever.

The advent of the Liberal Ministry has, as was expected, at last compelled Dean Stanley to give up the scheme of setting up a monument in Westminster Abbey to the late Prince Imperial. As soon as Mr. Gladstone came into power the opposition to it became stronger and more active, but was confined to public meetings and articles in the newspapers, and it was hoped that, as agitation about a tomb is an unseemly thing, the Dean would see the desirableness of not insisting on burying any one in the Abbey, and especially any foreigner, in the teeth of any respectable opposition whatever. He stuck to his project, however, with a curious and somewhat petulant obstinacy, and then, as a last resource, the subject was brought before the House of Commons, which passed a resolution condemning the erection of the monument. Before this the Dean has given way, in a letter, the text of which has not reached us, but which the London correspondent of the *Tribune* says is "unworthy of him and disrespectful to Parliament." The monument will now be put up in St. George's Chapel at Windsor, an appropriate place enough. The affair has probably been more trying to the Dean as a courtier than the outside world imagine, but his mistake was in ever giving it any countenance whatever. That he did so was undoubtedly due, as we remarked, to the prevalence of the Imperialist atmosphere at the time, and the unconcealed contempt of society in London for Liberal opinions or prejudices.

The text of the Collective Note delivered to the Porte by the ambassadors of the Powers at Constantinople and Athens contains nothing not already known. It simply informs the Sultan that they have traced out a new frontier line between Turkey and Greece and describes it. The Porte has constructed a reply not yet presented, declaring, it is said, the acceptance of the line impossible and denying that the Conference had any power to arbitrate. The Turks are actively preparing for war, relying on their ability with the help of the Albanians to make short work of the thirty-five thousand men which are all that Greece can put into the field, but more than all on the inability of the Powers to agree on any plan of active interference. This last expectation, however, seems likely to be disappointed. The British Foreign Secretary has announced positively that concerted action looking towards coercion has been settled, although its precise nature could not yet be made public. It is all but certain that it will consist in a naval demonstration, which to be effective must be prepared to force the Dardanelles. That there will be risings in Rumelia and Macedonia in case any armed pressure is brought to bear on the Porte is now generally expected. The Bulgarians, both in Bulgaria and Rumelia, have been arming rapidly, and Russian officers have been passing into the country in considerable numbers. That they look in both provinces to a speedy reunion, or, in other words, to the practical execution of the Treaty of San Stefano, is now generally conceded.

THE SOUTHERN QUESTION IN THE CANVASS.

THE net purport of the thoughtful and entertaining work of Judge Tourgee entitled 'A Fool's Errand' is, that the work of reconstruction after the close of the war was wrongly conceived, and that all the turmoil, confusion, and bloodshed that have ensued are chargeable upon the leaders of the Republican party, who had not the sagacity and nerve to follow up the victory of arms by establishing military governments in the conquered districts until such time as society could reconstruct itself upon principles of political justice and equality. The removal of the pressure of force, he shows, was followed by the revival of every idea on which the Southern whites had been bred during two hundred years, and just in proportion as the force was lessened these ideas were carried into practice. The establishment of negro suffrage was regarded by the whites as having been put upon them not as an act of justice, not even as a means of ensuring the supremacy of the Republican party in national elections, but solely in order to humiliate them in the eyes of the world and in their own eyes. This needless and superfluous indignity, as they esteemed it, roused bitter resentment, and they resolved to circumvent negro suffrage at all hazards. Hence arose the Ku-klux Klan with its barbarities, and hence the milder forms of intimidation which now prevail. It is the author's judgment that the Southern whites will surely have their own way on this point; that the present generation will never admit that the colored men are their political equals, and that there is not enough force (that is, political force) in the North to execute reconstruction in the spirit in which it was conceived. The fatal mistake having been made of treating the South as States of the Union instead of conquered territory, and its people as political integers instead of prisoners of war, it is no longer possible, considering the form of our Government and the balance of political parties and the temper of both sections, to prevent the Southern whites from being the masters of every Southern State, whatever be the numbers of the colored voters therein. In short, however the Northern heart may be fired, however vigorously the "bloody shirt" may be waved, the end will be the same—the negroes will be allowed to vote, and their votes will be returned and counted, only so far as they vote in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the whites; or if there be any exceptions to this rule, they will be such as it suits the purposes of the whites to allow, and will only serve to prove the rule.

All this seems highly detestable at the North, and the Republican party holds it to be necessary to overcome and break down this unreasonable prejudice, and to provide, as Gen. Garfield declares in his letter of acceptance, "that every elector shall be permitted, freely and without intimidation, to cast his lawful ballot at such election, and have it honestly counted, and that the potency of his vote shall not be destroyed by the fraudulent vote of any other person." This is what Judge Tourgee, after much reflection and experience in the midst of the White Leaguers, tells us cannot now be done, although it ought to have been done, and might have been done if a different policy had prevailed when the work of reconstruction was commenced. The Southern question to-day is a dispute upon this point. Gen. Garfield and those who agree with him—that is, the great majority of the Republican party—insist that the blacks shall not be intimidated. The Democrats deny the intimidation, and demand that the Government shall leave the Southern States as well as the Northern to manage their elections in their own way. The controversy respecting troops at the polls and the appointment of deputy-marshals as supervisors of elections has its foundation here. It is needless to add that the Democrats made a great mistake in raising an issue in Congress upon this question, since it was the sole issue upon which the Republicans were likely to be united and victorious. The troops were too few to exercise any appreciable influence upon the elections, as was proved in Louisiana in 1876. President Hayes had come to the wise conclusion that even these few ought to be withdrawn; and as for the deputy-marshals, they would have proved as impotent in the future to bring the intimidated out of their hiding-places, and make good voters of them, as in the past.

We have no doubt that intimidation of colored voters is the rule and the absence of it the exception in the Gulf States, that it prevails largely elsewhere, and that it prevails to the greatest extent and is most effective in those places where the colored population is most numerous in proportion to the whole. But we can see no remedy for such a condition of things which does not begin by infusing courage into the intimidated class. A remedy which provides merely that the colored voter shall be protected in the act of voting is no remedy at all. What he fears is not merely that his vote will be refused, or that he will suffer violence in the act of casting it, but that he will be made to suffer subsequently. To reach and cure this species of intimidation he must not only be protected at the polls, but provided with a body-guard till the next election. This is obviously impossible, but nothing short of it will accomplish what the Republican party insists upon. Intimidation is a disease on the part of the intimidated as well as a crime on the part of the intimidators. It is true that if the crime were made impossible the disease would cease to exist, but if the disease itself were eradicated the crime would cease to exist. If the native population of Texas should attempt to intimidate their neighbors of German birth and descent, they would find it impossible to do so. It is because the colored people are naturally born to fears, because the stripes of slavery are still remembered, that they are the subjects of intimidation. No person or class liable to be intimidated, bribed, or cajoled can be counted as having any political opinions. All such persons are worthless as political factors. Any attempt to make them valuable to the state as part of its governing force must work upon the voter's character as well as his surroundings. Hence it is an indispensable part of the task which Gen. Garfield assigns to himself and to the Republican party—viz., "that every elector shall be permitted, freely *and without intimidation*, to cast his lawful ballot"—to take steps to improve the colored man's courage. Any plan which seeks to cure intimidation without curing the timidity upon which it works, will prove a failure.

The most rational means for curing timidity is to show the colored voter that he has numerous and powerful friends interested in his welfare, and the only practicable method of bringing this knowledge to him is, as we urged last week, to send Northern speakers of repute to the South to take part in the present and future political campaigns. There is one other reason for such a course which must not be overlooked. The Republican party has in the Chicago platform, and General Garfield has in his letter of acceptance, approved, if not adopted, the theory that all races are not equally fit to live under the American system of government. They have acknowledged that particular habits, traditions, and mental and moral conditions may make large bodies of men dangerous to the Republic. Their attitude towards the Chinese question does, there is no doubt, give some countenance to the unwillingness of Southerners to accept the rule of negro majorities. In asking them to accept it, we are asking them to face without fear a problem which no Northern State has ever been called on to face, and which we have no doubt none of them would face with equanimity or in a spirit of strict legality. We have no right, therefore, to treat the South Carolina and Mississippi dread of the kind of government the negroes would set up, if let alone, as utterly baseless or unreasonable. We all know we should be greatly alarmed by the prospect of anything of the kind in Massachusetts or New York or California. We are bound, therefore, to do *something* (and nothing whatever has yet been done) to bring Northern opinion to bear directly on the negro voters, in the form of instruction and advice from the lips of Northern men whom they will respect and trust, as to the conditions of social and political prosperity. We owe this to the Southern whites, on whom we have forced the solution of a difficulty which has as yet nowhere been solved, and in the solution of which we take no direct share. We owe it also to the negroes, whom we have saddled with responsibilities such as only the foremost races of the world have hitherto been called on to bear, and which no race but the negro has yet assumed without demanding them, striving for them, and, if need be, seizing them with the strong hand. The very least we can do for both whites and blacks, therefore, is to send down some of our best speakers to tell them to their faces in what manner we think they can get out of the very serious fix in which we have placed them. Our newspapers do not reach them; neither do our orators when they speak on Northern soil. The fittest place to debate the Southern question is, in fact, the South.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND THE IRISH COMPENSATION BILL.

THE passage of the Irish Land Compensation Bill has furnished a good test of the real hold of Mr. Gladstone on the present House of Commons. He could hardly have offered the Whig wing of his party a more trying dose. Having swallowed it they will find any demands on their fidelity which are still to come comparatively easy. But it is probably as such a test that the bill is now most interesting, for there is not the least chance of its passage in the House of Lords, and its defeat there so near the close of the session would be the last of it for the present. Having passed by a good majority in the Lower House, if it should be defeated by a large majority in the Upper House, as is probable, the effect on the temper of the Radical wing of the Liberal party, both in and out of the House, is likely to be very aggravating, and to stimulate that hostility to the Lords which is one of its principal characteristics. The plea that the Lords are acting as the defenders of property and of vested rights in general will hardly have much weight under such circumstances, because it is useless to maintain that the House of Commons as at present composed is indifferent to the rights of property. In fact, one of the reproaches now most frequently made against it by the Radicals is that it is an assembly of plutocrats. The great majority of the members are either men of considerable wealth, or are the sons or brothers of men of considerable wealth. Any measure which it sanctions by a large majority will, therefore, not be viewed by any considerable portion of the party as really dangerous to property in general. The resistance of the Lords will be treated simply as resistance to interference, not with the rights of property-holders in general, but with the privileges of the owners of one particular species of property, viz., property in land, and the Lords can assume no position more dangerous to their own order as a branch of the legislature than that of defenders of privileges as against the poor.

The weak point in the case of those who oppose the bill as an attack on property analogous to a stay law directed against all creditors, lies in the fact that landed proprietors now enjoy, and have always enjoyed, an exceptional position both as owners and creditors. For instance, the landlord is in England and Ireland the only creditor who, in claiming rent, is not obliged to prove his debt in court, and obtain a legal judgment to enable him to levy on the debtor's goods. He has the power when the rent becomes overdue to enter on the tenant's land with his own bailiff and distrain everything movable he finds on it, no matter to whom it belongs, even the cattle of a man who may have hired grazing of the tenant. In fact, we believe in a recent case the courts refused relief to the owner of cattle which were merely trespassing when seized by the landlord. This exemption from the necessity of seeking satisfaction for a money-claim through the courts is probably the most remarkable relic of mediæval usage now existing in any European country, and yet it is only one of the anomalies which are now likely to deprive the landlords of the benefit of the undoubted tenderness for property which is one of the most marked characteristics of English opinion. The facilities the law has hitherto given for preserving game, at whatever cost to the tenant or hardship or temptation to the poor, is another. The annexation of such rights to the possession of any other species of property—consols, for instance—would be deemed monstrous. But the most serious of all is the great political influence and authority which the ownership of land has hitherto carried with it. The county government in England and Ireland—we cannot speak with certainty about Scotland—has hitherto been in the main lodged in the hands of the chief landowners, as lord-lieutenants, sheriffs, and justices of the peace, in complete independence of popular feeling or opinion; and no claim for participation in this duty on the ground of possession of any other kind of property than land, has ever received any recognition. All great property-holders have been in the habit of "intimidating" their dependents into voting their way at elections, though since the adoption of the ballot and the transfer of the trial of election-petitions to the judges there is much less of this than formerly. But the number of a landlord's dependents is much greater than that of any other rich man's, and he is the only rich man who has the power of imposing his will on any considerable body of persons by turning them out of house and home. Consequently his interference in politics has taken an unusually conspicuous and, to the Radicals, obnoxious form.

For these reasons, and we might add many others of a less tangible character, the attack on property in land, which Mr. Gladstone's bill undoubtedly is, is not likely to spread serious alarm outside the land-holding class, or to give the opposition of the Lords the character of resistance on the part of the Haves in general to the encroachments of the Have-nots, which is the only thing that could make the overwhelming defeat of the bill in the Upper House a safe occurrence for the peers. The authority of this House has been steadily declining since the passage of the Reform Bill, both owing to the loss of the greater portion of the power previously possessed by it over the composition of the House of Commons, and to the steady loss of interest on the part of the peers in legislative work. In fact, the initiation of important legislation in the Upper House has for more than a generation been a very rare thing, and the cases in which it has ventured to make important amendments in measures sent up from the Commons almost as rare. But perhaps nothing has done so much of late years to diminish its prestige, and weaken its hold as an institution on the popular sentiment, as the growing identification of the peers with what is called "the pleasure class" in society. The fact that the late Premier and Foreign Secretary sat in the House of Lords, gave it during the last three years of the Beaconsfield ministry a more businesslike air, and made it the scene of more interesting debates, than for a long while before. With the triumph of the Liberals, and the transfer of the seat of government, if we may use the term, to the House of Commons, the peers have gone back very much to their previous position of what is called "leaders of society"—that is, active promoters of the amusements of the wealthy of both sexes. The insignificance of the dukes in any other sphere than that of amusement has for some time been one of the standing jokes of the British press. Those of whom the public hears much of late years have generally been triflers and sporting men. They race horses; they drive four-in-hand; they yacht; they roam the world in search of good shooting and fishing; one of them has been very remarkable as a diligent attendant at London fires; another is mainly occupied with Catholic miracles and pilgrimages. The members of the lower orders of the peerage are not, as a whole, much better known for devotion to serious pursuits. What they lead in is the discovery and promotion of new modes of killing time, which has now become, we may almost say without exaggeration, the most absorbing interest of a large proportion of the wealthier members of British society. There is in England to-day an ardor and ingenuity in pleasure-seeking amongst this class such as the modern world has probably never seen. In fact, they have made pleasure a kind of business or profession, with various branches to which men of different tastes devote themselves or "go in," as the slang phrase is, with all their powers both of mind and body. This tendency or passion has been immensely and, it must be confessed, most unfortunately stimulated by the Prince of Wales, whose influence has undoubtedly done much to make serious business of any kind unfashionable with rich men and women, and to give a sort of dignity to mere trifling. His "set" is probably unrivalled in its diligence and success in the pursuit of mere pleasure in and out of doors, and in giving life the air of a long holiday.

The temper of democracy was, however, never less tolerant of the right of wealth to amuse itself than it is just now. The right of the rich man to pass all his time in play was probably far more freely acknowledged in France just before the Revolution than it is in England at this moment. There could hardly be a greater misfortune for the British aristocracy than to be led in society, at a time when the world is so profoundly moved by the idea of the community in rights and interests of all classes, by an heir-apparent to whom fun is more welcome than affairs. A hard-working king of the Prussian type, fond either of war or politics, and with that happy sense of being a salaried servant of the state which the Hohenzollerns, with all their faith in their divine right, have managed to retain in remarkable efficiency, would probably have done much to give the House of Lords a new lease of life. For nothing is more certain than that the idea which is gaining force in politics most rapidly, is the idea that wealth shall not lessen but increase the weight of a man's social burdens; that nothing shall exempt any one from contributing by the labor either of mind or

body to making life easier and more wholesome for all who dwell under the laws by which he and his fortune, be it great or small, are protected.

PHILOSOPHY AT CONCORD.

CONCORD, July 21, 1880.

THIS is happily one of the New England towns that may yet be called a village—happily or sadly, for the day of these is passing so swiftly that one breathes the repose of the ancient streets with a thought of regret; even the great elms claim an interest that is half-compassionate. It would seem ridiculous to continue the style peculiar to pretentious domestic architecture fifty years ago, a combination of Greek temple and green blinds, and I do not know that townspeople can any longer be expected to let the grass grow in their door-yards, contesting the neglected ground with hollyhocks and peonies; nevertheless, the eye is sadly pained by the invasion of brick blocks among the elms, and even Queen Anne's cheerful progeny hold their ground with a certain tentativeness. The Summer School of Philosophy recently begun in this village is sufficiently allied with the past, however—the past of Concord in especial—to blend well with the elms and the visible tradition of the quiet streets. The philosophers, so the assembled strangers are known, take their way decorously by Mr. Emerson's house and along the Lexington road to the Alcott chapel, which lies snugly under the very hill where *Septimius Felton*, pacing the crest, meditated his elixir of life, that rosy and fatal liquid. As the School is now in the second session and has advanced upon the attainment of last year in some other respects, perhaps, than the matter of numbers—at least, the management has had the opportunity to substitute experience for conjecture in ordering its plans—it is fair to regard the institution as showing itself for what it is.

The philosophical substance of the School is woven of three strands which should be essentially distinct, except to the metalogical courtesies of remark after debate: these strands are Hegelianism, Mysticism, and Platonism. They are woven with a distinct implication of Theism, often of Christianity, but there is much divergent liberality of sentiment notwithstanding. The most dogmatic attitude of the School is towards science, especially towards empiricism; by dogmatic I mean, for instance, the habit of contemptuous reference unsupported by evidence, a common method of comment in this direction twenty-five years ago, but which now has no other aspect than one of extreme staleness. Every one should be aware by this time of the larger amenities of the intellect radiating from the centres of thought, aware that the opposing systems of knowledge are learning to regard each other with a good-humored if not often an appreciative tolerance. One instinctively doubts the substantial greatness of any system of philosophy which has bad names for its neighbors; Philosophy, the most comprehensive and lofty knowledge of things, will at its truest pitch certainly see the inner error of lesser systems as well as the veracity of its own, and this vision of error, the sad blind groping for the truth, the waste of precious life, is one that in the mind made large and charitable by high insight should be, one imagines, a motion to pity or even a foundation in discipline. In an authorized foresketch of the present session the statement appears that "the whole field of empirical and phenomenal investigation will be left for those who have a taste for it," which is well enough, quite well enough in fact; but the intelligent friends of the school can only with regret hear from the lecture-chair sentences such as "Honor to the physicist is nothing, no microscope reveals it, no balance turns with it," or "The blood of science is water, the blood of philosophy is the wine of life." On the other side it is fair to say—premising, somewhat in explanation, that the various utterances regarding the likes, the dislikes, the purposes, and the hopes of the School are distinctively non-Leibnitzian in their freedom from pre-established harmony—to say that one name was considered for the this-year faculty which would have added to it, had acceptance been feasible, the power of the best modern criticists in the line of Kant, Renouvier, and Hodgson. This implies considerable elasticity, and still more was implied in the mention, merely as a hope, of the name of one who has been compelled to leave the largest and most liberal universities of this country for England, there to find an avenue for fine capacities as thinker and lecturer.

To return to philosophy. The Hegelian side is presented by Mr. W. T. Harris, editor of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, the mention of whose name in this connection quite disestablishes the office of criticism; undoubtedly there is no one in this country with so skilful and delicate an expository touch for the great German, or more minutely and sympathetically familiar with the ground of his labor. The sweep of Hegelianism no one who has ever talked with its disciples will underestimate, or the tremendous explanatory solvency of its methods; in this latter it has the remaining philosophies greatly at a disadvantage, since they have pursued the eternally fugitive Explanation, the permanent possibility of an answer, in a foreign way, while Hegelianism boldly built its house over the nomad, making it a permanent guest, for ever to be seen at the windows. A meeting ground for Hegelianism and Mysticism is not immediately evident, unless it fall from their common possession of the transcendental mark; but one is logical, the other emotional, transcendentalism. Their relation is more properly complementary; in any event, both have enough organic elasticity to prevent any jar of contact. Mysticism in the School is heard in five lectures from Mr. Alcott upon representative mystics, and a series from Rev. Mr. Channing on the oriental and mystical philosophy. Dr. Jones successfully expounds the Platonic philosophy.

The immediate thought in the philosophical public, hearing again of propagandism at Concord, will be of transcendentalism; many would rejoice at an announcement of its rejuvenation—those, that is, who do not claim perpetual juvenescence for "this southern slope of the mind"; many will be interested to know whether transcendentalism can ever again become pronouncedly efficient, waking from the condition of diffusive or merely leavening action in the world of thought and belief which President Eliot and Dr. Holmes in their addresses of last Anniversary Week mentioned as the greater though less evident contribution of Unitarianism to progress. There is nothing at present in Concord to warrant a consistent hope in this direction. Quite on the other hand, the resistant conditions which gave the movement of forty years ago an animating, and by contrast illustrative, opposition have evidently vanished. New England no longer is so audibly Puritanical as to oppress the sensitive ear; there only lingers an undertone, somewhat stern and grand, which we may hope will endure; nor is the intellectual situation as naïve as when, so one may imagine, volumes of Fichte and Schelling passed with a look from hand to hand. The present trouble of the nation and the individual is less an unrealized capital than the difficulty of wisely directing what is already in possession. The time of revelling in the general situation is passed, and though "every soul" continues to have "an open sea-front," there presses for attention under the acute activities of these days the large inland territory, fertile to effort and surely degenerative under neglect.

In the matter of transcendentalism, therefore, the interest of the School is, at most, local, biographical, and reminiscent; and this to the sympathetic mind, which on such ground can hardly fail any one, is sufficient. It makes memorable days to sit in an audience of which Emerson is one, to see and hear men who knew Thoreau and Hawthorne and John Brown and the young man Alcott in the days of the *Dial*, and to observe the generous faith still alive, in many cases happily ameliorated from the early exclusiveness that appropriated all lofty conviction and insight to its own belief. One hears Mr. Channing's words as the voice of available enthusiasm, in line with recent science and criticism, and reflects that if the world cannot immediately be purified, at least the password to the ideal is being kept for the future. So the revival of philosophy as a summer school in Concord is sober, earnest, and informed; standing fully apart from the two shallow sensationalisms at present the greatest misfortunes of national thought—I mean the raw atheistic movement of the Mississippi Valley, which is characterized by pride of destructiveness rather than the sober poise of enquiry; and further east, in the (it is said) most cultivated city of the country, the histrionic exhibition of dogmatic theology wedded to pseudo-science. It would be a mistake of generosity to find in the pleasant five weeks' school of Mr. Alcott and Mr. Harris any sufficient counteractive for these two sensationalisms, but the little audiences that disperse meditatively from the lecture-room door down the shady streets—the Concord streets are very considerate to the meditative mood—must feel that what is being done here is being done in the right direction.

ENGLISH JOURNALISM.—II.

THE TIMES.

LONDON, Thursday, July 16, 1880.

THE *Times*, if it is so disposed, will shortly be in a condition to celebrate its centenary. Its existence under the name which it now bears dates from the year 1788. But the name is not so old as the newspaper, which was started in 1785 under the cumbrous title of the *Daily Universal Register*, rather, as it would seem, as an experiment in what is called logographic printing than as a purely journalistic speculation. Logographic printing failed. It still has its devotees—unhappy men who pass through life burdened with the hope of success, which, like Shelley's passion, is too like despair for patience to smother. There are inventors and contrivers who still expect, after nearly a hundred years since the first attempt, to make something of it, and possibly they may do so, for the benefit of others. The logographic experiment of the first Mr. Walter failed, but the newspaper of which it was the vehicle became what all the world knows. It bore its title of the *Daily Universal Register* for three years only, and then the name was formally withdrawn in a prefatory address of a character illustrative of what was considered in those days to be humorous and polite writing. The first Mr. Walter, the aboriginal—for there have been three John Walters, as there have been three John Murrays, and, titularly, three Napoleons—complained that the *Daily Universal Register* was always getting mixed up with other publications. Coffee-house politicians asked for it by the last word of its complex title, and they found that all sorts of other *Registers* were put into

their hands—the *Court and City Register*, the old *Annual Register*, the *New Annual Register*, and even Harris's *Register of Ladies*. To remedy this confusion the name was changed, and the *Daily Universal Register* became the *Times*. Mr. Walter plumed himself on having found a monosyllabic title, much as the late Mr. T. W. Robertson delighted in doing in the case of his plays. The considerations by which the name is justified seem almost prophetic. "The *Times*," Mr. Walter writes, "what a monstrous name! Granted, for *Times* is a many-headed monster that speaks with a hundred tongues and displays a thousand characteristics, and, in the course of its transitions in life, assumes innumerable shapes and humors." "The *Times*," he goes on to say, "being formed of and possessing qualities of opposite and heterogeneous natures, cannot be classed either with the animal or vegetable genus, but, like the Polypus, is doubtful, and"—the transition from metaphor to fact is rather abrupt—"in the discussion, description, and illustration will employ the pens of the most celebrated among literati." The following also might seem to be prophetic: "The political head of the *Times*, like that of Janus, the Roman deity, is double-faced." The explanation, however, shows that the duplicity avowed was not of the character which is sometimes thought to be illustrated in its subsequent career. "With one countenance," we are told, "it will smile continually on the friends of England, and with the other will frown incessantly on her enemies."

There have been, as we have said, three Walters who have presided over the destinies of the *Times*, and the number of the editors has not been much more considerable. The first of them was Dr. (afterwards Sir) John Stoddart, who will be best remembered as the Dr. Slop of Moore's satiric verses, although he had his own claims to literary distinction as the brother-in-law of Hazlitt. His fierce anti-Bonapartism brought his connection with the *Times* to a close, and he made an attempt, which had a certain literary but not the requisite commercial success, to establish a rival to the journal which he quitted, under the designation of the *New Times*. His successor was Thomas Barnes, the friend at Christ's Hospital of Charles Lamb, and a man celebrated for his scholarship and his tact, and for a certain bitterness of expression which did injustice to his really fine qualities of mind and character. He was described as "the best good man with the worst-natured tongue." It was under him that the *Times* achieved the position which it has since maintained, notwithstanding some mishaps and threatenings of decline, among the newspapers of the world. Barnes is said to have possessed in an unusual degree the art of imposing a certain aspect of unity and consistency on the deliberate self-contradiction and apostasies of the journal which he conducted. On his death the editorial chair fell to Captain Edward Sterling, the father of John Sterling, whose life Carlyle has written, and in commemorating the son has contributed also to draw aside the veil which hid the mysterious personality of the "Thunderer" of those days. Carlyle's portraiture of Sterling the elder is a description, as he himself proclaims, of the *Times*. "There is not," he writes, "a faculty of improvising equal to his in all my circle. Sterling rushes out into London society, rolls about all day, copiously talking modish nonsense or sense, and listening to the like, with a multifarious miscellany of men, comes home at night, redacts it into a *Times*' leader, and is found to have hit the essential purport of the world's immeasurable babblement that day. This was what the multifarious Babel sound did mean to say in clear words—this more nearly than anything else."

To Sterling succeeded Mr. Delane, who, within the memory of living men, was always considered to be the *Times* itself. His method was also Sterling's method—of mixing in society, gathering up the prevailing sentiment, and giving it articulate expression and coherence. It is a tribute to Mr. Delane's sagacity and skill as an editor that the decline of the *Times*, perhaps only a temporary decline, dated from his break-down in physical and mental health. In his best days he had the art of selecting the best writers for journalistic purposes, and finding them their proper materials and putting them to their proper work. He did not himself hold the pen, but he guided the hands which held it. The question whether the editor of a great newspaper should himself write is perhaps incapable of any single and simple answer. It is not possible to say distinctly and positively either "yes" or "no." Much, of course, depends upon the man and upon the circumstances. The editor who does not write is not very likely to be as exactly informed on questions of current politics as one who does. The inducement or the necessity to acquire a precise knowledge of economical or political arguments, of legal and diplomatic niceties, of geographical and historical details, does not press on him if he holds himself entirely exempt from the necessity of writing. He will pick up his opinions from the views prevalent in the society in which he moves, and leave it to his contributors to find arguments and knowledge in support of them. In Mr. Delane's case this want of general, and still more of special, knowledge, often led him into serious blunders. In many cases it is necessary yourself to know in order to be able to pick out the man who knows, and Mr. Delane's ignorance occasionally put him at the mercy of the ignorance of others. Many notable blunders were committed during his editorship of the *Times*. Perhaps the most celebrated of them was the publication of a leading article commemorating the supposed fact that Prussia had joined the Zollverein. An article announcing that Massachusetts had joined the American Union, or that England had been annexed to the United Kingdom, would scarcely have confounded in a more ludicrous manner the notorious facts of history. Prussia, as everybody but Mr. Delane and his contributor knew, had really formed the Zollverein or German Customs-Union, and the other states which entered in simply joined themselves to her. On the other hand, the editor who does not write is more likely to avoid being drawn into extreme partisanship than one who does. A man is sometimes a slave to his own knowledge, and he is never so obstinately convinced as when he is a convert to his own arguments. He is like a general who himself would engage in the heat and fury of personal conflict, instead of standing aloof and coolly directing the operations of the army which he commands. He is likely to be carried away by a false sense of consistency. He may object to unsaying on Tuesday what he has said on Monday, but he has not so strong an objection to letting B. contradict on Tuesday what A. has said on Monday. He is not likely to keep so vigilant an eye over his own indiscretions as over those of a contributor. He is reluctant to sacrifice what may be an imprudent cleverness or a poignant criticism of his own, whereas he would have no scruple at striking out the dangerous brilliancies of another's pen. If he himself writes he is apt to lose his sense of the relative proportion of topics, and to fancy that the public is interested to the same extent as himself in subjects in which he has succeeded in strongly interesting himself. In a word, he does not sit loose enough to the topics of the day to be able to look at them with that eye of the general reader which ought to be a species of second-sight in an editor. Mr. Delane had this gift during all except the closing years of his career in an eminent degree, and it more than compensated for the mistakes, which furnished nine hours' talk, into which his insufficient knowledge occasionally betrayed him. It was said of the *Times* that it had 365 opinions in the year on every subject; but the opinion of each day reflected the prevalent popular impression of that day, and was forgotten when the impression changed, to be as faithfully reflected by the opinion which followed it.

On Mr. Delane's death he was succeeded in the editorship of the *Times* by a very accomplished scholar and able journalist, Mr. Chenery, who resigned the professorship of Arabic at Oxford to take the chair, not less important though of a very different kind, in Printing-House Square. Mr. Chenery's editorship of the *Times* has been a good deal, and somewhat unjustly, sneered at, but the difficulties with which he has had to contend ought to be remembered. The illness which Mr. Delane did not recognize as incapacitating until long after it had incapacitated him for the work which he went on discharging, brought the *Times* office into a state of disorganization and disorder which was reflected every morning on the face of the newspaper itself. When Mr. Chenery succeeded to his post very large changes were made in the working staff of the paper, and the old disorder was perhaps inevitably succeeded by a new one. In the mechanism of a great journal it takes a long time to bring men into discipline and under drill. New machinery has a tendency to get out of gear. The mistakes and omissions and oversights which have been apparent in the conduct of the *Times* are, no doubt, largely attributable to this cause, and will disappear as things fall into smoother working order. The principle which has always characterized the *Times*, of making it reflect the opinion of the day, has been followed, after a brief period during which another course was attempted, by Mr. Chenery. In the beginning of his editorship he set himself to oppose both the policy of Lord Beaconsfield's Government, which was then in the full tide of its popularity, and the general sense of the country on the Eastern question. But this line was not long persevered in. The *Times* suddenly turned round and became the organ of the Ministry and of the prevalent sentiment of the day. With the general election and the return of Mr. Gladstone to power and of the Liberal majority to the House of Commons, it has made another revolution. Within certain limits, which in this case appear to have been exceeded, the rule of giving support to the Government of the day and of echoing the national opinion admits of a certain justification. The lines dividing parties and principles are not very sharply drawn in England. The question between Liberals and Conservatives here is not, as that between Republicans and Monarchists in France, one of absolutely divergent principles, but only of more or less in the matter of reform, of faster and slower in the rate of progress. It is quite possible that a newspaper, without deserting any really fundamental principle, might so support a Conservative administration as to urge it to greater speed than it is naturally willing to adopt, while supporting a Liberal administration by endeavoring to impose upon it checks and restraints in the way of a too rapid advance. This is the theory upon which the *Times* has been conducted. It is a theory which is defensible, and one to which in the main it has been true in practice, although every now and then its revolutions of opinion have been pushed to the extreme of self-contradiction, and even of an apostasy which has shocked the national conscience. The inconsistencies of the *Times* have, however, always been perfectly compatible with the personal honor and consistency of

its writers. When the line of policy adopted upon a particular subject is changed, the subject is committed to a writer who approves of the change.

One of the most remarkable features in the *Times* is a certain literary monotony, which is in singular contrast with the diversity and fluctuation of opinion which have been spoken of. There is scarcely any flavor of individuality about it. Any one contributor might seem to have written any one of the articles. The different writers might apparently change minds without any difference being discovered; or, rather, it sometimes seems as if they had all one mind in common which they *lent* about to each other, as the Graiæ lent their one eye and their one tooth. It seems, too, sometimes as if a roller had been passed over the face of the journal, smoothing everything down to one uniform level. The fact is the more remarkable because the individual ability of the writers thus reduced to one common expression is conspicuous enough when they appear on other intellectual fields than those of the newspaper itself. There is still a certain affectation of mystery observed as to the contributors to the *Times*, and it might not be proper to attempt in minute detail to disclose them. It is notorious, however, that among the writers of leading articles for the paper Mr. Leonard Courtney, the member for Liskeard; Mr. E. D. J. Wilson, whose contributions to magazine literature are well known; and Mr. Thursfield, who has rather an university than a political reputation, are included. The death of Mr. James Macdonell, whose fragmentary work on contemporary French politics revealed a fine mind and character, withdrew from the *Times* newspaper one of its most graceful and well-informed contributors. In Mr. Tom Taylor the *Times* has lost its critic on fine arts. Its dramatic critic is Mr. Morris, the son of the former manager of the paper. Its musical critic is Mr. Francis Hueffer, a German whose English is better than that of many English writers, a disciple of Schopenhauer in philosophy and of Wagner in music. Mr. Abraham Hayward, whose writings on questions of society and of literary gossip are well known, discharges, in conjunction with Mr. Chenery, a large part of that work of social intercourse and of mediation between statesmen and the public which was performed with so much efficiency by Mr. Delane, and before his time, as the extract we have quoted from Carlyle bears witness, by Captain Sterling. In Paris the same task is discharged with discretion and assurance by M. Blowitz, the friend and confidant, or the confidant without being the friend, of politicians of all classes, and of successive governments from that of the Duc de Broglie to M. de Freycinet's.

This habit of social intercourse as the instrument of journalism was once bitterly denounced by Mr. Bright, who chose with his usual frank rudeness to connect the policy of the *Times* with the presence of Mr. Delane at Lord Palmerston's dinner-parties and at Lady Palmerston's receptions. Mr. Bright's imputations receive a certain confirmation from a passage in one of the volumes of Sir Theodore Martin's 'Life of the Prince Consort.' The strictures of the *Times* upon the German leanings which twenty years ago it attributed to the Queen and to her husband, and upon the conduct of the King of Prussia, created much soreness in the highest quarters. This irritation has been somewhat indiscreetly laid bare in the work in question, considering that it is published with the avowed sanction and under the revision, notorious though not openly acknowledged, of the Queen herself. It appears that in 1861 Lord Clarendon was allowed to suggest to Lord Palmerston that he should use his personal intimacy with the conductors of the *Times* to induce them to alter their tone on these subjects in a sense agreeable to the Court. Sir Theodore Martin adds: "Whether Lord Palmerston on being informed of what Lord Clarendon had written used what influence he was supposed to have with the directors of the leading journal to bring about a more temperate expression of their views, or whether their writers were moved by their own discretion, is a matter of little moment; but from this time an improved tone was perceptible in what they said of the German people and of their sovereigns." The alternative thrown out by Sir Theodore Martin is perhaps of more moment than he supposes, both as regards the character of the press and the prudence of any courtly tampering with it. Beneath the assumed doubt the clear certainty is implied as to the operations put into play by Lord Palmerston, and their result. It does not show an improvement in the morality of journalism in general, and of the *Times* in particular, to contrast Lord Palmerston's relations with it with those which existed at an earlier date between it and Sir Robert Peel. Mr. Carlyle publishes in his 'Life of Sterling' a letter from Peel to Captain Edward Sterling, then the editor of the *Times*, thanking him for the disinterested support which he had given to the administration of that day, but thanking him as "one whose person even is unknown to me, and who during my tenure of power studiously avoided every species of intercourse which could throw suspicion upon the motives by which he was actuated."

B.

THE HISTORIANS OF THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

PARIS, July 9, 1880.

THE revival of the Eastern Question has given a new interest to that part of history which relates to Constantinople. When the Russian armies were encamped at San Stefano it seemed that the time had come when the cross would replace the crescent in the famous city which lies on the Bosphorus. The taking of Constantinople in 1453 was one of those momentous events which mark an era in the history of mankind. For more than four hundred years the Turks have encamped in Europe as conquerors; they have many times threatened the Christian populations of the Austrian Empire and of Poland. To fight the Turks was at one time considered the proper business of a Christian soldier. Time has thrown a thick veil over the many battles which were fought between the invaders and the Christians, and the very fall of Byzantium is wrapped in a sort of dreadful mystery, like the fall of Ilium. In the Russian villages there is a legend, which tradition transmits from age to age, that the white Czar will some day enter Saint Sophia (now turned into a mosque) on horseback, and that the whitewash which covers the mosaics representing the scenes of the Old and the New Testaments will be washed away. Such a vision probably consoled many obscure heroes who died in the trenches of Plevna.

Gibbon and Von Hammer have given us the history of the first siege of Constantinople in 1453, and historians have generally adopted their account. M. Henri Vast has just written for the *Revue Historique* a critical analysis of the documents consulted by Gibbon and by Von Hammer. The English historian had chiefly read three Greek writers—Phranzes, Ducas, and Laonicos Chalcocondylos. The first was a witness of the events, and was allied to the family of the Paleologi, but his hatred of the Turks was intense, and he wrote his chronicle with the pusillanimity of an old man. The second chronicler was also an eye-witness of the events; he was a Greek of the islands and a partisan of the union with the Latins. The third was an Athenian, who wrote from documents with calmness and impartiality. A nobleman of Venice, Nicolò Barbaro, wrote a journal of the siege, day by day, and this valuable document is now preserved in manuscript in the Imperial Library at Vienna. It has only been published lately. Its exact title is as follows: "Giornale dell' assedio di Costantinopoli (1453) di Nicolò Barbaro." Barbaro calls himself the doctor of the galleys of Venice, and gives many valuable details on the part taken by the Venetians in the defence. On the Turkish side there is no document; the conquerors were satisfied with their victory and gave it at once a legendary character. But among the Greeks who remained in Constantinople and rallied to the new rule there were a few who wrote accounts of the siege. The chronicle of Critobules is one of these documents; it has been recently discovered, and is of great importance. We must mention also the reports which were sent to the Pope by Cardinal Isidore of Kiev, by Bessarion, by Leonard of Chios (Archbishop of Mytilene), and a few others. With the help of these documents it has become easier to reconstitute the history of the fall of Constantinople—of a city which held among the Christians of the East the place which Rome still holds with the Christians of the West.

The event seemed all the more terrible in that it was unforeseen. The Greek Empire seemed still able to resist the efforts of the Turks. Nevertheless, the conquests of the Turks were alarming, and the Emperor felt inclined to strengthen himself by an alliance with the Latins. Constantinople, in the words of the poet, "this old woman, appeared like a girl adorned with gold and precious stones"; it was the school of rhetoric, of letters, of philosophy, of theology. The Pope would not hear of union with Constantinople if his doctrinal supremacy was not recognized. There was not much difference in dogma between the Latins and the Greeks, but this question of the Papal supremacy and deep-seated popular instincts rendered reconciliation impossible. The Christian world was severed in twain. When the last emperor, Constantine XIII., ascended the throne he found the Turks already established in Thrace, in a part of Thessaly, in Bulgaria, and on the western side of the Bosphorus; Adrianople was their capital. Twice had Amurath II. besieged Constantinople, but without success and without energy. Mahomet II. was not like his feeble father. He ascended the throne at the age of twenty-one. He was ardent, ambitious, violent; he was not quite a barbarian, since he admired the pictures of Bellini and was fond of chivalric poetry, but he murdered all his brothers on the day of his accession to power. He hated the Christians with all the ardor of Islam; he prepared himself at once for war. When he heard of the death of his father he mounted a horse at Magnesia and rode in two days to Constantinople. He promised the Janissaries conquests and plunder, and he kept his word with them, taking scores of cities by storm and conquering kingdom after kingdom. He first constructed near Galata a fortress, which is still called by the name of Rumeli-Hissar, and which is thus described by Théophile Gautier in his book on Constantinople: "This castle of Europe, Rumeli-Hissar—also called Boghaz Kecen (cut-throat)—has a good appearance on the side of the hill, with white towers of unequal height and its crenellated walls. The three big towers and the little tower near the sea make four letters, M H M D, which form the name of Mahmud II."

Constantine asked help from the Venetians, but they were determined to do nothing for him. The deliberations of the Senate on the subject are preserved in the archives of Venice and show that in 1452 the Emperor Constantine had no doubt that the Turks would soon besiege

him. We learn also that the Hungarians were ready to form an alliance with the Italians against the Turks. Gibbon was mistaken on this point: he says that the ambassador of John Hunyady resided with the Turks and directed the operations of the siege, as there was an old superstition in Hungary which marked the conquest of Constantinople as the end of the progress of the Turks. Unfortunately the Christians of the West did not form any effective alliance. Constantine finally applied to the Pope, and went so far as to offer to proclaim solemnly the union of the two churches in the basilica of Saint Sophia. Pope Nicholas V. sent a legate to Constantinople—Isidore of Kiev; the reconciliation with the Holy See of Rome was solemnly declared and solemnized in Saint Sophia on the 15th of December, 1452. But the people of Constantinople had not the same spirit of tolerance as the Emperor. There was an open revolt. The populace rushed to the convent where Gennadius lived, and asked his opinion; he gave it in writing. In the ceremony at Saint Sophia some of the forms of the Church of Rome had been observed; Gennadius wrote: "Miserable Romans! stop, reflect, and repent; at the very moment when you renounce the religion of your fathers and league yourselves with impiety you will be subjected to the foreign yoke." The Greeks rushed to the Imperial palace: "No, we will not be Latins, we will have no Latin help; down with the abominable Azymites!" (In the church of Saint Sophia during the holy service the host used was of unleavened [*azyme*] bread.) Mahomet must have looked with contempt on these follies; he saw the Christian world divided, and seized his opportunity. The siege of Constantinople began.

The city was more than eleven miles in circumference. On the side of the sea it was defended by a simple wall; the other sides were covered by regular fortifications, towers, and bastions. The Turkish army was immense, numbering probably 200,000 or 250,000 men; the imagination of the Greek historians extended this number to 300,000 and even 400,000. The regular army was probably under 200,000. The Greeks had lost entirely the use of arms and depended upon their mercenaries. The Emperor would not arm more than 15,000 men; his chief lieutenant was an Italian, Giustiniani, who had with him many Venetians and Genoese. The legate Isidore did his duty bravely as a soldier. The city had one hundred guns, and among the number was one gigantic for the time, which could only fire six or seven times a day and had to be cooled each time after it had been fired. The art of siege was still in its infancy. Mahomet used all the old machines which were made for approaches and assaults. He had guns also. Arrows, molten lead, boiling oil were used against the assailants, as well as the famous Greek fire, the secret of which was still preserved in the Greek Empire. The investment of Constantinople began on the 5th of April, 1453. The siege went on methodically, and various assaults were repulsed by the Greeks. Mahomet was surprised to find so much resistance. The Turkish ships succeeded in forcing the entrance of the Golden Horn, and the city from that moment began to show all the terrible symptoms of discontent and of discord which are noticed in all sieges of populous capitals. While the soldiers were on the ramparts the city was convulsed with theological discussions. Even on the eve of the ruin of their cause the fanatical Greeks showed more abhorrence for the dogmas and rites of the Latin Church than for the enemies who were before the gates. Constantinople was like Jerusalem when it was besieged by the Romans. The monks inflamed the multitude, but did not turn their wrath against the real enemy. "I would prefer a hundred times," said one, "to see in Constantinople the turban of the Turks rather than the tiara of the Pope." The crowd rushed to the shrines where miracle-working virgins were kept, but did not rush to the ramparts. All sorts of prophecies were made; the Greeks became the pitiable victims of what was called during the last siege of Paris "obsidional" madness.

Constantinople did not surrender because it was starved; it was regularly taken by storm. While the mob accused the Emperor of treason Mahomet kept firing his 130 guns against the walls and making a breach. He promised his followers the plunder of a city which was then, after Rome, the richest in the world. The last attack was preceded by a solemn fasting and by prayers. It began on the 28th of May, in the middle of the day, to the sound of "*La ilah illah Allah.*" The resistance of the Greeks and Italians, who were fighting one against twenty, was truly heroic. Constantine was among his troops and showed the greatest bravery. Giustiniani was mortally wounded. In the evening the Italians, having lost their chief, took to their ships and abandoned the unfortunate Emperor. The battle began again the next day; the Emperor fought like a common soldier, "like a new Samson." The fight was hand-to-hand. Constantine fell in the carnage, and the confusion was such that his loss was not noticed at first. His body was found afterwards in a mass of corpses. The Turks were at last within the city. They had been promised three days of plunder; they sacked the magnificent capital unmercifully. The pen of a Victor Hugo could hardly describe the scenes of horror of which Byzantium became the theatre. Blood ran in torrents in the streets. An Italian witness says that "corpses were floating on the Dardanelles like spoiled melons on the canals of Venice." Some historians speak of 40,000, some of 60,000 victims. The most noble ladies were given up to a barbarous soldiery; 50,000 prisoners were made, only of the richest class, in the hope of ransom. Gold, silver, bronze, precious stones, ornaments were seized everywhere. What could not be taken was destroyed. The convents and churches were especially marked for plunder. Saint Sophia became the scene of a horrible orgy. Mahomet made his entry among the corpses, and went on horseback to Saint Sophia. This church from that moment became a mosque, and the crescent took the place of the cross. It is better to throw a veil over the excesses of Mahomet and of his lieutenants. The Turks showed no mercy, no generosity; they trampled upon their unhappy victims like so many wild beasts.

Europe learned with horror the details of the fall of Constantinople. There was a call from many sides for a new crusade. In the year 1880 the crusade has not yet begun; and when lately the Russians, encamped before Constantinople, saw in the distance the dome of Saint Sophia, they had the singular courage to remain within their lines, and recrossed the Danube without having avenged the Emperor Constantine.

Correspondence.

A SUGGESTION FOR THE HARVARD-YALE RACE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It may not be too late to offer a suggestion in response to a very pertinent criticism lately made by you on the University boat-race at New London.

You justly say that the "event" is too brief to reward adequately general interest for the twenty-four hours that must be spent by a Bostonian or New-Yorker to witness it. Strengthening this is the other fact that the latter portion of the brief "event" has generally (I believe uniformly) been entirely without interest. During its first mile the last race was quite exciting; for the other three miles it was simply a tame question of how much the difference should be, and on which side it would lie. Roughly speaking, the same, I believe, has been true of all the eight-oar races between Harvard and Yale. Four miles seem to settle nothing of consequence which is not settled in one mile.

Why, then, should not the race be restricted to one mile? This would leave out its uninteresting part. Why, too, should there not be four races of one mile each? In other words, why should not the four-mile race be rowed in "heats," as horse-races are run? This would lengthen out the event, so as to make it better worth going to. It would distribute the chances so as to make them much more interesting; and it would put the whole course in view from single points, and so abolish the inconveniences and dangers of the observation-train.

This latter consideration alone may be one on which the future of racing at New London depends. H.

New York, July 22, 1880.

THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the name of the fairness and candor by which the *Nation* is characterized, you will doubtless be willing to admit to your paper a correction of several important errors of fact contained in a letter published by you May 13, on the Boston Monday Lectureship.

1. A pamphlet by the medical candidate Leeser is ridiculed by your correspondent as having been read to a small company of students in a beer-house; but it is gravely noticed and commended in Ulrici's *Zeitschrift für Philosophie* for 1880 (vol. i. p. 122). The Monday Lectureship referred to it only as a hint of the effort made by the younger school of materialists to explain certain psychical phenomena, and gave to it barely three lines where the foremost philosophical magazine in the world gives a page.

2. The Monday Lectureship has not defended Zöllner, but has cited his testimony only so far as it is confirmed by the published authority of his associates. It is atrocious to suggest that a professor whom the University of Leipzig keeps in his chair as an accredited instructor in exact science is insane. In this style of attack on a man whose published works are discussed at great length in the best philosophical magazine of Germany, and whose position in Leipzig society needs no defence, there is a certain meanness and infernality not to be lightly excused. Nevertheless, this is the style of attack employed by your correspondent.

3. This critic blames the Monday Lectureship for not having done the work of a pulpit, in attempts to edify, console, and encourage men, and to teach peacefulness, humility, and self-sacrifice. Mr. Cook is an occupant of the platform and not of a pulpit. He is a lecturer, and not a pastor or preacher, so that this criticism is wholly inapposite. Besides, the field which the Lectureship has selected for itself has not yet been occupied to the full; and many of the topics of comparative theology and of church reform have been reserved for discussion in addresses already in course of preparation.

4. Your correspondent's opening sentence contains a number of important errors as to matters of fact. He says: "Twenty lectures per year for five years reprinted in fifteen newspapers and filling eight books, one of which has reached a sixteenth edition, is the record upon which Mr. Cook retires as the oracle of Protestantism in New England." Mr. Cook has given 150 lectures in five years—that is, thirty a year as an average. The lectures of the last four years make ten volumes, one of which is in its sixteenth, and another in its thirteenth, and another in its eleventh edition. But it would pain Mr. Cook exceedingly to be seriously regarded by any friend of his as an "oracle of Protestantism" in New England, while the coarse phrase of "boss" which your correspondent applies to him is of all words the most misleading and undeserved epithet which could be employed in the case.

5. President McCosh says that Mr. Cook's critics have been unable to detect him in a misstatement of fact. The *Bibliotheca Sacra*, in reviewing the Boston Monday Lectures on Biology, says they do not contain a single important error. That Mr. Cook has not noticed many of the demands made upon him for correction of statements of facts is explicable by the circumstance that such demands have themselves often been palpable blunders caused by a use of unauthorized reports of the Monday Lectures. Your correspondent's citation of Mr. Cook's language is from an unauthorized and mischievously inaccurate newspaper report.

6. It is idle for opponents of the religious and philosophical tenets defended by the Monday Lectureship to pretend that Mr. Cook has "lost whatever hold he had upon the most thoughtful and cultivated part of the community." The *symposia* at Mr. Cook's rooms the last season in Boston were led by some of the most brilliant people of that city. It might be said of them that they were the one place where the pulse of advanced thought as to the reforms of the day might be felt, and ministers attended them to ascertain the true currents of cultured opinion. Much the same might be said of the Monday lectures, which were never attended by so large a proportion of ministers as in the courses delivered in the historic Old South after the burning of Tremont Temple. It is wholly inaccurate for your correspondent to say that a careful exhibition has been made of every visitor of distinction on Mr. Cook's platform, for exactly the contrary is the truth.

7. The writer of this communication is a total disbeliever in the positions of Zöllner, Crookes, Wallace, Scheibner, Weber, Ludwig, Fichte, and Ulrici as to spiritualism. He does not grant even the little that Ulrici claims, that spiritualism is or can become a scientific question and deserves investigation; but the writer, having read the authorized reports of Mr. Cook's lectures on spiritualism, finds your correspondent atrociously inaccurate when he represents Mr. Cook as standing in the edge of the shadow of spiritualism. Mr. Cook really grants less on this subject than does Ulrici. He everywhere describes the alleged spiritualistic facts with an *if*. Even the testimony as to the famous Leipzig experiments he does not credit as it stands, and insists that only repeated experiment can determine whether there is or is not a new force to be discovered in the realm of psychical phenomena. Mr. Cook is a vehement anti-spiritualist. Your correspondent's most mischievous error is in hinting that the opposite is the truth.—The writer, having been for five years one of the committee in charge of the Boston Monday Lectureship, and having heard at least one hundred of Mr. Cook's lectures, has a personal knowledge of the above facts, except the few German details, which are authenticated by the reference given to the *Zeitschrift für Philosophie*.

VERITAS.

BOSTON, June 27, 1880.

MR. GARFIELD'S DEFENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read carefully your articles in defence of Garfield, and must say that they have, to my mind, more than one very weak point.

You slip lightly over the ugly fact of the memorandum said to be in Garfield's handwriting. Was the authenticity of this memorandum disputed? If not, why not? The true time to question it would have been by cross-examination of Ames when before the Committee. I have seen a statement, purporting to have been made at the time by the Cincinnati *Commercial*, to the effect that an appointment was made for Garfield to be before the Committee simultaneously with Ames, but that he failed to appear.

Then you say that "the smallness of the amount at Ames's disposal shows that the object was rather to *associate influential names with the enterprise, in order to give it respectability*, than to secure any favorable legislation." Now, it seems to me that the words underscored attribute to Ames an object which he obviously never entertained, because he *did not* associate these names with the enterprise, but, on the contrary, he studiously kept them concealed. Doubtless he knew well enough that the association of these "influential names" would not "give respectability" to his enterprise, but would be taken by a sceptical public as implying a suspicious alliance between the "influential names" in Congress and a financial company the "queerness" of which was recognized from the start, and the chief peril of which was known to be the risk that Congress would interfere with its doings. As for "the smallness of the amount at Ames's disposal," it is true that there was but a small number of shares; but how much was each share worth in the market?

The usual plan of interesting legislators in a railway is to give them what is known as "a call" on the stock at a low price. The holder of the "call" has a *right to take* the stock, and is entitled to the dividends accruing while he holds the call, but he need never take up the stock or the dividends, and can either abandon the bargain or resell his right. He is, therefore, in position to say that he "never held a share." This is now the usual plan, and seems to have been in substance, though not in name, the plan which Ames tried with the Congressmen.

According to you, the finding of facts by the Committee "has no such judicial authority" as to do more than to make it uncomfortable for Garfield's friends and useful to his enemies; and you add that "the evidence is before the world," implying that the world can form now as good an opinion as the Committee could at the time. To this it seems obvious to answer that, whatever be the lack of judicial authority, it can hardly be set up on Garfield's behalf, because, to whatever extent the Committee were not judges, they were his associates, friends, or partisans, and hence an adverse verdict carries *more* weight against him than an adverse decision from an impartial judicial tribunal would have possessed. Further, the committee had to some extent the character of a "jury of the vicinage"; they knew the people and were familiar with various collateral matters that influenced their minds in judging the evidence, they heard the witnesses verbally and marked their manner in giving testimony. Hence it appears to be by no means true that the world has now as good means of forming an opinion as the Committee had at the time.

To my mind, there is no disputing the fact that the stock given by Ames to the Congressmen was intended as a bribe. Whether or not Garfield accepted the offer of the stock and drew a part of the profits, there is no question that he long held the offer under consideration and dallied with the proposition. The question is, Did he know or suspect that it was a bribe? The answer is that the stock was to be a *gift*—he was to *pay nothing for it*, it was to pay for itself out of the dividends; and again, the very nature of the enterprise was such that its interests antagonized the interests which the Government had in the cheap construction of the Union Pacific Railroad. To suppose that Garfield saw nothing "crooked" in the proposal to make him a present of an interest in an enterprise of such a character, is to suppose what is in the highest degree improbable; and, in fact, his own story is, that he hesitated long and finally rejected the offer, *after availing himself of a loan from the man who made the proposition*. The Committee find, however, as matter of fact, that he accepted the proposition, though he never fully carried it into execution. In fact, the whole transaction was (no doubt purposely) left in a vague and merely inchoate shape. But while the Committee thus found itself constrained to render a verdict adverse to their friend and associate on the question of fact, their strong personal bias in his favor is shown by their inconsequent acquitting him of any moral wrong, after his denial under oath of the facts which they found as proved in his case.

Upon all the evidence it is plain to me that if Garfield had been a man with a high sense of public duty, he would promptly have refused a *present* of *any* stock (for the pretence of letting the stock pay for itself from dividends could hardly have deceived a boy of fifteen), and would certainly have refused with indignation the present of a stock which in its very nature had interests adverse to those of the United States.

In the above I have not referred to the De Golyer transaction, though it seems to me much less defensible than this affair of the "Crédit Mobilier" stock. I shall recur to it in another letter if you will permit me.

CRITIC.

[We "slipped lightly" over the "memorandum" because we considered it a very light thing. Nothing has shaken our confidence in Mr. Ames's testimony so much as his production of this paper as serious evidence. To give it importance we have to believe that General Garfield walked down to Ames's room *while the investigation was pending*, and made not only a full confession of his connection with the Crédit Mobilier, but drew up a list of the securities held for him by Ames, and with so much nonchalance that he left the document lying on the table. We have to believe, too, that Ames, so far from being surprised, or pleased, or shocked by this confession of Garfield's and this confirmation of his own testimony (the memorandum, he said, was made "after the investigation had commenced"), did not even pick up the memorandum, or apparently pay any attention to it. He said, "he did not pay attention to it at the time"; that "he found it on his table two or three days afterwards." General Garfield's account of the memorandum—that in talking with Ames he took up a piece of paper and jotted down on it the amounts Ames said he held for him, viz.:

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1,000
1,400
2,400

we consider probable. Such a scrap of paper he would naturally leave lying on the table, and such a scrap Ames would naturally not notice at the time.

As to the condition of Ames's mind, or, in other words, his object in distributing Crédit-Mobilier stock, it is and must for ever remain mere matter of speculation, and it is therefore hardly worth discussing now.

We are compelled to weigh the "judicial authority" of the Committee by means of their report. In finding that General Garfield did take and hold Crédit-Mobilier stock, and receive dividends thereon, they found that his evidence was untrue. Now, if they believed it was made untrue by deliberate lying, their conclusion, that they "found nothing in his conduct or motives in taking the stock to call for any recommendation" by them, would show that their standard of morality was entirely different from both "Critic's" and ours. They ought in such case to have recommended his expulsion along with Brooks and Ames. If, on the other hand, as two of them—Messrs. McCrary and Poland—have since explained, they thought the contradictions in the testimony were due to the imperfection of the witnesses' memory about a distant and ill-defined transaction, they acquit General Garfield of the only serious charge arising out of the Crédit-Mobilier affair; for his offence, if any, lay not in his taking the stock, but in denying that he took it. We are driven to the conclusion, therefore, either that the Committee thought his denial honest or did not think the worse of him for a dishonest denial. In fact, the Committee do not seem to have reached any definite conclusion whatever on the point in which the public is now most interested, and any one who wishes to make up his mind about it has to read and weigh the evidence. Garfield did not deny that he held the offer of stock "under consideration and dallied with the proposition"; so this is not in issue. The question and the only one is, Was his conduct during the period after his last communication with Ames, in 1868 or 1869, that of a man who had finally rejected the offer, or that of a man who had accepted it or had it still under advisement? What was passing in Ames's mind during this period is of no sort of consequence. Even if it could be ascertained it would throw no light on the question of Garfield's truthfulness. It is the latter's acts and words, and not Ames's intentions or ideas, which fix the extent of his moral responsibility. We may add that we think we have discussed this matter sufficiently.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

MACMILLAN & CO., New York, will issue next month a new catalogue embracing their own educational publications and those of the Oxford (Clarendon) and Cambridge University Presses. It will merit the attention of teachers and students everywhere.——The Boston *Evening Transcript* of last Saturday commemorated its semi-centennial or "golden anniversary" by a review of its varied history of half a century, and the account is republished in a tiny pamphlet which its readers will find contains the record in some degree of an eventful period as well as of what all its esteemed contemporaries will be glad to learn is a prosperous enterprise.——Charles Scribner's Sons have issued in pamphlet form Mr. R. H. Stoddard's article on Hawthorne contributed to the 'Encyclopædia Brittanica.'——G. P. Putnam's Sons announce for publication in the early fall a number of new books, among which we may mention a new translation of the Japanese story of 'The Loyal Ronins' (generally called 'The Forty Ronins' or 'The Loyal League'); a series of papers entitled 'Hints for Home Reading,' by Edward Everett Hale, H. W. Beecher, Frederic Beecher Perkins, Charles Dudley Warner, Joseph Cook, and others, edited by Lyman Abbott; and 'The Worst Boy in Town,' by John Habberton. The fifth and sixth volumes of the "New Plutarch," issued by the same firm, will be respectively Prof. E. H. Palmer's 'Haroun Alraschid and Civilization' and Edward Dicey's 'Victor Emmanuel and the Attainment of Italian Unity.'——We have received the first number of the Newport *Historical Magazine*, a new quarterly of whose plan we gave some account a few weeks ago. A short "Introductory" by the editor, Dr. Henry E. Turner, explains this in detail; Dr. H. G. Barrows, of Boston, contributes a few pages upon "The Importance of Historical Publications," noting a fact which should be remembered by persons in possession of records, however seemingly useless, that almost every town has an antiquary to whom they may prove of value; genealogies of the Redwood and Barker families are given; there is an ultra-Tory contemporary account from the journal of Mrs. Mary Gould Almy of the siege of Newport in 1778, which is the most generally interesting paper of the number; and a reprint of the town records and a department of notes and queries are begun.——The house of Ernest Leroux will undertake the publication of a 'Bibliothèque Slave,' consisting of translations of Slavic historical works, beginning with Pypin's 'History of Slavic Literatures,' and Jireczek's 'History of the Bulgarians.'——The second or German-French part of Sachs's great dictionary is now finished. The work is probably unsurpassed by any bilingual dictionary yet published in respect of compactness, completeness, convenient arrangement of material, and ingenious typographic devices.——The new English literary journal, *The Pen*, after seven issues as a weekly, is to appear hereafter as a monthly, with an increase in the number of pages devoted to literary matters.——M. Ernest Legouvé, whose 'Art de la Lecture' is in its twenty-sixth edition, has just published a forty-eight-page pamphlet on Malibran, apparently the first section of a future volume of 'Études et Souvenirs de Théâtre.' It is full of personal reminiscence and anecdote; an account of a musical duel between Thalberg and Malibran in the evening of the day of her marriage to De Beriot may be specially mentioned.——The 'Hand-book of the Dyce and Forster Collections in the South Kensington Museum' has steel portraits of both donors and biographical sketches of each, that of Dyce being by Forster and that of Forster by Professor Morley, his successor as the editor of the *Examiner*. There are also a view of Forster's library and reproductions of sketches by Maclise and Rowlandson, besides over two score fac-similes of autographs contained in one collection or the other. Among the Forster MSS. are nearly all of Dickens's, and also a letter of Bulwer's to Macready giving the first outline of "Richelieu." Among the unclassified objects in the Dyce collection is a plaster bust of Mrs. Siddons by herself.

—Frances Power Cobbe contributes to a recent number of the *Modern Review* (a new English quarterly of Unitarian principles, of which George H. Ellis, of Boston, is the American agent) a number of anecdotes about the late Mary Carpenter, all of which are interesting and some of which present a side of Miss Carpenter's character perhaps not generally appreciated. Miss Cobbe was not only associated with her in her philanthropic projects, but for a year resided under the same roof, and the affectionate tone of these recollections does not prevent them from disclosing the acuteness of observation on which they are founded. There was evidently a good deal of monotony about the life at Red Lodge, but it was thoroughly congenial to the mistress. Breakfast, after prayers, was over before daylight in winter, Miss Carpenter always remarking as she sat down "how cheerful" was the gas; the rest of the day was distinctly mapped out, little time being left for dinner and tea, and at nine or ten o'clock she was often so exhausted as to fall asleep "with the spoon half-way between her mouth and the cup of gruel which she ate for supper." She was "essentially a stoic," Miss Cobbe observes, but without any sympathy with "asceticism." To all the minor comforts of life she was simply indifferent. She once remarked gravely of some people at a country-house where she had been visiting that they "came down all dressed for dinner, and evidently thought the meal rather a pleasant part of the day." On another occasion, after Miss Cobbe's gout had wrung from her an appeal for a variation of the salt-beef diet, Miss Carpenter greeted her with a smile and "You see I have not forgotten your wish for a dish of vegetables!" pointing to "six little radishes." Seeing Miss Cobbe's dog lying on her back before the fire one day, she inspected it gravely and observed in a tone of solemn disapprobation, "Self-indulgent dog!" and once being rallied for *sybaritism*, on account of her use of "a small, square cushion as hard as a board," replied simply that since her illness she had "been obliged to have recourse to these indulgences." She had, nevertheless, an abundance of humor, as various instances which Miss Cobbe gives testify. But in the main she was too devoted to her work, too much "wrapt up" in it, to have anything else in mind. When she was in India the governor of a Residency remarked after her visit: "It is very astonishing; *I* listened to all Miss Carpenter had to tell me, but when I began to tell her what *I* knew of this country she dropped asleep." Equally indicative is her own remark—the last for which we have space—made in reply to Miss Cobbe's observation that Biblical criticism had made great strides of recent years: "Oh! but my father settled all that—he harmonized the Gospels!"

—A long and learned paper in the *American Catholic Quarterly* for July on "The Character of Sanctity in the Catholic Church" incidentally throws new light upon the great question of the comparative moral excellence of the English and French peoples—a moot point familiar to a certain order of private discussion, and not wholly unknown to rural lyceums. The writer's general thesis is that sanctity, together with unity, Catholicity, and apostolicity, is a characteristic peculiar to the true Church, and in the course of his demonstration he takes occasion to dispose of the "pure sophism" that

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"Protestant nations are invariably more virtuous than those that are Catholic," which "preposterous claim" he says Protestants are in the habit of making. He takes the two countries that are thus "generally contrasted," and boldly announces that "though no general conclusion can be deduced from one or two facts, we will not refuse to accept this unfair condition of the problem to be discussed." In the first place, people usually contrast England with a portion only of the French people, and that the "radically infidel and godless." This, he observes with a serenity that at once begets confidence, "does not touch the question." Take, instead, "those noble leaders of the Catholic party, as it is called," and it will be found that their virtues "far outshine those of British peers and politicians." There are, besides, many subtler points to be considered. "Protestant England has preserved many Catholic principles which give it a great moral superiority . . . over a considerable number of the French people." But though "Calvinism has not altogether pervaded the nation," the general run of the morality is nevertheless of a Pharisaical sort, "so that the appearance of a saint among them is totally unknown." "Can it be supposed without eliciting a smile," the writer maliciously continues, that an Archbishop of Canterbury would willingly die for his flock, as Mgr. Affre did in '48? The Ritualists, he thinks, are making some "vain efforts in the path of holiness," but they meet with general derision. "This is because Protestantism is naturally opposed to sanctity." Then compare the English and French rabble. The former are "given over, body and soul, to the cruel mercies of the poor-laws"; whereas in France, "as soon as it is heard that there is destitution anywhere, troops of Daughters of Charity, of Brethren of St. Vincent de Paul, of individual Christians, men and women, often of the highest rank, are always at hand." In short, "what they [the English] possess of virtue comes from their previous Catholicism; the many deficiencies of their moral code is the outcome of their Protestantism." The writer is the Rev. Aug. J. Thébaud, S.J., a frequent and, as we always find, entertaining contributor to the *Quarterly;* and the *Quarterly* is called by the *Tablet* "the leading Catholic magazine in the English language," which, so far as our knowledge extends, is not exaggeration.

—Sterne is likely to remain in the pillory where the lectures on the English Humorists, and particularly their addendum, that on "Charity and Humor," set him twenty years ago, and most of the warmest admirers of Uncle Toby will probably agree with Mr. Leslie Stephen when he says, in the twenty-second of his 'Hours in a Library,' contributed to the current *Cornhill*, "The judgment pronounced upon Sterne by Thackeray seems to me substantially unimpeachable." And though Mr. Stephen proceeds to discuss Sterne for over twenty pages, so far as we can see he is content, for the most part, with elaborating Thackeray's criticism, and seems to have been animated chiefly by a desire to free his mind—a desire in every way natural to a man who hates humbug and hypocrisy as cordially as Mr. Stephen. He does indeed lay less stress upon Sterne's hypocrisy than Thackeray, and more upon the immorality and grossness which Sterne shared with better men; and, on the other hand, though he admits Sterne's feelings were "genuine for the moment," he finds only a topsy-turvy fancifulness in Uncle Toby, says the famous sentiment about the wind and the shorn lamb is "surely on the extreme verge at which the pathetic melts into the ludicrous," finds the recording angel "a little suspicious," and nowhere displays anything like the heartiness of Thackeray's "A critic who refuses to see in this charming description [of the donkey in 'Tristram Shandy'] wit, humor, pathos, a kind nature speaking, and a real sentiment, must be hard indeed to move and to please." It is, however, for certain general remarks which the thought of Sterne suggests to Mr. Stephen that we are tempted to call attention to his essay, the more so because they illustrate what we were saying last week concerning his 'Pope.' These sentences might almost be called "Confessions," coming as they do from so strict a scientist:

"I, at any rate, love a book pretty much in proportion as it makes me love the author; . . . the ultimate source of pleasure is the personal affinity. . . . I may, by an intellectual effort, perceive the greatness of a writer whose character is essentially antagonistic to my own; but I cannot feel it as it must be felt for a genuine enjoyment. . . . You can hardly love the 'Tale of a Tub' or 'Gulliver' unless you have a sympathy with the genuine Swift which overpowers your occasional disgust at his misanthropy. . . . If we for a moment yield to the enchantment [Sterne's], we feel ashamed, at the next moment, of our weakness. . . . There is a good deal to be said for the thesis that all fiction is really a kind of lying, and that art in general is a luxurious indulgence, to which we have no right whilst crime and disease are rampant in the outer world."

—It is scarcely unfair to infer from this that what we mean when we speak of intellectual sympathy Mr. Stephen abjures almost in so many words. He does, to be sure, say that to "the general rule" laid down in the first four or five sentences "there is one marked exception in our literature"—Sterne, namely, whom no one "with the remotest taste for literary excellence" can fail to admire for his art; but to make this exception unique is almost the same thing as not to make it at all, and, to be frank, it does not seem to us that Mr. Stephen attempts much in the way of making even it appear a substantial exception. It seems, on the other hand, needless to point out that to perceive the greatness of a writer *without* intellectual effort; to find the ultimate source of pleasure *not* in the personal affinity with him, but in what he says; and if we yield to the enchantment of even "a drivelling quack"—as Thackeray called Sterne—*not* to be ashamed of it provided it is good magic, are elementary principles of literary criticism. They certainly are of literary criticism pursued as an art rather than as a means of freeing one's mind. And they are as applicable to "imaginative works" as to "those which one reads for the sake of the information or of the logical teaching," which Mr. Stephen, of course, excepts. For the thesis which has for a corollary that John Howard did more service to humanity than Michael Angelo there is nothing at all to be said, except that it is idle to discuss such propositions; and from the strictly utilitarian point of view, when Mr. Stephen disapproves of a man who "saves up his good feelings merely to use them as the raw material of poems," and so wastes "a force which ought to be applied to the improvement of the world," one is disposed to ask him, since he is speaking of sacred feelings particularly, if he thinks the force expended upon 'Lycidas,' for example, or 'In Memoriam' wasted? Insistence upon intellectual sympathy, moreover, as distinct from "personal affinity," is no disparagement to heartiness as a prime element of criticism. That is a mistake made so often, we suspect, because the critic conceives that he may fail in admiration of what is good and honest if his reprobation of their contraries be not cordial to the last degree; but an English critic surely may assume that to be understood, and there is always the risk of the appearance of Pharisaism. A heartiness careful to preserve the just relations of things is none the less cordial, in proof of which Thackeray on Sterne may be instanced again. The *Academy*, by the way, eulogizes Mr. Stephen's paper for its "masculine strength"; nothing, it seems to us, could be more felicitously exact.

—In view of the epidemic which recently prevailed at North Adams, Mass., and which is now generally ascribed to the presence of certain impurities in the common drinking-water, it would be well to consider, from a more strictly scientific point of view than has heretofore guided similar enquiries, the conditions under which the presence of organic matter may affect the pollution of water. The subject is receiving considerable attention at present in England, and it appears that some "startling" facts, unknown to the general public, and equally so to the London water board known as the Rivers Pollution Commission, to which, we believe, Dr. Frankland is acting chemist, were revealed by no less an authority than Prof. Huxley. This naturalist insists upon the insufficiency of the present method of water-analysis, which, while it may yield results entirely satisfactory from a purely chemical standpoint, affords no criteria, either absolute or approximate, as to the point in question. "Water," says Prof. Huxley, "may be as pure as can be as regards chemical analysis, and yet, as regards the human body, be as deadly as prussic acid; and, on the other hand, may be chemically gross and yet do no harm to any one." The force of this utterance will be readily appreciated when it is recollected that the noxious influences of organic matter are not so much dependent upon the quantity as upon the quality of this matter, to which chemical analysis affords us but little clue. It must also be borne in mind that dangerous organic matter is, in all probability, in most cases not directly poisonous as such, but indirectly as affording a pabulum for the favorable development of bacteria-like organisms, the agents so extensively engaged in effecting decomposition and producing putrefactive changes in the blood-system of the higher organisms. Prof. Huxley further states that he is aware that chemists may consider his a "terrible conclusion, but it is true, and if the public are guided by percentages alone they may often be led astray. The real value of a determination of the quantity of organic impurity in a water is that by it a very shrewd notion can be obtained as to what has had access to that water." An able critic in *Nature* (July 8), commenting on these remarks, states that it is to the biologist, and not to the chemist, that we must look for further elucidation of this important subject, and it is certainly a curious phase in scientific development to note under what new aspects some hitherto well-recognized lines of investigation must now be regarded.

—Some readers of the *Nation* will be glad to have their attention called to Prof. Knight's little study (though it was published some time ago, under the title 'The English Lake District as interpreted in the Poems of Wordsworth') of a striking aspect of Wordsworth's poetry—its accuracy in depicting the fields, hills, towns, streams, cottages among which it arose. The Lake District, though much travelled and inhabited since Wordsworth left it, has still on the whole been treated with respect. The men who gave it fame, remote, unpopular, and austere, were not such as to have their footsteps much troubled by the wanton tourist. Perhaps the impressive scenery may have been in some degree its own protector, and it is alleged also that the Englishman has a nicer repugnance to rural profanity than we Americans, is less inclined to smart hotels, announcements of patent medicines, and arrangements

for views. At any rate, in spite of some new and excellent roads, enlarged and better-built villages, and the inevitable changes of time, nine-tenths of Wordsworth's local allusions may, with the aid of the Fenwick notes, still be identified. That this will be possible for many years cannot be anticipated. The recent attack upon Thirlmere reminds us that even a poet's strength cannot for long ward off improvements. Prof. Knight has therefore done a timely as well as pious work in determining before it is too late the character of Wordsworth's delineative accuracy. That character, many will learn with surprise, did not consist in a verbal transcript of what was present to the eye. The marks of duty, truthfulness, freedom from caprice, stamped upon the work of Wordsworth easily lead to the belief that he accepted that arrangement of landscape which nature gave, and was only careful that his own wilfulness might bring no disturbance. How minutely faithful he could be when it suited his purpose may be seen in cases like that mentioned by Prof. Knight on p. 97. But Wordsworth's truthfulness goes deeper than allegiance to an outward pattern. Helvellyn cannot be observed and Mr. Wordsworth neglected. Human feelings are normal constituents of natural scenes, and that too not in the sense of Bacon's aphorism, that art is *homo additus naturæ;* for Wordsworth's imagination admits no separation, and has room, therefore, for no addition. Nature expresses man, and he who would faithfully interpret her must do so by a precise marking of that human soul that through her runs. Accordingly, where human feeling can be most adequately depicted by intermingling features of detached scenes, Wordsworth does not hesitate. Prof. Knight deserves the thanks of every student of Wordsworth for the patience with which he has traced many tangled cases of this audacious and masterful transposition. Through pages of pleasing quotation the reader is made to feel anew how fundamentally Wordsworth was the poet of man, and of Nature only because he felt man not to be alien to her.

STONEWALL JACKSON'S SHENANDOAH VALLEY CAMPAIGN.*

THIS history is a fit successor and companion to 'Chancellorsville,' by the same authorities, of which we spoke in terms of high praise in No. 99 of the *Nation* (May 23, 1867). It is an admirable piece of work, interesting and enjoyable from beginning to end. It may not be highly entertaining for the general reader, for it is extremely simple and business-like, and only to a very limited extent dramatic or pictorial. But it is perfectly clear, accurate, and straightforward, and perfectly impartial. It is not only as temperate as if written by a man of another race, it is not only absolutely free from that "tall talk" which we have learned to consider a Southern characteristic, but it is a model of manly fairness. There seems to be no difference in the author's readiness to bestow praise on Northern gallantry or tenacity, or censure upon Southern indiscipline or feebleness, as the occasion for either presents itself. We see little reason for qualifying the statement that there is no fault to be found with either the matter or the manner of his book, unless by saying that he uses the historical present rather too freely. Indeed, this composition is a credit to American literature, and it is a cause for true thankfulness and encouragement that so passionless and generous a book should be written by a soldier who served on Stonewall Jackson's staff.

More time, of course, must pass before it can be other than unpleasant reading for Northern men, unless they can divest themselves of all personal and (in a certain sense) national feeling in reading it. Jackson's Valley campaign of 1862 was glorious for him, but most discreditable for the North. It was a powerful and painful illustration of the folly of putting men in high military positions simply because they had held high political positions. We had plenty of men in and near the Valley, and Colonel Allan cordially recognizes the soldierly merit of many of them, but our generals were such that Jackson succeeded almost invariably not only in being the strongest at the point of contact, no matter how great his numerical inferiority might be, but in absolutely dislocating our military plans for the Virginia campaign of 1862, and he did much by his operations in the Valley to determine the failure of the Peninsula campaign. The South was wiser than we; it put its trained soldiers in high places at the first, and kept them there, if they proved competent, till their death or till the end of the war. The mills of God grind slowly, and it may be that great purposes were subserved and great ultimate good attained by the prolongation of the war; but to those who look simply and directly at the facts, it seems as if incalculable wretchedness might have been spared if soldiers and not politicians had been opposed to Jackson in the Valley in 1862.

The interest of the first of the five chapters of this book is rather biographical than otherwise. It gives a little sketch of Jackson's history up to the time when he was assigned to the command of the Valley district, in October, 1861, and an account of what he did and failed to do in the following three or four months. We may pass it by with little comment. The season was unfavorable to military operations, Jackson's army was new and pretty poor, and he himself was probably learning rapidly while he taught his men. Moreover, he had opposed to him a man of very considerable energy and daring—General Lander—who would probably have made a name for himself had his life not been cut short. The second chapter continues the story till near the end of April, 1862. It contains an account—the only complete one of which we have any knowledge—of the battle of Kernstown, an engagement of no great magnitude or importance, in which Jackson, with a force inferior, and apparently largely inferior, attacked Shields and got beaten, with some loss in prisoners and two guns. The principal interest which attaches to this battle arises from the fact that it was the only one which Jackson ever distinctly and unmistakably lost. The rest of the book, in three chapters, entitled respectively, "McDowell," "Winchester," and "Cross Keys and Port Republic," tells the story of that series of successes which is commonly known as Jackson's Valley Campaign. It covers the period from April 28 to June 17, 1862, and of it Colonel Allan says: "Brilliant as were the achievements of General Jackson during the succeeding months of his too brief career, it was his Valley campaign which first lifted him into great fame, nor do any of his subsequent deeds show more strikingly the characteristics of his genius."

Towards the end of April, 1862, Jackson had about six thousand men at Swift Run Gap, eight thousand men under Ewell a day's march in his rear, and three thousand under Edward Johnson at West View, forty miles or more away to the southwest. Banks was at Harrisonburg, twelve or fifteen miles to the west and north of Jackson, with nineteen thousand men; while Milroy and Schenck, with the advance, numbering six thousand, of Fremont's army of fifteen thousand, were further to the west, at and east of a line drawn from Franklin to McDowell, but so near as to make Jackson apprehend a junction of their forces with Banks, and their occupation of Staunton, which would have placed them between him and Edward Johnson, and opposed their twenty-five thousand men (which the arrival of Fremont would increase to thirty-four thousand), to his maximum, then available, of fourteen thousand. Under these circumstances he determined to attempt to form a junction with Edward Johnson, to strike at Milroy, and then to concentrate his own, Edward Johnson's, and Ewell's forces against Banks. Using every precaution to ensure secrecy, and overcoming with untiring effort the difficulties of the country, which heavy rains made excessive, he effected his concentration, but by the time he reached Milroy's position his approach was known, and that officer was reinforced by Schenck, who arrived with something less than two thousand men of his own and took command. The Federal officers soon became aware that Jackson's movements were making their position at McDowell untenable, and they moved their forces forward to attack. The engagement lasted four hours. Jackson spoke of it as "intense" at one time. We seem to have actually taken into action about twenty-five hundred men, and the Confederates about forty-five hundred. Our attack was repulsed, and after dark our forces retired. The reported Confederate loss was four hundred and sixty-one and the Federal loss two hundred and fifty-six.

Schenck commenced his retreat in the direction of Franklin as soon as his troops were withdrawn from the battle-field. He seems to have conducted the movement wisely, and though Jackson followed him up for three or four days, and to the vicinity of Franklin, he effected nothing except that he took efficient precautions, by blockading such roads as were in his power, to prevent an easy junction between the Federal forces opposed to him and those of Banks. Time was all-important to him. Ewell had been left behind to watch Banks. He determined, therefore, to unite his forces with Ewell, and to strike at Banks, from whom he had pushed away Fremont's advance. On the 14th of May Jackson reached McDowell, and the same day Fremont joined Schenck at Franklin some twenty-five miles to the north. As Jackson had anticipated, Fremont made no attempt to interfere with his operations. He had some excuse in the desperately bad character of a large part of his army. He had Blenker's division, which was more than half his nominal force. By the 17th, Jackson was near and a little to the southwest of Harrisonburg, and here Ewell came to confer with him. We do not propose in this paper to speak otherwise than generally of the effect on the main campaign in Virginia of Jackson's movements. It is sufficient to say here that by this time Shields had been detached from Banks with more than half the latter's army. By the day when Ewell and Jackson met, Banks had evacuated Harrisonburg, and gradually withdrawn through Newmarket to Strasburg. Here he commanded about eight thousand men, of which the main body was posted at Strasburg, while Colonel Kenly, with about a thousand men, was at Front Royal, twelve miles or more to the southeast, to protect the railroad and the bridges which there cross the forks of the Shenandoah.

A few words upon the topography of the country may be useful here. From Harper's Ferry, situated at the junction of the Potomac and the Shenandoah, excellent macadamized roads lead to Winchester, thirty miles away, and something to the south of west. From Winchester, the valley turnpike runs up the valley in a generally southwesterly direction to Staunton, passing through Strasburg, Mount Jackson, Newmarket, and Harrisonburg. The distances may be roughly given as follows: Winchester to Strasburg, eighteen

* 'History of the Campaign of Gen. T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, from November 4, 1861, to June 17, 1862. By William Allan, formerly Lieutenant-Colonel and Chief Ordnance Officer, Second Corps, A. N. V. With full Maps of the Region and of the Battle-fields, by Jed. Hotchkiss, formerly Captain and Topographical Engineer, Second Corps, A. N. V.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.

miles; Strasburg to Mount Jackson, twenty-three miles; Mount Jackson to Newmarket, twelve miles; Newmarket to Harrisonburg, nineteen miles; Harrisonburg to Staunton, twenty-five miles. The conference of Jackson and Ewell resulted in a decision to make a vigorous advance on Banks. By the 21st their forces were united, near Luray, and Jackson found himself in command of sixteen or seventeen thousand men, with forty-eight guns. Luray is about twenty-five miles to the southwest of Front Royal.

With Jackson in front of Banks, commanding two men to his one, disaster to Banks was sure and near, especially as there was no military head at Washington. On the 23d, Jackson pounced upon Kenly, and killed, wounded, and captured nearly all his force, though Colonel Allan gives Kenly credit for making gallant and obstinate resistance. The destruction of an outpost so strong and so posted as Kenly's was would have taught a soldier that the enemy in considerable force was upon his flank, and that his rear was in danger; but General Banks was slow to interpret the signs of the time, and it was not till towards noon of the 24th, when news reached him that his train had been attacked beyond Middletown, some six miles in his rear, that he gave orders for the movement of all his forces toward Winchester. The retreat, once commenced, was rapid, and seems to have been well conducted, though it was attended with considerable loss. Colonel Allan praises the "skill and determination" of General Gordon in checking the Confederate advance, and declares that Colonel Andrews "skilfully impeded" Jackson's march, and that "the ability and courage" with which he managed his regiment, the Second Massachusetts Infantry, "were admirable." Jackson's pursuit does him little credit. With his immense preponderance of force, with the advantage of complete surprise, he ought to have destroyed or captured Banks's army. He attributes his failure to do more to the misconduct of Ashby's command, both cavalry and infantry. The needy Confederates (as afterwards, under Early, on almost the same ground) could not resist the temptation which Banks's abandoned wagons offered, and dispersed to pillage instead of pressing on to victory. Another cause of failure was Ewell's delay; but this seems to have been rather Jackson's fault than Ewell's. Jackson sent him his orders by only one courier; that courier lost his way and so Ewell was delayed several hours. All of the main Federal army except the rearguard reached Winchester by or before midnight. There, Banks says, information from every source, friendly and unfriendly alike, agreed "that the enemy's force at or near Winchester was overwhelming, ranging from twenty-five to thirty thousand." He had sixty-four hundred men, or less. "I determined to test the substance and strength of the enemy by actual collision." Was this pluck, or was it folly? Was it the sublime of daring, or the recklessness of a gambler? In the early period of the war our commanders were so apt to see lions in the path that one is tempted to praise a commander who did not let great odds scare him; but when we remember Cedar Mountain and Red River, and who was in command there, we feel that this case cannot be judged as if it stood alone. Wisely or rashly, Banks resolved to fight, and he must have left to Providence the care of his rear, when Jackson with overwhelming forces was assailing his front, where, besides some cavalry, he had only some forty-five hundred infantry and sixteen guns to put in line. The battle began early and ended at about nine A.M. The Federals fought well, but of course the Confederates were successful. Banks retreated through Winchester, and north to the Potomac by Martinsburg. He reached the river at sundown, and crossed at Williamsport during that night and the following morning. He marched thirty-four miles, after fighting a battle, in one day. Jackson tried to pursue, but his cavalry failed him again and he accomplished little.

Colonel Allan does not seem to see, and this is the only unfavorable criticism to which his book seems to us to be open, that Jackson's conduct of this operation was far from being creditable to him. Everything was in his favor. He was on his own ground, with every advantage which knowledge of the country and the zealous co-operation of every man, woman, and child in it could give him. He had more than two men to Banks's one. He had the good fortune to have a political general in command of the opposing forces. He placed himself on his flank, and almost on his line of retreat, before his approach was suspected. Yet, with all this in his favor, he not only failed to destroy or capture Banks's army, but only took from him two guns, those lost by Kenly at Front Royal, and some two thousand unwounded prisoners, and he seems to have had as many of his own men killed and wounded as he killed and wounded of the Federals. In fine, this movement of his was not, looked at by itself, a brilliant success for Jackson.

But whatever strictures may be justly applicable to the actual execution of Jackson's plan, it is true, as Colonel Allan says, that these operations "not only occupied all the troops in and around Washington, together with Fremont's forces, but for the time completely neutralized the forty thousand men under McDowell, and disconcerted McClellan's plans." In pursuance of the decision of the Confederate Government, and of the plan of making "the most energetic diversion possible to draw a portion of the forces of McDowell and McClellan from Richmond," Jackson, on the 28th, sent some troops forward to Charlestown, and on the 29th the main body of the Confederate army took position near Halltown, a village some three miles from Harper's Ferry. This was the farthest point which Jackson reached. He had already carried his instructions, our author says, to the extreme point consistent with safety. With even tolerable management on the Federal side the point reached ought to have proved inconsistent with safety. It is humiliating for Northern men to read of Jackson's successful retreat, as it is humiliating for them to read of the flank march, alike rash and successful, by which he turned and crushed our right flank at Chancellorsville. It is impossible to escape the conviction that in each case he counted largely upon the incompetency of the generals opposed to him.

On the 24th of May Fremont was ordered to move from Franklin to the Valley Turnpike, and McDowell was ordered to move twenty thousand men for the Shenandoah, on the line, or in advance of the line, of the Manassas Gap Railroad. Fremont, in the exercise of the discretion allowed him by Secretary Stanton, chose to go from Franklin to Petersburg, and thence to Wardensville, which place he reached at night of the 30th. McDowell's advance division was, by the evening of the 29th, within striking distance of Front Royal. McDowell himself, directing the march of the other divisions towards the same point, was at Rectortown on the 30th. Here the reader will do well to consult the map and enable himself to take in perfectly the situation of affairs. Jackson, on the 30th, was near Harper's Ferry with perhaps sixteen thousand men. The Federal general Saxton was at and near Harper's Ferry, with seven thousand men and eighteen guns. Banks was at Williamsport, less than twenty miles away in an air-line, with seven thousand or more men and sixteen guns; and these forces were, or should have been, ready to close in on the rear of the retreating Confederates. Fremont was approaching Wardensville, and McDowell was approaching Front Royal.

By the evening of the 30th the toils seemed to be closing upon Jackson. The head of his column had reached Winchester, eighteen miles from Strasburg, while the head of McDowell's column was only twelve miles from the same point and Fremont twenty miles away. He ought not to have escaped, and though he did, it is not easy to avoid the conviction that he is as chargeable with dangerous and culpable rashness in placing himself in such a position as are his opponents with slowness and want of energy in letting him slip between them. But in war more than in other affairs the end crowns the work, and it is sufficient to say that he adopted the simple plan of marching straight on with the utmost rapidity, and carried it out successfully. Our notice of this interesting book has already grown to such a length that we must abstain from describing the movement in detail, and we must also leave untouched the affairs of Cross Keys and Port Republic, except so far as to say that the Federal troops were defeated in each, but that the latter action was highly creditable to them.

The historian who shall have patience, leisure, and training adequate for the examination of Jackson's military capacity will have an interesting question to discuss. There is no doubt about the successes he gained, no doubt about his energy; but he took immense risks and he was *lucky*—especially lucky in being habitually pitted against inferior opponents. His fame is great, but whether he deserves it all is a question that does not seem to us to have been as yet thoughtfully passed upon. If he *knew* the calibre of his opponents, especially in the Valley, he is entitled to the greatest credit for the justice of his estimate of them. If he did not, he had no right to expect the success that attended his audacious enterprises.

RECENT NOVELS.*

IT is not often that a dull novel inspires the reader with a respect for the author, but 'Across the Zodiac' contains so many proofs of Mr. Greg's industry and ingenuity that we cannot dismiss it without expressing surprise that such excellent qualities should be so wasted. The story appears—its plot is altogether too elaborate and intricate, however, to permit us to say this with any confidence—to be a satire on certain philosophic and scientific tendencies of modern speculation. The "record" is the story of a voyage to Mars, and contains an account of the laws, language, and customs prevailing in that planet. This involves the introduction of a great deal of pseudo-scientific machinery, and the invention of a new world and its inhabitants. The work is not done in the reckless manner of Jules Verne, but with all the appearance of accuracy and respect for truth that should characterize a scientific report. Added to all this there is a love-story of which a Martial beauty is the heroine. Society in Mars, it appears, is in a very advanced state. In the thirty-fifth century of the planetary era universal communism was established, and this in the course of the next five centuries reduced the greater part of Mars to a howling wilderness. An anti-communistic society, however, was evolved from Communism, and in turn swallowed it up, after a long internecine struggle, so that in the thirty-ninth century order and civilization were re-established throughout the planet. Religion had by this time completely disappeared. Equality between the sexes had dissolved the family tie, and parental affection was a thing of the past. The enjoyment of life became the

* 'Across the Zodiac: The story of a wrecked record, deciphered, translated, and edited by Percy Greg.' 2 vols. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

sole object of desire, and the practice of handing all children over to the guardianship of the state was before long regarded as a duty. In Mars "inheritance by mere descent" is not looked upon with much favor. Maternal affection is discountenanced as a purely animal instinct, though young planetary mothers sometimes, before parting with their children, mark them, so as to make recognition afterwards possible. Such are some of the peculiarities of life in Mars. If our readers wish to pursue the subject they will find Mr. Percy Greg's two volumes full of the most detailed information.

'Homo Sum' is a novel written on a theory. The author, in the course of his Oriental studies, came upon a narrative of early Christian ascetic life, which offered to him "a soul's problem of the most exceptional type." The story was that of an anchorite, falsely accused, who takes his terrible punishment of expulsion without any attempt to exculpate himself, and whose innocence only becomes known through the confession of the real culprit. There was to him "a peculiar fascination" in imagining what the emotions of a soul might be which could lead to such an annihilation of self, and in this way the character of the ascetic martyr became so vivid as to impel Prof. Ebers to give it expression in a narrative. It was hardly to be expected that such a narrative as this would be a novel in the modern sense of the term. Romancers may carry us back a few generations, just as poets may, but when we go back to a period so remote that it requires archæological researches to bring it before us, the novelist is at a disadvantage, even when he has a moral problem as interesting as that involved in the story of Paulus to deal with. To say that Prof. Ebers performs his task well is all that can be said. His learning is a guarantee for the accuracy of his external descriptions. Of moral analysis, notwithstanding the preface, there is little in the book. We do not feel at the end that we understand the character of the anchorite any better than we did at the outset. Indeed, Prof. Ebers draws women better than men. Miriam and Sirona have very attractive touches of nature about them.

'The Sisters,' also by Prof. Ebers, is, like 'Uarda,' which we noticed some months ago, an Egyptian novel, but it deals with a period which may be called modern in comparison with the time of Rameses II., who figured in that book, and with the general characteristics of which most well-read people must be more or less familiar. The scene is laid in Memphis under Ptolemy Philometor, B.C. 164, when the growing Roman power was beginning to be felt in Egypt. Freed from the necessity of frequent explanations the story flows with great smoothness, but the sense of freedom in this particular has perhaps betrayed the author, in such explanations as he deemed necessary, into an awkwardness of exposition which was conspicuously absent from 'Uarda,' at least after the story got well started. For example, Cleopatra, speaking of her brother Philometor, explains to her lady-in-waiting that he is also her husband, "as is the custom of the families of Pharaohs and the usage of our race"; it is doubtful if the reader needs this, and, of course, certain that the person addressed could not have needed it. Except for these and kindred blemishes there is only praise to be accorded to the story, whose vivid descriptions and rapid narrative easily atone for them. The sisters are daughters of a noble family, living in the temple of Serapis under the guardianship of a recluse, Serapion; their parents, through the plots of the king's favorite, Eulæus, have been banished to the mines and their property confiscated. The action of the story is divided between the plots of Eulæus; the ambitious efforts of Philometor's brother, Euergetes, to gain possession of Upper and Lower Egypt; the coquetry of Cleopatra, and the love of the Roman Scipio and his Greek friend for the two sisters, who are restored to their property by the aid of their lovers. Prof. Ebers says he has given history her due, but that his book is nevertheless "really a dramatic romance."

The materials out of which 'Theodora' has been constructed, including most of the characters, are the common property of all writers of fiction. Theodora is the high-spirited and noble young woman who from her very childhood is marked out for a life of self-abnegation and Christian endeavor. Alfred Fanshawe is the middle-aged *roué* who marries her, and makes her young life a wreck. Oldham is the wise, true, and thoughtful man who ought to have married Theodora, but now never will, and who consequently hovers through the novel as the devoted friend of the heroine, and is set down by the reader as a prig of the first water. There is a storm and shipwreck in which Fanshawe loses his worthless life, but from which his mistress, Edith, escapes. Edith tells Theodora the story of her life, and is induced by her to "go West," where, with her children, she lives a quiet, not unhappy, life, "the sins and sorrows of her early life buried in oblivion." As a contrast with the career of Theodora we have that of Cynthia Howard, a shallow, sympathetic flirt, who goes from bad to worse, until she rouges, is seen at afternoon concerts without her husband, and generally so conducts herself as to be a scandal and a reproach in the eyes of respectable women. She and Fanshawe are perhaps the most natural characters in the book. In deference to established usage two American girls are introduced. The younger is quite national. She says: "When we are at home—in Baltimore I mean—sister and I never think of going twice to the same church. For my part, I am indifferent as to what the denomination may be; I like all the little religions." Besides all this there is the love-story of Lord Atherling and Beatrice Sutherland, which is much too complicated for analysis here. Altogether there is a great deal between the covers of 'Theodora.' The author is presumably a woman, and therefore privileged to take views of life and place her characters in situations which male readers can only partly sympathize with. She has not much humor, or pathos, or descriptive power. She is duly impressed with the great truth that virtue consists in self-sacrifice, but she does not make the truth interesting. Nevertheless, any novel which contains plenty of love and misery is sure of readers, and we see no reason why 'Theodora' should not seem a revelation of life to many young persons of both sexes.

From the earliest times mankind has taken pleasure in endowing not only the lower animals but inanimate objects with speech. Scientific researches seem to show that this is one of the fundamental tendencies of human nature, and upon literature, from the fables of Æsop to those of Andersen, it has left a permanent impression. In early literature the practice of attributing speech to animals and inanimate objects is entirely unconscious. It is no more the result of a wilful poetic fancy than is the primitive habit of peopling the woods and streams with gods and goddesses. In the nineteenth century, however, it involves an effort of the imagination to make ugly ducklings or little tin soldiers talk, and the same thing may be said of Violins, which are made by "Rita" the narrators of the story of "Daphne." One is a Stradivarius, the other an Amati, and the thread of the story is taken up by one whenever it is dropped by the other. The story itself is a musical love tale. Baptista, a young Italian of great musical genius, is befriended by the successful musician Delli, and promises to become one of the great violinists of the world. He has grown up with Daphne, a young girl abandoned by her parents and cared for by an old man called Orgagna. When they cease to be children Daphne and Tista fall in love with each other and are betrothed, while Delli, becoming enamored of Daphne, at the same time forms a devilish plot to separate her from her lover and marry her himself. Delli is a soured and disappointed man, and is capable of great baseness. He makes Daphne believe that Tista has deserted her, and finally persuades her to marry him. By devotion he gradually wins his way to her heart, his character meanwhile undergoing one of those marked changes which fate so often provides for the strong, much-tempted man in novels, and which in the end make him a thoroughly excellent person. Just as he is on the eve of success in making himself master of Daphne's affections, however, poor Tista reappears, broken down by poverty and suffering (all the result of Delli's deception), invited to play at a concert in the presence of Delli and Daphne. He meets Daphne; all is cleared up, the treachery of Delli made plain; Tista plays for the company, and falls dead at the end. Then in some way Daphne and Delli become reconciled and live on together, though the lover of poetical justice resents this. The author's philosophy of life seems, however, to be one of cross-purposes. The bad succeed, and get what the good ought to have. The good die young. The constant lover is rewarded by inconstancy; the inconstant by fidelity. The two violins have a good deal to say about all this, and their reflections are not encouraging to those who like to think well of human nature. The story of 'Daphne' is pleasantly told, and the violin machinery as well managed as could be expected. It requires genius to make the conversations of violins interesting, and the author of 'Daphne,' with many amiable qualities, hardly has genius.

There is very little in 'From Madge to Margaret' to call for comment, and yet it is one of the class of books which tempt the critic to point out a certain perniciousness in them because it is likely to be pointed out nowhere else. If, in a book apparently designed for young girls, the dangers to which a young wife exposes herself who goes into society alone because her husband is too busy to accompany her, chooses her own friends among men against his advice, and finally leads one of them with whose name her own has been bandied about to express himself clearly enough to startle her into a comprehension of whither she is drifting—if such a theme is to be handled in a book called 'From Madge to Margaret,' it should be handled, one may affirm, with some comprehension of its seriousness, and the reader should not be left to suppose that the matter can be settled without explanations, with embraces, and a confession on the husband's part—of all people—that "you and I have both something to forgive." There are but two positions tenable with [illegible] to books dealing with such subjects: that none of them ought [illegible] inexperienced youth, or that only those which treat their theme [illegible] of the original existing in life should be.

Mr. Robert Grant as the author of that clever college skit, 'T[illegible]

'Homo Sum: A Novel. By Georg Ebers. From the German by Clara Bell.' Authorized edition. New York: William S. Gottsberger. 1880.
'The Sisters: A Romance. By Georg Ebers. From the German by Clara Bell.' New York: William S. Gottsberger. 1880.
'Theodora; or, Star by Star.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.
'Daphne: A Novel. By "Rita."' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.
'From Madge to Margaret. By Carroll Winchester.' Boston: Lee & Shepard; Charles T. Dillingham. 1880.
'The Confessions of a Frivolous Girl: A Story of Fashionable Life. Edited by Robe[illegible] Boston: A. Williams & Co.; New York: Brentano's Literary Emporium. 1880.

Gods on Wheels,' which in maturity of humor and invention sufficiently apologized for its title, has already attracted attention, and his 'Confessions of a Frivolous Girl' may be said to fulfil in some degree the evident promise of the former performance. It is a trifle, and as "A Story of Fashionable Life" has small title to profound regard; and it seems to us a mistake of the author to have thus termed it and so misled many excellent people—among others, that pedant of accuracy, the *Saturday Review's* writer upon American society, we believe—into inferring its verisimilitude. It may be laid down of a satire that only those who know the subject more or less intimately can accept it as portraiture, and this is rather a farce than a satire. At least, we are led to believe that young ladies of New York society are in general more careful to avoid the dialect and demeanor of unmistakable "fastness" than Miss Alice Palmer and her friends show themselves on occasion; that they do not speak of going "straight to heaven without change of cars" or drink too much champagne as a rule, and that if they do they infallibly betray a consciousness of unusual daring, to give the thing piquancy, if from no other motive. Mr. Grant makes the mistake of giving thus a part for the whole sometimes. The reason is to be found, we suspect, in his own literary diffidence, and it is not to be denied that it forms an agreeable contrast to the general pretentiousness of young writers, whose treatment so often overweights its theme with a bumptiousness nothing short of owlish. At the same time it should be borne in mind that, after graduation at least, what is worth doing is worth doing well, and that in a literary sense nothing has more dignity and demands to be more seriously conceived and attentively considered than a "trifle." If he had kept this in view he would probably have made a story of real worth instead of another "skit," and his entire book would have been as good as the first chapter of it. This is very good indeed, and the disappointment involved in reading further, where at the moment of getting into deeper water he seems to abandon himself to careless floundering, ought not to be allowed to obscure the merits of it. It describes "My First Ball" (the "Confessions" are, of course, autobiographical) with great cleverness and vivacity, and no reader will fail to notice how happily the author has measured in it the frivolity which in a New York girl may be more than skin-deep, but does not penetrate beyond a strict rectitude and real dignity of character that disclose themselves—to others and to the unsuspecting young woman herself, it may be—as soon as there is any real occasion. Miss Palmer is hilariously frivolous, so to speak; but she is always conscious of it, and at least half-conscious that it is temporary. This is what foreign observers of this engaging product of American society cannot understand; and the difficulty of setting it forth in a story is great enough to make Mr. Grant's accomplishment an unusual one.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*	
Blackmore (R. D.), Mary Anerley: a Tale	(Harper & Bros.)	$1 00
Dutt (J. C.), Kings of Kâshmîra, swd	(Trübner & Co.)	
Doggett (H. S.), Life of Isaac Sams	(Peter G. Thomson)	1 00
Grant (R.), Confessions of a Frivolous Girl	(A. Williams & Co.)	1 25
Harvey (T. W.), Elementary Grammar and Composition, new ed.	(Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co.)	
Hough (F. B.), The Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence	(Davis, Bardeen & Co.)	1 25
Jebb (Prof. R. C.), Modern Greece	(Macmillan & Co.)	1 50
Jones (Julia C.), Valhalla: a Saga	(R. Worthington)	1 00
Kellogg (B.), Text-Book of Rhetoric	(Clark & Maynard)	
Lamb (Mrs. M. J.), History of the City of New York, Vol. 2, Part 9, swd.	(A. S. Barnes & Co.)	50
Marius Michel (M. M.), La Reliure Française, swd	(J. W. Bouton)	
Owl (E.), Old Nick's Camp-Meetin', swd	(Authors' Pub. Co.)	50
Puck on Wheels, swd	(Keppler & Schwartzmann)	
Robinson (Rev. C. S.), Spiritual Songs for the Sunday-School	(Scribner & Co.)	1 25
Robinson (W.), The Cemeteries of the Future	(Scribner & Welford)	2 25
Shadwell (J. C.), Political Economy for the People	(Trübner & Co.)	
Swisshelm (Mrs. J. G.), Half a Century	(American News Co.)	
Symington (A. J.), Samuel Lover	(Harper & Bros.)	75
Van Loon (Mrs. E.), Mystery of Allanwold	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.)	1 50

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Continued from page iii.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 5, 1880.

The Week.

THE letters of acceptance of both the Democratic candidates have appeared. General Hancock declares his intention, if elected, to enforce the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth Constitutional Amendments; explains the nature of the Federal Union as consisting of "the General and State Governments, each acting in its own sphere without trenching upon the lawful jurisdiction of the other"; pronounces this Union a "polity," and eulogizes it warmly; admits, however, that it has no value whatever for the protection of popular rights if the Administration is unfaithful and inefficient; and declares that it is only "by a full vote, a free ballot, and fair count" that "the people can rule in fact"; pronounces public office a trust and not a bounty, and opposes the appointment of incompetent and dishonest persons, and in case any such persons should be appointed recommends that they should be "promptly ejected." He would reform the civil service by first establishing "a basis" for such reform, consisting in the election by the people of persons possessing a high standard of qualification, and the "stern rejection of the corrupt and incompetent." This done, he thinks "the result would be decisive," but does not explain what this means. The war, he says, came to an end fifteen years ago, and peace now reigns, and our material interests demand "our constant and united efforts." He therefore recommends "a sedulous and scrupulous care of the public credit and an economical management of our Government expenditures"; also "harmony and generous rivalry among our own industries"; and concludes by promising to execute the laws faithfully. The best summing up of the letter we can make lies in saying that no one but a scoundrel or a person of defective understanding would dispute a single proposition contained in it.

Mr. English's style is less chastened than General Hancock's, and his temper much less pleasant. He opens by an elaborate eulogy on the Presidential candidate, and then points out that the Republican party has been in power twenty years, and maintains that to allow it to remain in power four years more "would not be beneficial to the people or in accordance with the spirit of our republican institutions"; that laws of entail and long tenure of office by one set of men have never been encouraged in this country, and "the great and good men" of the early period showed in many ways "their disapproval of long leases of power." He then lays bare the corruption and disorder which have been caused by long tenure of office by the Republicans, and ascribes our present prosperity to the industry and economy of the people and "God's bounteous harvests"; accuses the Republican party of centralization and encroachment on the rights of the States and other offences of a similar nature, and mentions the willingness recently manifested by "a large number of the party to elect a President for an unlimited number of terms" "as likely to satisfy thinking people that the time has come when it will be best and safest for that party to be retired." At the same time he would not on any account hinder the exercise of such powers of the General Government as rightfully belong to it, and guarantees the enforcement of the Constitutional Amendments in case the Democrats should come into power; the maintenance of a "sound currency," of the value both of gold and silver; the encouragement in every legitimate way of all the material interests of the country, and the protection of "the toiling millions" from the competition of the Chinese; the maintenance of the public credit, and the protection of liberty and property. Owing to his confidence in "the discriminating justice of the people, and their capacity for intelligent self-government," he does not doubt the success of the Democratic ticket, and draws a glowing picture of the happiness which would thus be diffused through the community.

Mr. English's contribution to the literature of the campaign may be said to consist solely in his doctrine that twenty years is the utmost period of office which any party, good or bad, ought to enjoy. This is absolutely novel, and entitles him to the rank of a "thinker." The rest of the letter consists of the usual campaign castigation of the enemy, and prediction of a "glorious victory in November." The evasion by all four candidates of the silver question is probably as discreditable an incident as has ever occurred in American politics.

There are no campaign stories worth mention this week except some trifling testimony as to the almost superhuman goodness of General Garfield's childhood and early manhood. General Meyer says that "his poor words" are wholly inadequate to describe what "a grand, good man" he is; but this suggests the enquiry, Why should General Meyer enter on a task to which his natural powers are unequal? The venerable Simon Cameron has cruelly repudiated the sentiments about the Administration recently put in his mouth by a *Herald* interviewer. Mr. English has been exposed as an appropriator of moneys and securities belonging to an Indiana street railroad, to the amount of $10,000, to which he held on with disgusting pertinacity until compelled to "disgorge" by a suit at law. He also only gave one dollar towards the relief of the sufferers by the Chicago fire. Other particulars of a similar character will doubtless be soon forthcoming.

General Hancock's letter to General Sherman about his duty as a soldier during the Presidential crisis of 1876 has been published. The campaign account of it before it appeared was, naturally enough, that it contained a promise to obey Mr. Tilden's orders, and to seize Mr. Hayes and confine him in a dungeon, or in one of the rooms of the Capitol known as "the American Bastile." It turns out to be a sober and very sensible discussion of the situation from the point of view of a soldier writing to his military superior and friend. He distinctly announces that he should consider General Grant as at the end of his authority on the 3d of March, and should after that date treat the decision of Congress as binding, in case it should appear that no election by the people had taken place under the conditions prescribed by the Constitution. But he falls into the error of supposing that under the Constitution a disputed election is the equivalent of a failure to elect, and gives the election of the President to the House and of the Vice-President to the Senate. The Constitution prescribes this only in case neither candidate has a majority of the electoral votes; so that the duty of the Army was not at all so clear in 1876 as General Hancock thought it was. But for the Electoral Commission he might have been forced to choose whether he would obey the orders of Mr. Tilden or of Mr. Hayes. He treats the Secretary of War and General Sherman as his possible superiors, from whom he would have to receive orders in any interval which might occur between the outgoing of General Grant and the inauguration of his successor. The letter is on the whole very creditable to General Hancock, both in his view of the nature of the crisis and of the relations of the Army to the civil authorities. He refers to two letters of General Sherman's, to both of which his own was an answer, and there is a natural desire to see them. We trust General Sherman will gratify this reasonable curiosity.

The Democratic ratification meeting last week was one of the largest of the kind ever held in New York, and for midsummer enthusiasm the fervor displayed was highly creditable to the managers. But it furnished compensation to the Republicans, who might otherwise have experienced some jealousy, and especially to the party press, in restoring Mr. Tilden to his former position of a leading topic in the canvass. He was induced to preside at the meeting and to "set the keynote" for it, we are told, and it seems to be admitted that his appearance, which the *World* described as ridiculous, and his speech, which was certainly in wretched taste, provoked an enthusiasm that the mention of the Cincinnati candidates failed to awaken. It was therefore possible to assume that he is the Warwick of the party and "as strong as ever," and to infer that, as the *Times* says, "the average Democrat does not care for a Union general, however brave he may have been twenty years ago." The importance of this unexpected opportunity is

not easily overestimated from the popular point of view of the proper way of conducting a campaign. Nothing could be more cruel than the necessity of regarding as practically useless a large stock of ammunition in the handling of which practice has given you great expertness; and the Cincinnati nomination was as clearly a bitter disappointment in this sense as that made at Chicago. It has been very hard to acknowledge this, and heroic efforts have been made to disguise the fact, but "the reappearance of Tilden" would help matters wonderfully if it could only be regarded as an accomplished fact. There is still, it appears, some doubt about this, and some Democrats are complaining, we believe, that the "Tilden triumph" last week was the result of anti-Tammany machinations.

There was a sort of political debate attempted last week in Cincinnati between Judge Hoadly and Mr. Stanley Matthews. That is to say, the former spoke by invitation of a number of citizens, and on the next evening Mr. Matthews appeared in the same hall upon a like invitation. This is not the same thing as dividing an evening before the same audience, but as far as it goes it is profitable. Judge Hoadly was not so well treated by the reporters as his successor, but the burden of his discourse was the corrupt action of the Southern returning-boards in 1876, Gen. Garfield's complicity with them as a Visiting Statesman and otherwise, and his vote as a member of the Electoral Commission—in one word, the great "fraud" of 1876. To rebut the presumption drawn from their previous training, that Garfield and not Hancock would prove a statesmanlike President, Judge Hoadly curiously contrasted Fillmore's administration with what Zachary Taylor's might have been! We hope the precedent is not ominous of what would befall the country if English should replace Hancock. Incidentally some good points were made, as where the speaker referred to the fear that Hancock, like Grant, would become the creature of others—"the victim, therefore, of that class of persons to whom, if I understand General Garfield's letter of acceptance, he has pledged himself; to whom, if I understand the last clause of his letter of acceptance, relating to civil-service reform, he has pledged himself to be the obsequious servant." So, also, it was rhetorically clever and not altogether unfair to say:

"These men have both visited the South; they have both been connected with the government of Louisiana at different periods in the history of that State, and my purpose is to consider the relations which these two gentlemen have borne to the government of that State, in order that, if we can, we may be able to infer what prospect there is in the future that the same judgment exercised hereafter by the one or the other will be fruitful of beneficent results."

Mr. Matthews's rejoinder was apparently the more flexible and easy performance. He showed up the other side of the great fraud of 1876, including Oregon and the cipher despatches, and rehearsed the Democratic party's commission and patronage of frauds at the North as well as at the South, drawing some of his illustrations from the State of Ohio, and even from the immediate vicinage. He whitewashed the Louisiana Returning-Board, and said the Nicholls government "was a usurpation and is to-day"—"it was simply a case where the [Federal] Executive arm was powerless, because the facts and circumstances of the situation did not bring it within the constitutional category authorizing armed interference by the General Government." This must be considered well phrased. An awkward question for Judge Hoadly, apropos of the Democratic desire for a free ballot, was: "What safeguard has ever been proposed that has not met with the united and determined and persevering opposition of the Democratic party?"—which in Ohio regularly repeals the registration-law passed by the Republicans when in power. An unfortunate question for the speaker was: "Do you hear of any Republican meetings in those States [viz., Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina]?" On the very same day there was a large and orderly meeting in Columbia, S. C.; on the Tuesday previous, one in Blackville, Barnwell County. Perhaps Mr. Matthews has not heard of the Democratic managers' *mot d'ordre* that there be "no killing" during the canvass at the South—a prudential measure which, we observe, exasperates some of our Republican contemporaries.

By the end of this week the important question whether Dr. Tanner can live forty days without food will have been settled, at least so far as the belief of those who have confidence in the "watchers" is concerned. It appears from the reports in the papers that the "record" kept by the watch is, as we suspected from the first, of doubtful value. Grave inaccuracies have been discovered, or at any rate are suspected, in the record of weight, and doubts have been thrown on the competency of some at least of those in attendance to keep any record of scientific value at all. Besides all this, no regular physician of any standing has expressed the opinion that the experiment has any scientific value whatever. There is no difficulty in making physiological experiments as to the effects of starvation on animals, if they can be of any use. Under these circumstances the part which the press is playing in giving Dr. Tanner a wide notoriety is a very offensive instance of its willingness to pander to the most depraved public appetite for sensation. The details of the condition of the fasting man, published from day to day, are such that we venture to say no one who has not himself a very strong stomach can read them without being sickened, while the effect of these publications is to stimulate a morbid curiosity to see a revolting process of self-torture put into operation by a half-educated fanatic, who starves himself just as another might have himself stretched to the rack or deny himself sleep or water. There seems to be no law at present under which such an exhibition can be stopped, but there ought to be one; and that the Legislature has the right to put a stop to such a debasing form of show there can be no doubt. Dr. Tanner cannot be prevented from starving himself, but he can be prevented from doing it in public for money. As long, however, as the press gives such "experiments" its support and encouragement they will go on.

Probably New York is the only city in the world in which it would be possible to have a bull-fight under the supervision of a society for the prevention of cruelty to animals. Yet this is what took place in this city last Saturday in the presence of some three thousand spectators. It is hardly necessary to say that the attempt was a miserable failure. A bull-fight is, as every one knows, a survival in civilized times of a primitive sport based, if not upon a cruel popular disposition, at least upon a positive popular liking for spectacles involving a bloody and doubtful struggle. It is necessarily a cruel and savage sport, and if attempted here in the manner in which it is practised in Spain or Cuba would be immediately suppressed by the police. That Mr. Bergh should have allowed his society to be used for the purpose of giving countenance to the absurd exhibition which came off on Saturday, is a curious illustration of that reformer's want of humor. Mr. Bergh does an enormous amount of good in the way of preventing inhumanity to animals, and it is probably on this account that his absolute incapacity to detect absurdity or incongruity does not bring the society of which he is the head into disrepute. On Saturday, of course, many of the bulls would not fight, and when they would the sport, when it threatened to become dangerous, was restrained by Mr. Bergh's efforts, who had any over-excited bull humanely led away from the ring. The rosettes, instead of being fixed into the flesh of the animals, were merely pasted upon their epidermis; and the crowd, instead of having their worst passions aroused by the spectacle, greeted the combatants with derisive cries adapted to the occasion. Nothing could well be more silly than the whole affair, which was finally wound up with a sheriff's seizure of the cash taken in from the spectators.

The very great number of accidents this summer on railroads and steamboats has not led to any suggestion with regard to legal remedies for such occurrences—probably because it is generally supposed that those already provided are amply sufficient. In cases of death by the negligence of transportation companies, however, the statutory limit of five thousand dollars damages, which prevails throughout the United States, seems very low, and it is difficult to give a reason why there should be any at all. Historically, to be sure, the matter is simple enough. Before the passage of the first English act on the subject, the law of England and the United States did not recognize any right to recover damages for the death of a human being, and, as the legislation was to be an innovation, it was probably thought well not to ask Parliament for too much. The act, too, did not provide for

any more than compensation for the *pecuniary* loss caused by the death to the family of the deceased. There is really no reason for an arbitrary limit, and the present condition of the law makes it more advantageous for a railroad or steamboat company to kill a man outright than to injure him. While the $5,000 limit in cases of death has been rigidly maintained in this country, verdicts of juries in cases of accident without fatal result have steadily increased, both here and in England. In England a verdict of £16,000 has recently been obtained, and on appeal allowed to stand. The disproportion between such sums as this and the limit of $5,000 in cases of death is very glaring, even when it is taken into the account that the latter sum only represents the loss to the family. This is a matter which might bear legislative investigation.

During the week a further sum of $950,000 gold was bought in London for shipment to New York, although the rates for sterling exchange here are not yet quite low enough to make gold imports profitable if insurance is paid upon the coin. The Treasury has resumed weekly bond purchases, and now that the heavy half-yearly warrants have been paid (amounting during July to nearly $20,500,000), it is expected that the weekly purchases will be kept up. Notwithstanding the heavy payments last month the public debt was reduced $5,576,053, or to $1,722,698,000, exclusive of demand debt, accrued interest, etc. The surplus reserve of the New York banks was reduced to $15,842,375; some currency was shipped to the West, a good deal of coin went into the Treasury, while the money for the bonds bought did not come out of the Treasury until late in the week, and the payment of the $6,000,000 August interest did not begin until the close of the bank week. At the Stock Exchange buoyancy was the rule until Monday, when a reaction set in. The United States 4 per cent. bonds advanced to 109¾, which is much the highest price ever paid for them. Railroad bonds and dividend-paying shares also advanced largely, the most conspicuous rise having been in the stock of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad, which was recently doubled and which sold on Saturday at 115¾, equivalent to 231½ for the old stock which one year ago sold at 137¾. General trade continues active, and the evidence forthcoming during the week tended to confirm the estimates that the harvests this year will exceed all others on record in amount and will equal any in quality.

The London *Spectator* of July 17 came very near forecasting the disaster to General Burrows's force. After rejecting the supposition that the troops of Shir Ali, the Wali, would mutiny, which is what happened, it said: "Suppose the Heratees accept Shir Ali on condition of his commanding them against the infidel." The general result is very nearly the same as if this had come to pass. That is, Shir Ali has not agreed to lead his own troops and the Heratees against the infidel, but his troops and the Heratees have found some one else who will in the person of Ayub Khan. The supposition of the *Spectator* expresses the suspicion which has probably been passing in the mind of most Anglo-Indians ever since Burrows marched out with Shir Ali to fight Ayub: that no Afghan troops would serve with the British against men of their own faith. It now appears that Burrows, with his small force of 2,400 men, only one battalion of infantry and the battery of artillery being European, had the extreme imprudence to attack Ayub, after he had been reinforced by Shir Ali's mutineers, and mustered 12,000 strong, with 20 guns, fifty miles from Kandahar. Burrows was crushed after four hours' fighting, losing apparently half of his force and three guns, the remnant flying in disorder into Kandahar, which is now preparing for a siege. It is an ill wind that blows nobody good, and the disaster seems likely to illustrate Sir Garnet Wolseley's already proverbial good luck, for the London *Times* correspondent telegraphs that "all men's eyes in India are turned to him," Generals Roberts and Stewart being needed in the Kabul region.

The disaster, embarrassing as it is to the Ministry, who have to provide the means of retrieving it, will not damage but rather strengthen them with the country, so clearly does the responsibility of it rest on their predecessors who began the war. But, what with the Irish question, the Turkish question, and the constant tendency of the Whig wing of the party to mutiny, the situation is one which calls for all the capacity the Cabinet contains, and more. Mr. Gladstone's illness therefore, which, if not dangerous, is serious for a man of his years, and inevitably puts him into retirement for the rest of the session, is a real calamity, the full extent of which is perhaps not yet visible. There is little doubt that the Afghan reverse will encourage the Turks in their resistance, and perhaps make their despatches a little saucier. The reports of dissensions between the Powers as to the proposed coercion of Turkey are denied positively, and the "naval demonstration," whatever that may mean, is to take place, unless the Turks settle promptly with Montenegro, in which case it will, it is said, be abandoned. In the meantime, the Greeks, under advice from the Powers, have stopped the mobilization of their army, which looks as if hopes were still entertained that Turkey would yield the new frontier line. She will, if the Sultan thinks he can brave Mussulman opinion by surrendering territory without fighting. Thus far, we believe, no Sultan has ventured to cede any portion of the soil of Islam except as the direct result of defeat in the field, which is the only thing that in the eyes of the faithful can justify it. It was undoubtedly this which led to the utterly hopeless resistance in Bosnia to the Austrian troops.

The Irish Land Compensation Bill has been rejected in the House of Lords. The signs of the agitation against this House among the Radicals of which we spoke last week as likely to result from its defeat, are already apparent. The latest mails bring talk of the formation of a committee to organize a movement looking to the conversion of the House into an elected Senate. This may not amount to much at present, but if any such plan should work its way into the Radical programme as one of its permanent features it would infuse a great deal of increased bitterness into party strife, and make the alliance of Whigs and Radicals more difficult than ever. The *Economist* makes the objection to the bill which probably has most weight with the moderate Liberals—that inasmuch as it only singles out a portion of the landlord class for its operation, and is only to last eighteen months, it really takes property from a few individuals for public reasons, and is, therefore, bound to compensate them out of the Treasury. But this the Government does not propose to do.

The debate in the House of Commons on the resolution reprobating the erection of a monument to the Prince Imperial in Westminster Abbey brought out from Mr. Gladstone a denial that the Queen had initiated the scheme, or approved of it without reluctance, which makes the Dean's responsibility seem all the greater. The French press generally expresses a good deal of gratification over the debate and the result of it, as a sign of delicate friendship for the Republic, but Paul de Cassagnac, who is now the Bonapartist organ, is furious. He says the resolution was a sop designed to forward the Commercial Treaty, for which England offers a "corpse pierced with eighteen bullets," and he advises the ex-Empress to gather up the bones of the family and leave a country capable of such infamy. Mr. Briggs, the mover of the resolution, called attention once more to the fact, which yearly grows more discreditable, that the Abbey contains no memorial of one of the greatest Englishmen, Oliver Cromwell.

Professor Robertson Smith, of Edinburgh, who was tried and acquitted some time ago by the Church tribunals for unsound views about the Scriptures, has got into hot water again by the appearance of his article on the "Hebrew Language and Literature" in the latest volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. He doubts whether Moses wrote anything but the Commandments; thinks the Jewish history down to the time of David mere "oral tradition"; and, besides some slighting remarks on the "'Song of Solomon,' alleges that in Deuteronomy the ancient ordinances of Israel were rewritten in the prophetic spirit." The Edinburgh Presbytery has accordingly resolved to ask the General Assembly to take measures to "meet the disturbance and anxiety and vindicate Scriptural principle." Dr. Begg, a leading minister, said he considered the professor's repetition of his offence a "marvellous providence," because it gave a chance to try him again, his former acquittal having been a mistake, and thinks the struggle now beginning "the most serious that has taken place in the Church since the Reformation."

THE DEMOCRATIC LETTERS.

IT would, of course, be difficult for a man with no experience of politics, or indeed of civil life, to satisfy anybody who knew nothing of him, as to his fitness for a high administrative or legislative office, and still more for an office both administrative and legislative, by writing a letter of any reasonable length. It was, therefore, not expected either by General Hancock's supporters or opponents that he would fully justify his nomination by his letter of acceptance. No matter how much he put into it he would not thereby satisfy anybody that he was the man for the place to which he aspires. But in the absence of a political career from an examination of which voters might ascertain his opinions on the leading questions of the day, it was not only desirable but, one may say, necessary that his letter should furnish with a certain fulness and detail some account of his way of looking at the subjects which are likely to engage the attention of the President and Congress during the coming four years. The country is fairly entitled to some guiding information as to the recommendations he would be likely to make to Congress, and as to the use to which he would be likely to put his vetoes, about the currency, about taxation, about appointments to and removals from office, about corporations, about railroads, public improvements, the public credit, the regulation of elections, the Chinese question, the National banks, the relations of the general Government to the States as settled (or rather resettled) by the war. Ordinarily, we admit, a candidate for the Presidency is not called on for any such exposition, because, as a politician, he usually has speeches or votes or some sort of official history to refer to. If, for instance, General Garfield had confined his letter to simple acceptance of the nomination, and for his opinions and policy had turned voters over to his speeches and votes in Congress, he would have furnished them with ample means of foretelling the policy of his administration upon every important matter now before the country or likely to come before it during the next five years. But General Hancock has nothing political to produce except his General Order in Louisiana and his letter to the Governor of Texas a dozen years ago, and in these he confines himself to the single point of the relations of the army to civil government. They would, therefore, be interesting and instructive just now if the South were still divided into military districts governed or governable by major-generals, and were unrepresented in Congress. As matters stand, they are not much more useful to the present generation than the opinions of the minority of the judges in the Dred Scott case, or Mr. Sumner's speech on the Reverdy Johnson Treaty with England. It is true he expresses his concurrence with the Cincinnati platform, but then the platform is itself extremely vague, and in any case a man's saying in general terms that he agreed with it would indicate little more, as to his political sense, than his saying that he fully accepted all Euclid's propositions would indicate as to his knowledge of mathematics. The gentleman who always "said ditto to Mr. Burke" was doubtless an estimable and modest man, but he has made no mark in history.

We are thus, after waiting a good while, left by General Hancock's letter in the difficulty in which his nomination found us—that is, the difficulty of knowing nothing about him as a politician. We see that he has a high opinion of the Constitution of the United States, and agrees with the ancient proposition "that ours is a government of divided powers," and has a strong admiration for peace and concord. But almost everybody one meets in the street has this amount of equipment for the Presidency, and would, with a little time and the help of a literary friend, produce his views on these points in as good a dress as General Hancock's letter. Unfortunately, too, Mr. English's letter does not furnish that strengthening supplement to his chief's which Mr. Arthur's furnished to General Garfield's. Mr. English's avoidance of the topics of the day is even more complete than General Hancock's, while his tone is much less dignified. Indeed, he has almost played the part of the *enfant terrible* which was played by Flanagan, of Texas, at the Chicago Convention. He has thrown aside all the drapery of general propositions about peace and wisdom, and addressed himself in the most unblushing manner to the single task of proving that it is not good for any party to hold the offices too long; that the Republicans have held them too long, and the Democrats ought now to have a chance at them. He feels like the hackman who said the other day in a country town that he wanted "a change of government," and was going to vote for Hancock "to see if it wouldn't make those girls in the post-office give civil answers." About the currency, nothing; about civil-service reform, nothing; about the tariff or taxation or the public credit, nothing. What he is interested in, apparently to the exclusion of everything else, is what the statesmen of the City Hall call "a new deal."

We do not think, however, that there is anything very surprising in all this. If the Democrats had a body of political doctrine which they wished to carry out in practice, or a new method of administration which they wished to try, they would, of course, have put in the field a candidate who was in some way identified with it, either as author or promoter. Having no principles or policy whatever, or at least none which, so far as we know, have been anywhere defined, any man would do for their candidate who was not likely to alarm the North about the settlement effected by the war. His having no politics to speak of would be no objection to him, seeing that the party has none itself. General Hancock, in fact, could not have made his letter a political programme with any certainty as to any considerable portion of his party agreeing with a single word of it. Of what line the party will take in legislation, if it gets into power, he has not and cannot have any trustworthy idea. It would, therefore, have been injudicious, if not presumptuous in him, to have attempted to speak for the party. No individual, and no manageable assembly, can speak for it. There is no source whatever of authoritative information about it.

On one thing in the position of the party General Hancock's letter, as elucidated by Mr. English's, does seem to throw some light, and that is the designs of the party with regard to the civil service. General Hancock studiously avoids any promise, or even expression of opinion, with regard to the mode in which this immense machine should be administered, beyond the recommending, somewhat fatuously, that men of lofty character should be elected to high office by the people. Mr. English is almost outspoken in his belief that there ought to be "a change" throughout the whole service. Now, it may be that a change is needed. A real reform party might not unreasonably hold that position. They might say that persons who have long held office under "the spoils" system are so demoralized by it that no other could be substituted without bringing in a new set of men. This would doubtless be an injudicious view, and would probably work badly in practice; but it would be a respectable one. A demand for "change" based on it would be listened to with attention, if not acquiescence. But there is really something almost impudent at this time of day, and in the present condition of the United States Government, in a demand for change, like Mr. English's, which is based on the idea that the offices are really perquisites, that one set of "the boys" has had them long enough, and that a new set should now have their turn. We care not whether a man is a civil-service reformer in our sense of the term or not, he must, if he has any notion whatever of the magnitude and importance of the public business to-day, be almost appalled at the prospect of seeing the Democrats come into power with this unblushing confession of their desire to get a share of such abuses as are going and as the Republicans have not had the courage to abolish. That General Hancock's soldierly training in order and honesty would enable him to make head against the attempt to redistribute sixty thousand salaried offices among a broken-down class of men, it is idle, after our experience of General Grant, to expect. His political advisers would have no more difficulty in convincing him than the Republicans had in convincing General Grant that, whatever the faults of his party might be, his first duty to the country was to keep it in power; that in heaven, perhaps, parties are kept in power by their virtues, but that here on earth they have to be sustained by coarser instruments; that, in short, the Democratic party must be supported as the Republican party was supported, by the use of the offices. "Qui veut la fin," they would say, "veut les moyens. If you want to prevent the country going back to the horde of corruptionists who misruled it so long you must stop 'sipping cold tea' and playing push-pin with the Sunday-school teachers, and give the offices to the men who elected you." And he would assuredly give in, and then we should have tremendous confusion, fraud, and jobbery; appointments that would disgrace the nation at home and abroad, and give the lie to every sermon in every church in the land, and after that the

usual apology—"that General Hancock came to Washington with a sincere desire to purify the civil service and resist evil influences, but he was inexperienced in 'the ways of politicians'; that he was subjected to fearful 'pressure'; that he found he could get nothing done in Congress unless he gave way to it; that he got no support from his Cabinet in resisting them; that he could not possibly know the character of everybody who applied for an office; that reform of the civil service must begin with the reform of the individual man, and that when the people of the United States have purified their own hearts they will probably have pure Government officials."

THE ENGLISH DISASTER IN AFGHANISTAN.

THE merely material results of the British reverse near Kandahar have doubtless been exaggerated. Burrows's brigade has been defeated and broken up, probably with heavy loss in men and in guns, but the greater part of it has, perhaps, found its way back to Kandahar, and probably the last thing Ayub Khan thinks of is an attack on the citadel, to which the remainder of General Primrose's division has retired; nor is it at all likely that the Afghan army will wait for and give battle to the British reinforcements which are now hurrying up from every direction. Ayub Khan has struck his blow, and, whether content or not, will keep out of the way of any avenging force which he thinks is more than a match for him. This is the usual Afghan strategy. It is not very effective, but is very exhausting and puzzling for an invader. It is the strategy which was pursued in 1839 and 1841, and which has been pursued during the past year. It makes Afghanistan a very difficult country either to conquer or hold, for it prevents the invader from ever delivering a crushing blow. The attack on the Shirpur cantonments last winter, under Mohammed Jan, was a good illustration of it. It was at first reported that General Roberts had issued out of his intrenchments during the fray and had delivered a terrible counter-attack in which he cut the enemy to pieces. But the later news showed that by the time the counter-attack was delivered the Afghan force had dispersed, and the victory was a simple pursuit by cavalry of flying parties. Afghan warfare consists, in fact, simply in collecting a considerable force in great secrecy and using it for a quick dash at a careless or ill-informed enemy, and then, if the affair is not decisive, retiring to parts unknown, to turn up again on the first favorable opportunity. The men are simply peasants used to arms, and skilful enough in the loose sharp-shooting advance which all armies now practice. They have no commissariat, and rely for supplies on what the men can carry or pick up on the way, and they operate in one of the most difficult countries in the world, and are capable of splendid rushes. General Sir Donald Stewart had, in fact, in his late advance to Ghazni, a very narrow escape from the very fate which has overtaken Burrows. He fell in with a superior force and engaged it, but a furious charge of the Gazi swordsmen broke his line, enveloped his flanks, and almost reached him and his staff. His troops, which, we believe, were mainly Ghourkas, the best military material in India, happened to be extraordinarily steady, and kept their breech-loaders playing until they had swept the enemy away. But if even one company had begun to run, the force would have been "annihilated." In short, the Burrows affair is an old story in Afghan warfare. It will not cheer the Afghans up very much or seriously change the military situation.

Its significance is mainly political. What the advance of Ayub's force and the defection of the Afghan troops sent against him prove almost to demonstration is, that the thing which the Indian Government have been trying to do in this last war, and which they tried to do in 1839—set up an Amir or ruler friendly to it, or dependent on it, or patronized by it—cannot be done. It has been supposed by the supporters of Lord Beaconsfield's policy that as long as the English did not march into the country with an emperor in their hands, like Shah Soojah, to be put on the throne by force and kept there by the aid of foreign bayonets, some arrangement might be made by which the Amir, without being of foreign choosing, might be made subservient to British interests through threats or the employment of force, and by which he could be supervised by a British resident at his court. The late Shir Ali assured the Indian Government that this was impossible, that he could not protect such an envoy, and that any such open sign of his dependence as the presence of such an envoy in his capital would constitute, would so discredit him as to weaken or destroy his authority. The Beaconsfield Government, egged on by Sir Henry Rawlinson, would not believe it and acted on their own theory, we know with what results. Yakub Khan, having succeeded to the throne on his father's death, would probably have reigned in peace if the British Government had made no treaty with him and had taken no notice of him. The minute they brought him to their camp and took him under their protection, and fastened on him the position of a sovereign reigning by their sufferance, he seems to have lost all power whatever. The mob murdered the English envoy; the army proceeded to act without regard to him, and he had to take refuge in the British camp.

After waiting six months for somebody to take the vacant throne, Abdurrahman Khan, a nephew of Shir Ali, has turned up. He is a man of ability, and appears to have as strong a hold as anybody on Afghan allegiance. If the British had marched out of the country without taking any notice of him, he would probably have succeeded in making good his position without much trouble. But they have treated with him, acknowledged him, and presented him to the chiefs in solemn durbar as their man. There is hardly a doubt that this has at once made his future doubtful, and encouraged and strengthened the new pretender Ayub Khan, Shir Ali's son, who has come on from Herat, gathering strength on his way, and is now before Kandahar. At Kandahar he came in contact with the Wali set up there by the British Government, and at the very first encounter the Wali's troops deserted in a body to the enemy, drawing General Burrows into the trap which has proved fatal to his brigade. That the popular support and allegiance will now be transferred to Ayub, both in the Kandahar region and in Kabul, as the man who not only owes nothing to the foreigner but is able to fight him, all experience of Afghan politics justifies us in expecting. The British troops can easily save Kandahar from him, but they cannot catch him. He will remain in arms, threatening Abdurrahman, and if Abdurrahman fights him with British assistance, or under British superintendence, he will become so hateful to the people that the treaty with him will be of no more value than the treaty with Yakub Khan. Dost Mohammed warned a British officer in 1841 that the Afghans could bear anarchy, famine, pestilence, any calamity, in short, that heaven or man could send, without a murmur, but a master they could not stand. What he said is as true now as then. Its truth was recognized by the British Government in 1842 by simply withdrawing from the country, and letting Dost Mohammed go home from his confinement in India without conditions, and he had subsequently a long and peaceful reign. Had he been brought or sent back as a British protégé he never would have reigned at all.

The probabilities are now that the settlement with Abdurrahman Khan will, as a result of Ayub's appearance on the scene, turn out no more of a settlement than the one with Yakub Khan. The only sure way out of the difficulty, if history teaches anything on this matter, is to get out of the country bag and baggage, after chastising either Ayub Khan or somebody who will serve the same purpose, so as to restore English military prestige, and then let the various claimants of the throne fight it out among themselves, and make friends with the winning man. The British military experience of the past year shows clearly that the Afghans themselves constitute one of the best frontiers the Empire can have, far better than any mountains or passes, and that the notion that Russia is going to march through them to attack India is a deplorable delusion. If the Gladstone Ministry were bold as well as wise, they would probably solve the difficulty in this way, by dropping "the scientific frontier" and all its accompaniments and going back in a sober and rational way to the *status quo*. This was what was done in 1842. When Pollock had avenged the Kabul disaster and the prisoners had been given up, the troops retired without conditions and the Afghans were left to their own devices. The state of things then established has ever since worked reasonably well. It would have been still undisturbed if a dreamy romancer had not, by an extraordinary stroke of fortune, become master of British India. The result has been the loss of thousands of lives, the desolation of wide tracts of country, the expenditure of nearly $100,000,000, and the plunging of Indian finances in a disorder which is exciting veritable alarm in

London. The Indian problem has now, through bad financial management, become so serious that it is threatening the repose of the whole Empire. What is to be feared is that the Jingo fever has so far affected the imagination of the present Cabinet that they will shrink from applying the only radical remedy for Indian troubles, lest they should give support to the accusation so much used against them before the election, of indifference to English honor abroad.

COUNTY NAMES.

"FIRES are raging in Franklin County, Maine." In what part of the State is Franklin County? The answer is easily found in a gazetteer, if we possess one, or, after some search, in an atlas, if the children have not taken it to school: it is a western county, bordering on Canada. "Franklin County, Missouri, has suffered heavily by the late floods." Where is *that* county situated? It is an eastern county, bounded partly by the Missouri River. "Franklin County, Kentucky, promises abundant crops." Is that situated west, or east? No, it is a northern county, intersected by the Kentucky River. Franklin County, Tennessee, which "is infested by locusts," is a southern county. Franklin County, Ohio, which "has been completely cleared of tramps," is in the centre of the State; and Franklin County, Iowa, where "the inhabitants are preparing to celebrate a grand anniversary," is north-central. Some people all over Maine, Missouri, Kentucky, etc., when reading a piece of news concerning their own Franklin County, may know where that division of their State is situated; outside the respective State not one in a thousand inhabitants of the United States has the faintest idea of the location of the county referred to in the report. How could it be otherwise? Were the State divisions named Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, etc., and were a certain order or symmetry preserved in the geographical application of the names of our immortals, there would perhaps be a possibility of learning how to locate in each State its Washington County or Franklin County. But this is not the case. Geographically, as we have seen, the greatest disorder prevails, and the number of our immortals is endless. In Southern Illinois, for instance, the names are thus placed in tiers: Madison, Bond, Fayette, Effingham, Jasper, Crawford, St. Clair, Clinton, Marion, Clay; and in South Indiana thus: Daviess, Martin, Orange, Washington, Clark, Gibson, Pike, Dubois, Crawford, Harrison, Floyd. No amount of reading will familiarize one with a twentieth part of the counties of the United States, as to their location, outside of one's own State.

Nor will any amount of travelling. Any Westerner who has travelled repeatedly, and by various roads, between Chicago and the Atlantic seaboard will remember a considerable number of towns, rivers, natural sites, and even unimportant stations. He will never forget Toledo, Cleveland, or Buffalo; Pittsburg, Altoona, or Harrisburg; Trenton, New Brunswick, or Newark; Syracuse, Utica, or Albany; the Juniata, the Susquehanna, or the Delaware; the sight of the Alleghanies, the Highlands, or the Catskills. He will remember places where he noticed a picturesque hill or cascade, a beautiful sunrise or sunset, or particular signs of prosperity; places where he drank abominable coffee after a sleepless night, where he was cheated by the waiter, or stopped for hours on account of an accident. His recollections will be checkered and variously instructive. But he may in ten lengthy journeys never have learned the name of a single county. No sign, no mark of a boundary, no call of a conductor ever indicated such a name. He never learned that it was on the border of Cambria and Blair Counties that he crossed the ridges of the Alleghanies; that it was the hills of Mifflin County which charmed him so much on the banks of the Juniata; that it was in Dauphin that the train was delayed on the Susquehanna; that the Delaware, where he crossed it, flowed between Bucks and Mercer; that the beautiful surroundings of West Point formed a part of Orange; or that the peaks of the Catskills towered above each other in Greene. Nor does he, while reading of things and events in Cambria, Blair, Mifflin, Dauphin, and so forth, suspect that he has traversed or skirted those counties; and he thus never connects the subjects read about with what he has seen with his own eyes. Only a few names form exceptions: Juniata County he will naturally connect with the river of the same name, and Albany County with the capital of New York. In the same way we involuntarily connect, in reading, Appomattox County with Appomattox Court-House, where Lee surrendered to Grant, and Spottsylvania County with Spottsylvania Court-House, where the armies of those generals so desperately grappled with each other a year earlier; and we locate in our mind—following our historical associations—the former county somewhere beyond Richmond, and the latter beyond the Rappahannock. But how many of us have learned to associate Henrico County with the siege of Richmond, or Dinwiddie County with the siege of Petersburg?

The exceptions stated above—Juniata, Albany—show two rational ways of naming territorial divisions, and, in fact, we doubt whether there are any other. The French adopted the one when, shortly after the outbreak of the Revolution, they replaced the historical divisions of their country—Burgundy, Languedoc, Touraine, Berry, etc., which had become obsolete or inadequate—by new ones, known as departments. These they named after their main geographical features, in a manner equally systematic and instructive. Some received their names from mountains: Ardennes, Vosges, Puy-de-Dôme, Jura, Hautes-Pyrénées, Basses-Pyrénées, etc.; most others—like our Juniata County—from rivers: Somme, Seine, Oise, Seine-et-Oise, Marne, Rhône, Loire, Loire-Inférieure, Gironde, Haute-Garonne, Bouches-du-Rhône, etc. Had the naming-committee followed our patriotic plan, their departmental nomenclature would probably have consisted of such names as Montaigne, Corneille, Racine, Molière, Pascal, Voltaire, and possibly Condé and Turenne, or even Mirabeau and Lafayette—these two to be changed by subsequent revolutions into Guillotin and Marat, Lætitia and Josephine, Saint-Louis and Jeanne d'Arc, and, after new changes, into Victor-Noir and Rochefort, and so forth. And had our State-dividers, from Kentucky downward, followed the example of the French, Franklin County, Maine, would be called Mount Blue; Franklin County, Missouri, Lower Maramec; Franklin County, Kentucky, Kentucky-and-Elkhorn; Franklin County, Tennessee, Upper Elk; Franklin County, Ohio, Scioto; and Franklin County, Iowa, Iowa-and-Otter. On this plan the names of the northeastern divisions of the State of New York would be—instead of Clinton, Essex, Warren, Franklin, Hamilton—Saranac, Adirondack, Upper Hudson, Mount Seward, Long Lake. There would be meaning, instruction, and pleasant variety in the names—all of which we miss in our twenty-eight (or more) Washingtons, twenty-three Jeffersons, twenty-two Franklins, etc. The naming, however, would have required geographical knowledge, discrimination, and an inclination to agree—more of all these qualifications than our State committees generally give evidence of.

Easier of execution is the other rational way of naming territorial divisions—the way alluded to above in the mention of Albany County. The practice of calling a division after its chief town prevails, with some exceptions—of which France is the principal—all over Europe. Of course we do not refer to the historical main divisions, nearly corresponding to our States, such as Aragon, Catalonia, Brabant, Flanders, Brandenburg, Silesia, Lombardy, Venetia, Tyrol, Styria, Croatia, Transylvania, Lithuania, South-Russia, etc. The administrative divisions of Spain, Italy, Prussia, and Russia, for instance—variously designated as provinces, administrative districts, and governments—are named after their capitals, thus: Madrid, Toledo, Guadalajara, Cuenca; Alessandria, Coni, Novara, Turin; Königsberg, Gumbinnen, Dantzic, Marienwerder; St. Petersburg, Novgorod, Tver, Moscow. Only a few of the Russian governments, such as happen to coincide with historical divisions—like Bessarabia, Courland, and Esthonia—form exceptions. Nor are the exceptions numerous in Scotland or Ireland, while in England a mixed nomenclature prevails—the counties of the centre bearing mostly names of towns, like Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Stafford, Leicester, Warwick, Worcester; and those of the southeast, southwest, and extreme north historical names, like Essex, Kent, Sussex, Devon, Cornwall, Northumberland, Cumberland. The general European plan has been in the main adopted by California, and the seafarer who sails along her shores from Oregon to the border of Mexico, and is shown the coast towns of Klamath, Humboldt, Mendocino, San Francisco, Santa Cruz, Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, and San Diego, will also have learned where the counties of the same names are situated. These sonorous names, it is true, immortalize none of our Revolutionary or post-Revolutionary heroes; but California, if led by hero-worship, might also have inscribed on her soil the name of an earlier Kalloch, De Young, or Kearney. Our youngest State, Colorado, has in its counties a mixture, without system, of all kinds of words, Indian, Spanish, and English—from Arapahoe, through La Plata and Las Animas, to Summit and Weld. May the States to be admitted be wiser in their county nomenclatures, and while hallowing no more ground with patristic appellations, save us also from such names of dubious sound as are Indiana's Dubois and Floyd! It is too much to hope that there is any possibility of transforming the thousands of names we have—more meaningless than would be A, B, C, or X, Y, Z—into others indicative of natural features or administrative connections, and thus easily learned and better remembered.

JULES SIMON.

PARIS, July 16, 1880.

AT last the amnesty question is settled: the pardon of the condemned French communards has been voted. It is needless to dwell again on the motives which made it desirable as a pacific measure, and, above all, as the only means of ridding our political world of a brand of discord, and of an equivocal question which perverted all the elections in large towns. Misled by false generosity, the working classes voted for the communards, and thus, by infringing the law, they in a manner pledged themselves to the revolutionary party, who did not fail to take advantage of the situation. Henceforth they

will no longer be able to profit by these errors, and it will be more easy to resist them successfully. I shall not revert to the incidents of the second deliberation on the amnesty, either in the Chamber of Deputies on the 7th of July or in the Senate on the 9th, as they are known to you. I think it will be more interesting to give a political sketch of the eminent leader of the party who rejected and raised the most serious obstacles to the amnesty. I refer to M. Jules Simon, and in tracing his portrait I shall endeavor now and always to be just, and to remember that man is not invariably consistent, that his nature is changeable, and that he is swayed by divers motives, which we must know how to distinguish one from another. Let us first speak of his exterior and then of the orator.

At the most decisive moment of an important debate in the Senate a weak though shrill voice is heard asking leave to address the House, and a man slightly bent is seen advancing towards the tribune with slow steps as if about to give up the ghost. He invariably begins in a dolorous tone by stating he is so ill there is scarcely a breath of life in him; so he first speaks in a very low tone amid utter silence. It is well known that this dying man has, in reserve, greater strength than the most athletic orator, and that he will soon give rein to all his accustomed eloquence. He is not the first who has acted the invalid. His master, M. Victor Cousin, famous as a philosopher, and still more renowned as an unrivalled talker, did not cease during his youth to announce his approaching death, and at the funeral of a disciple only opened his mouth to repeat that he should soon rejoin him. "I knew, however, I should not die so soon," he confessed to one of his friends (Sainte-Beuve), from whom I had the anecdote. M. Jules Simon knows full well his case is not mortal; he proves it by all the power he displays in the tribune. He is, indeed, one of our best orators. His style differs entirely from M. Gambetta's; he has none of that impetuosity, of those grand gestures, that communicative fire, or Mirabeau-like eloquence, which combines cleverness with ardor. M. Jules Simon particularly seeks to please his auditors, is lavish of amiable words and charming smiles. He lacerates his opponents in the choicest language, and his speech is full of almost feline caresses. He weaves a golden net to catch his adversary, and the meshes are so fine from the solidity of his argument (one of his great talents) that the network is difficult to break. His very cleverness sometimes turns against him, for it not unfrequently renders his audience mistrustful. He is none the less recognized as one of the most finished orators of the French tribune.

If we seek to know how he has attained such a position, confirmed a few years ago by his election to the Académie Française, it will be found he has risen chiefly through his talents and personal efforts. Born of poor parents in the heart of Brittany, it was with the greatest difficulty that he pursued his preliminary studies. He is the authentic representative of that laborious democracy who, as one of our poets says, have not been nursed in the lap of luxury; from the very outset he has had to struggle against all the hardships of life. Early remarked for his talent, he was chosen by Victor Cousin as his substitute to fill the post of Professor of Philosophy at the Sorbonne. It was then he wrote his history, 'L'École d'Alexandrie,' the only really scientific book which can be attributed to him. His other philosophical writings, 'La Religion Naturelle,' 'Le Devoir,' are rather the works of a moralist than of a metaphysician. He was especially known as a rhetorician, and taught a young and enthusiastic audience how to manage the faculty of speech, particularly how to render it flexible. He already belonged to the Republican party when the Revolution of 1848 made him a deputy. During the first years of the Empire he retired into private life; by refusing to take the oath of allegiance he debarred himself from every public career. At this period he published his works, 'L'Ouvrière' and 'L'École,' on the instruction of the people, which procured him well-merited popularity. Chosen a deputy in 1863, he became one of the most influential members of the Opposition, whose recognized leader was Thiers. At the time of the war he formed part of the Government of National Defence. During the subsequent elections for the National Assembly he vigorously opposed M. Gambetta, who wished to prevent the former servants of the Second Empire from being elected members of the Republican Government. M. Jules Simon, in the name of the majority of the Government, maintained the perfect liberty of election, but from this moment may be dated the rivalry and animosity existing between these two statesmen, in which many of the difficulties in our political world have their origin.

The Minister of Public Instruction during M. Thiers's presidency, M. Jules Simon was one of his ablest supporters in the National Assembly, then principally composed of Monarchists. He is accused of having shown too much deference to the Ultramontane clergy, giving them the lion's share of the bishoprics at his disposal. His fall on the 25th of May, 1873, was consequently much lamented by the Papal legate, who said, "What a misfortune! Monseigneur Dupanloup's influence will now be paramount." You know that Pius IX. never forgave the Bishop of Orléans for having been Gallican. Mgr. Dupanloup jestingly said of M. Jules Simon: "You will see him cardinal before me." It was not until Marshal MacMahon's presidency that he became prime minister, but he was abruptly dismissed from office on the 16th of May, 1877, in spite of the efforts that he made to allay the strife against clericalism raised by M. Gambetta. The Left would certainly have overthrown M. Jules Simon had not the immoral coalition of May 16 anticipated them. He has never forgotten this fact, and it inspires his open opposition to the policy of the Left, whether it concerns the Jesuits, or, what is more incomprehensible, the Amnesty Bill. I do not pretend to say he is not guided by sincere motives when thwarting the *Kulturkampf* policy, but with regard to the amnesty everything in his past life ought to make the author of 'L'Ouvrière' advocate it. It is certain now that without ceasing to be Republican, which would be impossible for him, he is the true leader, or at least the mainstay, of the Right Coalition, who lavish upon him as much praise as formerly they overwhelmed him with insult when they called him Simon Magus. Without wishing to set one's self up as judge of his conscience, it is impossible to deny that it is a serious thing for a statesman to meet with no sympathy save in the ranks of enemies bitterly opposed to the cause he has defended all his life.

The stormy question of the amnesty being now got rid of, the National Fête of the 14th of July was celebrated amidst public rejoicings. The ceremony of the distribution of the banners of the Republic was very impressive and touching. Nearly the whole population participated in the fête by decking their houses with flags and illuminating them in the evening. The sombre predictions of the enemies of our form of government have been belied by the peaceful issue of the fête. É.

CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHY IN ITALY.

Domo d'Ossola, June, 1880.

IF we were to found a judgment upon what is contained in almost any of the recent histories of philosophy, we should be justified in coming to the conclusion that, since about the days of Giordano Bruno, Italy had contributed nothing to the advance of human thought. Even Germans, with their proverbial aptitude for the cataloguing of facts and phenomena, seem to have neglected the recent philosophy of their neighbors, the Italians, as much as that of our own country, which is separated from them by the ocean. So true is this that when Ueberweg's 'Handbuch' came to be translated by an American, it was found necessary to add a chapter on American and one on Italian philosophy. The latter, written by an Italian, is, with the exception of Professor Ferri's 'Essai sur l'Histoire de la Philosophie en Italie au XIXième Siècle' (Paris: 1869), almost the only means, accessible to students generally, of becoming acquainted with recent Italian thought. The circumstances that have contributed to this general neglect and ignorance are various: 1st, The difficulty of obtaining Italian books in foreign countries; 2d, the inability of most philosophers to read the language with ease; 3d, a prejudice against Catholicism, and a belief that it is inconsistent with an honest philosophy; and, 4th, a notion that Italy is a thing of the past, or, at best, only just waking up from a long intellectual lethargy, and lazily ranking her priest-ridden forces in the rear of those nations which, under the banner of Rationalism, have for some time been carrying everything before them. Italy, in consequence, plays hardly any part in the intellectual life of the present.

In spite of this she has, during the last fifty years, produced thinkers for genius and learning worthy to stand beside, or perhaps above, any that have appeared elsewhere. Indeed, they are so various, and have so little sympathy with or belief in each other, that unless one is very closely on his guard he is liable to see the whole movement from the standpoint of one school hostile to all the rest. This has happened to several writers who have recently written articles on Italian philosophy for English and American periodicals. They have given very one-sided accounts; and this is hardly to be wondered at, seeing that in Italy intellectual differences, always sufficiently alienating in themselves, coincide, in great measure, with religious or political differences, which, separate or united, are very blinding to the judgment, and lead even philosophers into very unseemly ways of expressing themselves about each other.

Though there is hardly any important system of philosophy, ancient or modern, that does not claim adherents in Italy, the main tendencies of thought are two: 1. That which claims supreme authority for human reason; 2. That which, in addition to and above reason, admits the principle of faith. These respectively coincide, in large measure, with liberalism and conservatism in politics, and help to emphasize the difference between them. In both tendencies there are various sub-divisions. The rationalist movement is represented mainly by Platonists, Kantians, Hegelians, and Positivists of various stripes; that which would give a place to faith, by various forms, more or less altered, curtailed, or disguised of Aristotelianism—empiricism, ontologism, and Thomism. Platonism finds its most ardent support in the aged patriot Count Mamiani, who, in spite of his eighty years and his no light duties as senator, finds time to edit a philosophical journal, *La Filosofia delle Scuole Italiane*, and in the early months of the year published two well-reasoned works 'La Filosofia della Realtà' and 'La

Religione dell' Avvenire,' the latter of which had the honor of being placed upon the *Index*. Mamiani's system is the result of a long development, of which he has given an account in his 'Confessioni di un Metafisico,' a book which many persons, particularly ladies, buy, thinking it must be a companion to the 'Confessions' of Rousseau and De Musset. In his early life, when an exile living in Paris, he engaged in a philosophical controversy with Antonio Rosmini, and, though the latter's artillery was too heavy for him, it did not make him a convert to Rosminianism. It did, however, convince him of the falseness of sensism, and turn his thoughts in a direction which finally led him to a kind of Platonism. This system, which has received its fullest and most concise statement in his recent 'Filosofia della Realtà,' has many attractive sides, not the least of which is the perfect classicism of the style in which it is expressed; still, being too dogmatic for the critical spirit of the present day, it is not likely to find many adherents. Mamiani is a thoroughly accomplished man of the world, a fact which often gives his opinions a value altogether independent of his philosophical system. Having been twice prime minister under Pius IX., he has much knowledge of the inner aspects of official Catholicism, and this invests his recent work, 'La Religione dell' Avvenire,' with a special significance. It is a work which, if translated, would certainly find many readers among Unitarians and "advanced" thinkers. Kantism has had a very deep and pervasive influence in Italy, as well as elsewhere. I have not found a single thinker, even among those who in words most bitterly impugn it, who is not more or less influenced by it. Kant's cardinal distinction between the matter and form of thought reappears in a dozen different disguises, and threatens Italian—nay, even Catholic—thought with a whole avalanche of subjectivism. At the same time, it cannot be said that there is any Kantian school in Italy. Kant is, in fact, the philosophic Luther, who will deeply influence Italians, but will never find adherents among them.

Hegelism, on the contrary, has a well-defined school, headed by Prof. Vera, of Naples, who takes pride in being called Hegel's *apostolus gentium*. If blind faith and boundless enthusiasm were sufficient to ensure the success of a system, certainly Prof. Vera and this little band of devoted followers ought to look forward to a future all their own. On the other hand, a system which merges the matter of thought in its form will never command much acceptance among any people having the mental balance and keen sense of reality that belongs to the Italians. The bald, blighting formalism of the philosophy of the idea may suit people who have no plastic imagination; but, transplanted to the artistic soil of Italy, it must always remain a hyperborean exotic. The polemical works of the Hegelians, Vera, Spaventa, Fiorentino, are not edifying. Less fault is to be found with those of Raphael Mariano, who is the intimate friend of Gregorovius, and seems really to have dis-Italianized himself. His works, if not displaying great originality, are at least useful contributions to Italian thought.

But the most important of the rationalistic schools of Italy is unquestionably the Positivist. Though its followers are much at variance, even about first principles, they are still in a certain sense a coherent body with a common aim, that of contributing sound material for the edifice of science. What enthusiasm appears among them is strictly in proportion to the prominence lent by different minds to the negative and destructive implications of the system, and as strictly in inverse ratio to good sense and fairness. The most liberal-minded Positivists of Italy are Prof. Villari, the friend of Mill, and Prof. Ferri, whose work on recent Italian philosophy has already been alluded to. Villari's specialty is history, and in it he has done some excellent work. Prof. Ferri's productions are more strictly philosophical. Of those recently published the most important are 'La Psicologia di Pietro Pomponazzi secondo un manoscritto della Biblioteca Angelica di Roma (Comento inedito al De Anima di Aristotele,)' 1877, and 'Sulla Dottrina Psicologica dell' Associazione, Saggio storico e critico,' 1878. Both are included among the treatises of the Reale Accademia dei Lincei, of which the author is a very active member. The former, to which are appended 124 pages of extracts from the curious Angelica MS., apparently a fully written-out *Collegienheft* of one of Pomponazzi's students, sets forth in a very careful and concise way the psychological doctrines of one of the most original and influential thinkers of the age immediately preceding the Reformation. In these we can trace clearly the germs which, on the one side, developed into the doctrines of the Protestant reformers, and, on the other, produced that narrowing but purifying reaction which we may call the reformation within the Church. Many of Pomponazzi's views are instructive, and not a few of them valuable even at the present day. Indeed Prof. Ferri deserved well, not only of the history of philosophy, but also of philosophy itself, when he made accessible the doctrines of a man who combined, in an unusual degree, the logical training of the scholastics and the critical spirit of modern rationalists. The absence of the former of these elements in the majority of subsequent thinkers accounts for many a sad and wide-spread error. Before leaving this important work I must take occasion to correct an error of Prof. Ferri's, which would be astounding in a man so learned were it not shared by many others equally learned. "Aristotelianism," he says, "as is well known, admits nothing innate in the mind." This is absolutely untrue. Aristotle was no sensist. Let any one who believes so read the third chapter of the third (Γ) book of the 'Metaphysics,' with Thomas Aquinas's commentary, and he will find irrefutable proof of the contrary. The importance of this correction will be seen presently. The second work mentioned of Prof. Ferri's is a most careful account and criticism of the whole doctrine of association in thought, showing what it has contributed in the shape of valuable facts, and how, why, and where it fails in its attempt to be a complete explanation of the data of consciousness. This work, had it been written in English, French, or German, would have attracted a great deal of notice, and doubtless called forth numerous replies; Prof. Ferri, deeply versed as he is in the systems of Kant and Rosmini, would no doubt have held his own against all the sensists.

Inasmuch as the non-rationalistic or faith-admitting forms of philosophy are in Italy held solely by professed Catholics, the term Catholic may, for brevity's sake, be used to designate them. Now, it is well known that the recognized philosophy of the Catholic Church is Thomism, and this fact has recently been emphasized by a Papal encyclical. It might seem that, since the Church recognizes one philosophy, her thinkers would be in full accord, at least upon all essential points. Unfortunately, however, Thomism, like the two sources from which its elements were derived, Aristotelianism and the Bible, is susceptible of various interpretations, according to the mental bias of those studying it. Though the Dominicans, to whose order St. Thomas Aquinas belonged, are usually recognized as the orthodox interpreters of St. Thomas, still their authority was not great enough to prevent the Jesuits, after their order was restored and became dominant in the Church, from interpreting Thomism in their own way. Caring, as a body, comparatively little for speculative truth, and eager to limit the natural powers of human reason, so as to have all the more room for authority and obedience, they adopted the sensistic system of Condillac and insisted that it was the true Thomism. With this view they wrote numerous philosophical manuals, and succeeded in imposing them even upon the Dominicans, who received them, literally, with weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth. For full half a century Catholic thought, practically legislated for by the Society of Jesus, had been tending to rank materialism, when there appeared a man who, gifted with remarkable intellect, possessed of great learning, endued with firmness of purpose, supported by the purest of motives, and encouraged by successive pontiffs, undertook to reform the thought of the Church. This man was the Abbé Antonio Rosmini, a native of Roveredo, in Tyrol, a saint, perhaps a martyr, and, if I may express my opinion, by far the profoundest and most comprehensive thinker of this century. Rosmini was thirty-three years old when his first great work, 'Nuovo Saggio sull' Origine delle Idee' (3 vols. 8vo), appeared at Rome. This was in 1830, and from that date till his death, in 1855, he poured forth a stream of remarkable treatises on all branches of human knowledge and thought. Those published occupy about forty octavo volumes, and there are several works still in manuscript. A uniform edition is now in process of publication by Speirani & Co., of Turin. When completed, it will, as a monument of the theoretic activity of a single mind, have but one peer in the whole world of human thought—the works of Aristotle.

This may seem an extravagant estimate of a man who, though he has been dead for a quarter of a century, is hardly known or named outside a small circle of devoted followers, or of a larger circle, whose members, if they utter his name, do so only with hate, and in order that it may be the more surely suppressed. The reasons for the almost universal ignorance that prevails respecting the works of Rosmini are easily discovered. As a sincere and devoted Catholic, Rosmini earned the prejudice of the whole Protestant and free-thinking world; as the opponent of sensism in philosophy, and of un-Christian hate and uncharitableness in religion, he drew upon himself the whole weight of the jealousy, bitterness, and opposition of the strong party in the Church, which has for fifty years strained every nerve to counteract his influence and dishonor his name. Having, in 1854, been most signally defeated in an attempt to have his works placed upon the *Index*, this party has ever since used every underhand means in its power to discredit or suppress them. But in spite of all this, the works of Rosmini live on, and are making their way, silently indeed but surely, among thoughtful Catholics. Rosmini not only worked out a philosophy, but he also left a body of disciples to take care of it. The heir of a noble and wealthy family, he devoted his fortune to the founding of an order, whose watchword was to be *Charity*, and whose members were to devote themselves to thought and good works. The order was approved by Gregory XVI. in 1839, and has now a considerable number of members, especially in Italy and England. A more high-minded and devoted body of men it would not be easy to find.

It is difficult in a few words to give even a notion of Rosmini's system. Technically speaking, it is objective realism; only, in calling it so, we must not forget his acceptation of *objective*. It may be said to be a compromise between the systems of Plato, Aristotle, St. Thomas, and what is true in Kant, and has, even on that ground, a profound interest. But there is much in it that none of these great thinkers ever dreamt of. Rosmini may not have

solved the problem of consciousness; but he has cleared up many a dark point, made many a valuable distinction, refuted and ticketed many an error and erroneous system, and shown the way in which the problem may be solved. Perhaps the most important of all his works is his 'Psychology,' which, were it generally known, would undoubtedly create a revolution in that science. None of his works, so far as I can discover, has ever appeared in any foreign language, with the exception of a brief *résumé* of his system contained in the volume entitled 'Introduction to Philosophy.' Of this an excellent German translation appeared last year at Ratisbon. In his preface the translator says: "It does, indeed, seem strange that Rosmini, who unquestionably holds the first place among modern Italian philosophers, and whose views are every day obtaining a wider currency in Italy, should in Germany have remained almost unnoticed." This would have caused him less surprise had he known that two years ago there was not a single volume of Rosmini's works even in the library of the British Museum. Mr. Panizzi, it seems, was not very thoughtful of his great countryman.

Rosmini's system, like all Catholic systems, professes to be, at bottom, Thomism, and it certainly approaches that body of doctrine much more closely than the sensistic system it strove to replace. Still it is not Thomism pure and simple, but rather Thomism corrected, developed, and improved. This has given its numerous and bitter opponents a chance to raise against it the cry of pantheism, perhaps the most condemnatory term a Catholic of the present day can use when speaking of a philosophy. The head of the Church, meanwhile, seeing his spiritual subjects divided into two hostile camps, each claiming the whole Thomistic domain, has most wisely ordered that in all colleges and seminaries under the control of Catholic bishops Thomism, and nothing but Thomism, shall be taught. In order, too, that there may no longer be any doubt as to what Thomism is, academies for the study and exposition of the works of the Angelic Doctor have been established in several Italian cities, and one was recently inaugurated at Rome, under the immediate direction of the Pope. The purposes of the Academy are declared to be:

1. To use all efforts, in common with other academies having the same aim, everywhere to restore Christian philosophy as promulgated by St. Thomas Aquinas.

2. To keep thoroughly acquainted with all important treatises and periodicals, especially those dealing with philosophical matters, so as to obtain knowledge of the condition of the sciences in all parts of the world.

3. To publish essays, and, when necessary, treatises, in order to refute dangerous errors, or to clear up and develop points of philosophy.

4. To give careful attention to the instruction of teachers, in order that they may be especially fitted to impart scholastic philosophy.

That students may fall into no errors on account of incorrect texts, the Pope has devoted the sum of 300,000 francs to the preparation of a new edition of the works of St. Thomas. The chief editor is Cardinal Zigliara, a Dominican, who informs me that the new text will differ very widely from any of the previous ones, not excepting that of the *Editio Piana*. The Pope's great hobby, and it is certainly a most excusable one, is scholastic, and especially Thomistic, philosophy, the result being that there is at this moment a philosophical activity in the Church such as she has not known for hundreds of years. This activity, applied to the works of so great a thinker as St. Thomas, cannot fail to produce good fruit, especially as it is decreed that none of his doctrines which conflict with the truths of modern science shall be maintained or taught. The fight between the Rosminians and the sensists goes on unslackened, and both are targets for nearly all the schools of rationalism, whose arrows in many cases produce a profound impression. It is to be hoped that out of all this turmoil Italy will arise philosophically regenerated.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

Correspondence.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Civil-service reform is much preached and little practised. Why do not ideas so simple and practical make more progress? That a stream can rise no higher than its source has been shown incessantly in our politics. It is idle to attempt to graft such a reform on a political trunk that is alien to it. In other words, when the people are ready for it the thing will come of itself.

By way of preparing the people, are not its advocates attempting too little? Why should simple fitness be a standard of appointment and tenure in the case of national offices when the daily life of citizens habituates them to a merely political test for all others? The germ-cell of the nation is the commune; and here is the point of attack for reformers. The folly of identifying communal with national politics can be made obvious to the meanest comprehension. What matters it whether a pound-master or a fence-viewer be Democrat or Republican? In communal affairs, at least, there should be as many new parties as there are new measures proposed; and there should be too much effervescence to allow political crystallization. When party "bosses" cannot bestow local office as rewards for adherence to their fortunes, one important source of their power will be dried up. And, further, people will largely lose the habit of acting in masses at elections. This latter effect will tend to independence in all politics. Local office, it should be remembered, is a vastly greater element of political cohesion than the comparatively small number of national offices. Then let the reform be aimed to inoculate the people with independence in local affairs, and when that is accomplished the rest will follow.

HARRY P. JUDSON.

TROY, N. Y., July 7, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the article entitled "The Civil-Service Issue in the Canvass," in your number of July 22, you say, "To Mr. Hayes himself it seemed as if he stood alone, as if the country was not yet ready for civil-service reform." That sentence would make an excellent text for a sermon to be preached to the Independents. Not only has Mr. Hayes found by sad experience that the country is unprepared for the reform, but every thinking man who calmly views the present state of parties must come to the same conclusion.

I submit to you the opinion that this great reform is not to be accomplished by a Presidential election or by any President. This is fortunate; for if the executive branch of our Government could by an edict and its authority change our whole civil-service system we might as well have absolutism and the Czar of Russia himself. Our reform is to be accomplished as the English reform was accomplished—by agitation and a bill in Congress. We must begin with the agitation, and the charge I make against the Independents and civil-service reformers is that they have neglected this agitation. By agitation I do not mean admirable articles in the *North American Review* and clever speeches in select reform clubs, but a thorough stirring up of the mass of the people in language they can understand; the reformers must come in actual contact with the masses and show up the abuses of our present system in the clearest light. We must imitate the Loyal Publication Society of eighteen years ago, and among high and low, rich and poor, become earnest propagandists. To reform an abuse it must be shown that it is too outrageous to be borne. The abolition of slavery and every great reform were carried in this way, but our reformers seem to have forgotten it. As a consequence the country is not ripe for the reform. The majority have no definite and accurate idea of it; many know it only by name, many suspect it of being visionary. It will never be carried until the people make such a clamor for it that the venal press will have to support it, and some party be obliged to promise to put it into effect.

F. G. S.

HARTFORD, July 30.

GENERAL GARFIELD AND MILITARY COMMISSIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The *Nation* of July 29, No. 787, says: "It is singular to reflect that while it was through General Hancock that Mrs. Surratt was hung, it was partly through the efforts of General Garfield that the practice of hanging Democrats by means of military commissions was brought to an end." This in reference to the able argument of General Garfield in the Milligan case in 1866, reported in 4 Wallace.

The military commission which hung Mrs. Surratt was convened by an order of the President. Its findings and sentence were approved by him, and their execution ordered by him. The official papers passed through General Hancock's headquarters, as commander of the military district in which it sat, and he had no more to do with them than his adjutant-general who transmitted them to the officer next in rank below him, or the headquarters clerk who wrote the endorsement on them, or the orderly who carried them. It was *through*, but not *by means of*, or *authority of*, General Hancock. The President and his advisers are solely responsible for that execution.

General Garfield's argument in the Milligan case is an able and luminous résumé of the struggle of Anglo-Saxon liberty against despotism, of the resistance of English freemen to all attempts to deprive them of life, liberty, or property except by trial by jury. It proves that he has studied and appreciated the history of the passions of parties, and the frenzy of factions, who time and again in England have attempted to deprive their conquered opponents of the rights guaranteed by Magna Charta. With this knowledge fresh in his mind, from his argument as *counsel*, in December, 1866, General Garfield in March, 1867, supported with voice and vote the reconstruction measures which established military commissions in ten American States long after the war had terminated, as has been judicially decided by the Supreme Court.

Under operation of these reconstruction laws, in November, 1867, one McCardle was held for trial before a military commission "for opposing reconstruction." He appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States from the decision of the Circuit Court of Mississippi refusing to release him on

habeas corpus. His appeal was argued on the 2d, 3d, 5th, and 9th of March, 1868 (6 Wallace 318), and held by the court under advisement. Before his right to appeal was passed upon, on March 14, an amendment to a Senate bill was slipped through the House by a trick, depriving the Supreme Court of jurisdiction "in all appeals *which have been* or may hereafter be taken in habeas corpus." It was generally understood that the Supreme Court in deciding McCardle's case would decide the whole scheme of reconstruction to be unconstitutional, and the Democrats two days afterwards in the House made great outcry at the advantage that had been taken of them. Whereupon Schenck, of Ohio, avowed in the debate that the object of the law was "to clip the wings of the Supreme Court" (*Cong. Record*, March 21, 1868).

The act was vetoed by the President, and passed the House March 27 over his veto. General Garfield is not recorded as voting, but the discussion in the House and a very bitter attack in the press had directed the attention of the country to the matter; therefore his silence must be construed to be consent. The Supreme Court, in obedience to this act of Congress, dismissed McCardle's appeal (7 Wallace 515). Yerger's case (8 Wallace 85) was another case where a party was held for trial by military commission for murder. He was released under the constitutional jurisdiction of the court.

Hence I respectfully submit that the *Nation* has not spoken with its usual accuracy in saying "it was through"—*i.e.*, by means or authority of—General Hancock that Mrs. Surratt was hung, and that General Garfield assisted in putting a stop to the practice of hanging Democrats by military commission. It seems to me that General Garfield helped to inaugurate a very general practice of hanging Democrats by military commission when he first aided in subjecting millions of them to trial by those tribunals, thus depriving them of trial by jury; and, second, allowed them to be deprived of the right of habeas corpus to the Supreme Court. B. T. J.

Baltimore, July 31, 1880.

[Our jocularity shall not cost us so dear but that we will remark on the above letter that the Milligan case arose in a State not under military subjection, and which had never been at war with the Federal Government; and that it was quite possible to condemn without inconsistency the proceedings which General Garfield condemned as counsel, and to approve by voice and vote the general method of reconstructing the South. Moreover, the privilege of appeal denied McCardle by special statute was only a year old, having been instituted in a reconstruction measure framed with a view to the better protection of the freedmen and white Unionists.—Ed. Nation.]

THE NEW-LONDON MANAGERS DEFENDED.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In reply to a Boston correspondent ("E. S. P.," in the *Nation* of July 22), who expresses regret both because the press in general has refrained from condemning the "observation train" by which two people were killed at the Harvard-Yale boat-race, and because you in particular have entirely acquitted from blame the management of that train, I wish to suggest (1) that the mere fact of the chief victim's being a prominent railroad president riding on his own special car, which was presumably released from the stringent regulations governing the cars to which the public were admitted, tended to restrain the censors of the daily press from indulging off-hand in their usual tirades of denunciation, based upon the first imperfect telegraphic reports; and (2) that the *Nation* of a week after the event pronounced a verdict of acquittal because its editor understood the real circumstances of the case a great deal better than "E. S. P." understands them.

As all the printed accounts which I have seen—and I do not believe any can have escaped my eye—are lacking either in accuracy or completeness, it may be well for me even now to tell the truth about the train to "E. S. P." and the people who read his letter, especially as, two days after the date of this, the Boston *Advertiser* printed a similar communication signed "Safety," which was so absurdly and ingeniously false as to make "E. S. P.'s" mistakes and misapprehensions seem almost respectable in comparison.

In 1878, when the race was first appointed for New London and announcement was made that a "moving grand stand" would be run along the railroad which skirts the shore, some doubts were publicly expressed and more were privately entertained as to the practicability and safety of this novel device for affording spectators a continuous side-view of the competing boats. After the event, however, a unanimous cry of applause was raised by the press in honor of the sagacity and courage which had conceived and persisted in this idea, and the carefulness and forethought shown in the actual demonstration of its advantages. The *Nation's* correspondent in particular was enthusiastic in praise of the train and its management, saying: "It is one of the traditions of our railroad system that the passenger should be kept in ignorance as to the intentions of the company with regard to their disposition of his person and effects; so that the pains taken in this case to give every one of them exact information as to the plans of the managers concerning him make the train remarkable in the history of transportation as well as of boat-racing." The allusion is to the fact that the conductor in charge of each car distributed among his passengers a printed bulletin of the race, announcing among other things that the train would be *pushed and not pulled*, —the southern engine first shoving the cars and the northern engine to the starting point, and the northern engine then shoving the cars and southern engine back again. These are the exact conditions under which the train was run in 1880 (in 1878 and 1879 the southern engine was detached and ran ahead as a pilot); and all "E. S. P.'s" and "Safety's" criticisms based upon the assumption that the southern engine was *pulling* the train at the time when the couplings broke are, therefore, aside from the point.

Fully realizing the vital importance of their regulations, the managers have on all three occasions been personally present to see to the enforcement of them—the general superintendent of the road, Mr. G. W. Bentley, riding in the northern engine, and the general freight agent, Mr. C. F. Spaulding, riding in the southern (in 1878 and 1879 in the southernmost car); and the positive testimony of the latter gentleman that his engineer at the time of the break was duly obeying orders and allowing his machine, with steam shut off, to receive its momentum from the rear, cannot be questioned by any one. But even under these conditions, "E. S. P." objects that "the great weight and consequent inertia of a locomotive is an unmanageable element, for it acts like a slung-shot, and can hardly be controlled at the end of a long line as it might be close at hand." This objection undoubtedly has force, but it may be said in reply to it that the train had been stopped by the rear engine at least three times in 1878, '79, and '80, without developing in the front engine enough "slung-shot" power to snap the couplings; and the presumption is that the second and third stoppages appointed for this year might have been made with equal success, had no additional strain been brought to bear.

Unfortunately, however, this additional strain was brought to bear when the directors of the Boston & Albany Railroad added to the engine their "special palace-car," weighing fully thirty tons. The engine and car combined made a "slung-shot" of such weight and inertia that when the rear engine shut off steam and brought the twenty-five platform-cars very gradually to a stand-still, this "slung-shot broke loose from the string," and the two persons who were standing up on the front end of their special flat-car (whose ends had not been provided with railings, like those protecting the cars to which the public were admitted) were shaken off by the recoil. None of the passengers, save those close to the front, suspected that anything unusual had happened. This shows the extreme slowness with which the cars were moving at the moment when the break took place, and that they were not torn asunder with the "suddenness" assumed by "E. S. P." As it took the boats twenty-four minutes to go the four miles, the train which kept opposite them never moved at a faster rate than that of ten miles an hour.

The coupling which broke proved to be a defective one, though the defect was so latent that it escaped the attention of the Boston & Albany officers who sent it, as well as that of the local examiners. The car was such a very heavy one, however, that this bad link might perhaps have been snapped by the strain of stopping, even had the weight of the engine not been added; whereas, had the link been sound the combined car and engine might very probably have failed to break it. Furthermore, the fact should not be lost sight of that even had there been no unexpected stoppage, by reason of the interruption of the race caused by the snapping of a rowlock in the Yale boat, the same break would probably have happened when the train came to its expected stop opposite the finish at Winthrop's Point; and there is no good cause for assuming that Mr. Lincoln and his companion would have been more on their guard then than in the former case. They knew that Yale had ceased rowing, and, though I believe Harvard's movements were temporarily hidden from them, they must have assumed from the "slowing" of the train that it was about to come to a stop also. If they failed to be on their guard then, they would presumably have been equally careless in preparing for the duly-advertised stop at Winthrop's Point. I draw attention to this to prove that the accident was at least not due to the train managers' losing their heads in the face of an emergency which had not been anticipated. There was no confusion or hesitation on their part. They acted exactly as every passenger who read the printed announcement placed in his hands might have expected them to act. They carried out their published programme to the letter; and it was a programme which for two seasons had met with universal public approval. The opinion of "E. S. P.," that "the shock came as a *natural consequence* of the way in which the train was arranged," though a true opinion, is based upon a misconception of the facts; for these, rightly understood, can cast no shadow of blame upon any one of the New London managers.

The two engines *were* "made to move back and forth as if they were one machine," because they had but one commander, instead of being, as "E. S. P." wrongly assumes, "impelled and controlled by two separate minds." The bell-rope, *of a single unbroken piece*, which connected the two locomotives, was cut by the master car-builder after the accident, when it be-

came necessary to detach the special flat-car. This line ran along on top of the canvas coverings of the cars, and holes two feet square were cut in the coverings in order to make it readily accessible to the men in charge of the brakes of each car, who were required to have constant hold of it, so as instantly to detect any signal. Yet the *Advertiser's* correspondent slanderously asserts on hearsay evidence that the entire absence of any mode of communication on the train was one of several particulars in which "gross and criminal negligence was shown"! The twenty-four cars were selected for the train, with special reference to strength and safety, from a much larger number; many were new, and all were sound. The master-mechanic and master car-builder of the road, with a suitable force of mechanics, gave personal attention to every car chosen. The amphitheatre-like frames for seats were made of timber sufficiently strong to sustain four times the weight of the intended load. The parts were bolted together rather than nailed, and the seats also were firmly secured. Across the ends of each car a stout railing was firmly bolted, not only as a protection in the event of a sudden start or stop, but to prevent passing from one car to another, which would be dangerous when the train was in motion. Access was gained from the front centre of the car in every case.

Two years' experience had convinced the managers of the danger of their plan of having the front engine run ahead as a pilot, especially among the excited crowds at the finish, and, worst of all, when the race ended after dusk, as in 1879. Safety demanded that there should be a considerable interval between the detached engine and the following train; and in this interval the people or animals that had been warned or driven from the track by the whistle and bell of the pilot might step back on again and be crushed by the less noisy train. Again, if the detached engine should break a wheel or become derailed, the consequences to the train would necessarily be very disastrous. Hence, as no guaranty of a clear track and safe passage for the train would be possible without an engine at the head, it was decided to have it attached there, but with steam shut off. No one of the managers has yet seen any reason to doubt that this is the best possible plan, or to hesitate about adhering to it hereafter. One serious objection to having the cars *pulled* by a single engine in front is the discomfort and danger caused passengers by the showers of cinders that would fall on them, not to mention the results of a possible break in the centre of the train.

When "E. S. P." asserts that "people should not be invited to expose themselves as these two unfortunate people were exposed," he really says not a word against the observation train proper, or against the New London managers, for they never invited any one to expose themselves in such a way. He simply censures the three railroad presidents (one of them no longer living) who did invite their dearest friends to the fatal palace-car. Respect for the rule *de mortuis*, if no other consideration, prevents my expressing an opinion as to the justice or injustice of such censure. If the "errors in judgment," which he mentions, really were committed, the penalty therefor fell upon the shoulders of those, living and dead, by whom they were committed. To discuss such a point would be a needless cruelty, and the decision of it one way or the other could subserve no public purpose. It is enough for me if I have vindicated the New London management on its own positive merits, and have justified the observation train's right to exist. I have no desire to resort to the negative defence of detraction, or to pronounce a word in condemnation of any one connected with the case.

The real danger which threatens the visiting public at New London—or which would threaten it were the present managers to be superseded by others less careful and sagacious—is not connected with the observation train, but attaches rather to a theory of management hinted at by the writer who supplied to the *Nation* its report of the boat-race. His suggestion that perhaps the addition of subsidiary "events" might attract a larger crowd to the Harvard-Yale contest, would, if adopted by the managers, have a tendency to put more lives in peril annually than the running of a dozen observation trains. Easily as one may abuse the superlative degree, I am surely within the limits of moderation in saying that the unanimity and unreservedness of the praise bestowed by the newspaper press, for three successive seasons, on the New London managers, is something entirely singular and unique in American aquatic annals. That praise would never have been won, however, had not those managers accepted at the outset, as a vital rule for their guidance, the theory that in a college rowing contest on the Thames a single race between two crews is the most that may be safely attempted within the limits of a single day. The experience of three seasons has simply served to strengthen them in that theory. They believe, furthermore, that the people of New England who take pleasure in seeing a short, sharp, and decisive trial of strength between her two oldest and most famous colleges, will always be attracted to New London in numbers sufficiently great to make the profits of transporting them pay for the costs of good management; and they have no intention of ruining their own present prestige by attempting a complicated "regatta" which might attract a larger crowd than they could safely control.

L. H. B.

Washington Square, N. Y., July 28, 1880.

Notes.

T. H. S. HAMERSLY, Washington, has published in a thin pamphlet an alphabetical 'Register of Cadets admitted into the U. S. Military Academy at West Point from its establishment till 1880,' compiled by Col. Robert H. Hall, U.S.A. The value of this list is increased by tables showing the results of examinations for admission, and the corps to which graduates have been promoted. Three-fourths of the cadets appointed have been admitted, and only since 1866 have grammar, geography, and history furnished grounds of rejection. The same publisher has in press a work of much greater magnitude and interest, viz., 'A Complete Regular Army Register of the United States from 1779 to 1879.' In addition to what the title promises it will contain an alphabetical register of *all* appointments by the President in the volunteer service during the rebellion, a list of battles in which the U. S. Army has been engaged, and much other statistical matter of importance.——James J. Chapman, Washington, will shortly have ready Major J. C. Tidball's 'Manual of Heavy Artillery Service' for the use of the army and militia of the United States. Mr. Chapman also announces McPherson's 'Hand-Book of Politics for 1880,' uniform with the series for 1872, 1874, 1876, and 1878, and, like them, invaluable.——A Life of the late Dr. William Rimmer, by Mr. T. H. Bartlett, a fellow-sculptor, is in preparation, and will be published by J. R. Osgood & Co.——The American News Co. publish immediately a 'Life of Gen. Winfield S. Hancock,' by Alvan S. Southworth, with an introduction by Senator Bayard, and "fresh contributions" by Senators David Davis and Wade Hampton, and Messrs. D. D. Field, A. S. Sullivan, C. F. Adams, R. A. Pryor, A. S. Hewitt, and—John Kelly.——The American Association for the Advancement of Science will hold its annual meeting at Boston, beginning August 25, in the halls of the Mass. Institute of Technology. There will be excursions to Cambridge, Salem, and "down the harbor."——Macmillan & Co. will issue a second revised and enlarged edition of Dr. Carter's excellent little work on 'Eyesight,' as also, 'Food for Invalids,' by Drs. J. Milner Fothergill, of London, and H. C. Wood, of Philadelphia. They have received the third part (Lit-Red) of Skeat's 'Etymological Dictionary of the English Language.' The fourth and last part, including a list of roots and various word-lists, is promised by November 1.——Progress in picnicking is marked by an actual 'Hand-book of the Yellowstone Valley, for Tourists and Settlers,' which comes to us from the St. Paul Book and Stationery Company. "Market Prices in the Yellowstone Valley" have been kindly furnished by a merchant of Miles City, a town situated on Tongue River, 325 miles from Bozeman, and reached at a cost of $42 in stage fares.——The current issue of the series of "Personal Narratives of Events in the War of the Rebellion" (Providence: N. Bangs Williams & Co.) tells of the fortunes of Battery F, 1st R. I. Light Artillery. It is not much enlivened by incident.——Mr. W. H. Bishop concludes his estimate of Mr. Vedder in the June number of the *American Art Review* (Boston: Estes & Lauriat). His "Sleeping Girl" and "Venetian Model" are very well represented by wood-cuts, the former by Mr. W. J. Linton, who in yet another paper on American wood-engraving gives a valuable analysis of the merits of the cuts (including his own) in Appleton's 'Picturesque America.' Among the illustrations are an etching by S. Colman ("Durham"), one by Unger after Schreyer ("The Wallachian Team"), and woodcuts accompanying Sig. Alessandro Castellani's enthusiastic description of some mural paintings and stuccos recently discovered near the Farnesina in Rome. A letter from Mr. John Sartain reveals what a tremendous monument to Washington is likely to be set up in Philadelphia by the Society of the Cincinnati of the State of Pennsylvania. ——We read in the Athens *Ephemeris* of June $\frac{13}{25}$: "The well-known Philhellene, Stillman, being in Ithaca a few days ago, found in the locality called Polis, in the northwest part of the island, a very old inscription engraved in seven lines *boustrophedon*. The ministry immediately telegraphed orders for its careful protection. Mr. Stillman starts to-day for Florence."——'Our French Allies, 1778–1782,' is the title of a work in preparation by the Rev. Edwin M. Stone, of Providence, R. I.——The July number of the *Harvard Register* is exclusively occupied with the exercises and rather staid oratory of Class-Day and Commencement.——The July number of *Le Livre* has for its chief article an account, with translations, of the unpublished 'Traité de la Patience par emblèmes' of George Hoefnaghel, a Belgian artist of the latter half of the sixteenth century. Some of the fac-similes are in full, others fragmentary, and all interesting; none more so than those of the "Cornard patient." On p. 59 the present law of colportage is given, and is a curious reminder of the restrictions upon the freedom of the press in France. Those who advocate at least the civil equality of the sexes will enjoy the review of Dr. Louis Fiaux's 'La Femme, le Mariage, et le Divorce,' a vigorous protest against the subordination of woman enforced by the Code Napoléon.——The sixth *fascicule* of Vapereau's 'Dictionnaire des Contemporains' (New York: F. W. Christern) concludes the first and begins (with I) the second volume. Victor Hugo and Ledru-Rollin receive by far the greatest atten-

tion. After these, Isabel II. and Juarez are most prominent.——In the July number of the *Theatre* Mr. Clement Scott, the editor, prints an account of the first performance this year of the passion-play at Ober-Ammergau, revised from the letters he wrote as special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, and illustrated with drawings of the principal actors and of the crucifixion. To the same number an interesting account, also illustrated, of the Dutch comedians recently in London is contributed by Mr. Henri Van Laun, a fellow-countryman.

—Last March, in No. 769 of the *Nation*, attention was called to the peculiar value of that part of the Annual Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Education which contained the results of Agent Walton's examinations of the public schools in Norfolk County. The Legislature, with creditable liberality, has permitted the county association of school committees to use the plates of this portion for a commercial edition, which has accordingly been brought out by Lee & Shepard, Boston. We will just remind our readers that the revelation of imperfect methods of teaching herein made was clinched by abundant lithographic fac-similes of the extremes and mean of the several written papers in each class. These actually fill more than half the pamphlet, and will, if debate flags in our summer educational conventions, be found an infallible means of arousing interest and restoring the flow of words. We might even recommend the pamphlet for seaside reading, seeing how irresistibly droll are some of the memorized versions of the story of Cyrus and the two boys with their misfitting coats. But illiteracy and dulness are always as pitiable as they are laughable, and they are serious enough when intrenched in our public schools. We shall do better, therefore, to urge every intelligent parent to study this report attentively, and to present a copy to the teacher of every school, whether public or private, in which he is interested. It will be sent post-paid by the publishers for fifty-five cents.

—The third instalment of Dr. Elliott Coues's 'Ornithological Bibliography' is still in the press, having been delayed by its unexpected extent. Meantime, extracted from the Proceedings of the United States National Museum, we have the fourth instalment, being a 'List of Faunal Publications relating to British Birds.' Such a list, of course, could not possibly be made complete out of England, and the compiler himself points out its inadequacy. Nevertheless, it embraces something like a thousand titles, only in a comparatively few cases taken at second-hand, and is so accurate and punctilious as far as it goes that to call it a "published proof-sheet" is almost an excess of modesty. The titles are given in full, and even, as in the first two (different editions of the same book), with the typographic errors and inconsistencies of the originals. Further, they are arranged chronologically, and copiously annotated, not seldom with the aid of Prof. Alfred Newton, of Magdalene College, Cambridge. We meet here, of course, with the *editio princeps* of White's 'Selborne' and of Bewick's 'British Birds,' and the manifold subsequent editions, so that this list possesses even a literary interest. Under Macgillivray, Dr. Coues expatiates somewhat warmly upon this naturalist, for whom he confesses a strong liking, and of whom he says:

"William Macgillivray has one very high claim upon the regard of American ornithologists: he was the source of Audubon's inspiration in all that pertains to the technic of the latter's great work. 'Not to put too fine a point on it,' he furnished nearly all the 'ornithology' of Audubon's work, as distinguished from the portraits that the Frenchman drew either with pen or pencil. . . . The anatomical matter . . . is probably all Macgillivray's; and the final classification and nomenclature are from the same source. . . . The full extent of his joint authorship is not generally known."

Mr. Newton contributes a list of nineteen distinct editions of Gilbert White. An index of authors follows the text. Some idea of the labor involved in Dr. Coues's task may be formed from the fact that the four instalments of his Bibliography will enumerate but a fifth of the total number of titles (30,000) which seem to lie within his reach—that is, if the leave of absence which the leading British naturalists have requested for him be granted.

—Palæontologists and naturalists generally will learn with satisfaction of the appearance in connected form of the results of a portion of Prof. Marsh's wonderful palæontological discoveries in the Western Territories. The series of explorations so successfully carried on by this distinguished naturalist in the Rocky Mountain region since 1868, undertaken at no inconsiderable personal risk and no less considerable outlay of private capital, has resulted in the acquisition by Yale College of the most extensive collection of fossil vertebrate remains in the world. Huxley's visit to this country in 1876 was largely, if not mainly, brought about by his desire to examine personally this collection. Some notion of its extent may be gleaned from the fact that of Pterodactyls (flying reptiles) alone it embraces fragments belonging to at least six hundred individuals, and of Mesozoic birds—a class of remains which, as far as number is concerned, has thus far yielded the most barren results in extra-American countries—fragments representing more than one hundred individuals. The work before us, which is intended to form vol. vii. of the geological reports of the Fortieth Parallel Survey, deals with the *Odontornithes*, or extinct toothed-birds of North America. These, belonging to the middle-cretaceous period, are the oldest ornithic remains as yet discovered on this continent, and, with the exception of the three specimens of the *Archæopteryx* unearthed from the Jurassic lithographic limestone of Solenhofen, Bavaria, represent the oldest known form of birds altogether, for the footprints in the Triassic sandstone of the Connecticut valley are now generally referred to Dinosaurian reptiles. Despite their strongly reptilian characters—among others, the presence of teeth in the beaks—which point to a position low down in the avian branch of the Sauropsida, Prof. Marsh argues, from the structural differences existing between such forms as *Hesperornis* and *Ichthyornis*, and between these and *Archæopteryx*, which appear greater than those presented by any two living birds, that they represent comparatively highly specialized types, and that we must look for the earliest appearance of birds in strata possibly as old as the Permian (Palæozoic). The magnificent engravings which accompany the work render it a *livre de luxe*, and place it in the category of recent American scientific works next to Leidy's 'Rhizopods,' to which we lately had occasion to call attention. We are informed that another important work on the extinct vertebrata of the West is shortly to appear, from the pen of Prof. Cope.

—Two college addresses delivered during the recent commencement season at Southern institutions are symptomatic of political progress in that section. Mr. John Hampden Chamberlayne, editor of the Richmond *State*, speaking to the Society of the Alumni of the University of Virginia, chose the negatively cheering subject, "Why Despair?" His aim was to show that the pessimism engendered by the Southern catastrophe had no reasonable foundation: that the civil war was, among its kind, notably humane; that the country is a great and happy one to be born into; that it has seen its worst days of political corruption; and that the duty of the hour is to attack and destroy the spoils system of party government, from which, as Mr. Chamberlayne justly remarks, "it arises that ten long years have not brought real peace between the sections." This is novel and refreshing talk from a Southern journalist, and passages like the following inspire respect for the orator:

"Compare the Iron Duke [in Spain] with Lee or Rosecrans, with Thomas or Sherman, or Hunter or Sheridan, and the marches of the armies in our civil war were parades, or pleasure excursions, or philanthropic adventures."

"Just now how can we be fearful when the month that ended yesterday has seen a struggle on the largest scale between evil forces and forces of good; has seen a corruption which was organized throughout our civil life, and spread its network over a continent, calling in vain upon the country to condone it, and to place its chief leader in the seat of power? This same June has seen a military idea, a bastard imperialism, a junkerism, a Bismarckism, a Cæsarism, strengthened by a vast conspiracy of political adventurers, arrogantly claim, but claim in vain, for itself that the country was powerless to resist it."

—Mr. Edward McCrady, jr., addressing the Euphemian Society of Erskine College, S. C., on the "Necessity of Education as the Basis of our Political System," would probably not do the Republican party the justice rendered it by Mr. Chamberlayne in the extract just quoted. His very proper theme connects itself with a plan of his to perpetuate the rule of the white minority in South Carolina neither by fraud nor by violence, but, namely, by imposing a reading and writing qualification for the suffrage, as in Connecticut and Massachusetts. He makes an ingenious argument for the power to do this under the general constitutional provision for the registration of voters: such as could not register themselves should be excluded. This, however, would disfranchise say 12,000 white voters who fought the battles of the Confederacy, and who can ill be spared at the polls. Mr. McCrady is puzzled how to make an exception of them without coming in collision with the constitutions of the State and of the United States. His remarks on the advantages of education are sound—sounder than some of his statistical comparisons; and he diligently rakes together the evidence of Southern eminence in science, arts, and letters in times past and present. The following sentence is all we have space to quote. After showing that last year in South Carolina the number of colored children at school was 64,095 against 58,368 white, he says:

"Given so much education to whites and blacks alike, and I am content that victory shall be to the strong. But I do tremble at the idea that the time should come when the negroes of the South, forced by outside pressure and sustained by outside aid, should, at least for the while, be better educated than the masses of the whites; and, when I contemplate such a possibility, there is no power of the Government I would not invoke to force, if need be, our people to avail themselves of the education the State affords."

—Mr. Tom Taylor, who died recently in London, was one of the most prolific and hardworking men of letters of his time. He was sixty-three years old, and had written since he was a child, when he composed little melodramas for his school-fellows. He went to Trinity College, Cambridge; was called to the bar; for two years was Professor of the English Language and Literature at the University College, London; was first Assistant-Secretary

and then Secretary-in-Chief of the Board of Health; then Secretary of the Local Government Acts Office, and after long service retired upon a liberal pension; but his devotion to literature, in one form or another, was almost uninterrupted. He was at the time of his death the art critic of the *Times* and the editor of *Punch*, having succeeded Mr. Shirley Brooks in the latter position. In neither of these offices, however, did he betray anything beyond an entirely respectable aptitude, and it is as a dramatist that he was chiefly known and will be remembered. He wrote some of the most successful of modern pieces; among others, the well-known "Our American Cousin," whose success is rather to be attributed to Mr. Sothern; "Plot and Passion," "Masks and Faces," "The Fool's Revenge," "'Twixt Axe and Crown," "Still Waters Run Deep," in the most popular of which he had the collaboration of Mr. Charles Reade, or the aid of some story by a French dramatist. His skill as an adapter was thus more conspicuous than his powers of invention, and controversy was not lacking over the originality of his plays, but, as the *Athenæum* remarks, he "lived in a period when awkward questions were for the first time put, and was the scapegoat of a system he transmitted and perpetuated but did not invent." He had more or less to do with more than a hundred plays, at all events, and his original work, reckoned at the lowest limit, must have been very considerable. His successor in the editorship of *Punch*, we may add, has just been announced to be Mr. F. C. Burnand, some time a member of the staff, and known everywhere as the author of 'Happy Thoughts.'

—Mr. Matthew Arnold takes advantage of the return of the English Liberals to power to send to the July number of the *Nineteenth Century* an article on "The Future of Liberalism." The spirit of the English people, he says, is thoroughly in accord with the Liberal party; it now and again turns to the Tories in impatience and despair, but only for a time, because "unremittingly, however slowly, the human spirit struggles toward the light." Perhaps even recent fears about personal government may come true, "and the last scene in the wonderful career of Lord Beaconsfield may be that we shall see him in a field-marshal's uniform, entering the House of Commons, and pointing to the mace, and commanding Lord Rowton, in an octogenarian voice, to 'take away that bauble'"; but "still the rule of the Tories, even after such a master-stroke as that, will never last in our community; such strangers are the Tory statesmen to the secret of its life, the secret of the future." However, to the end of making Liberal rule speedily permanent, he points out that not much is at present being done, and counsels the Liberal leaders, "instead of losing themselves in the petty bustle and schemes of the moment," to remember that the secret of the community's life is general civilization, and that general civilization is retarded in two principal ways—by "following too submissively middle-class opinion," its "hot fits and cold fits," and by the tremendous social inequality that exists in England. The former of these he has already treated in his essay on "Irish Catholicism and British Liberalism," and the other in his lecture on "Equality"; but considering the importance and interest of the subjects, his iteration is not to be called damnable. Neither is its timeliness needed to excuse his return to the subjects of burial-services and marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Of the advocates for the legalization of the latter he says: "That they ought not to marry their brother's wife they can perceive, that they ought not to marry their wife's sister they cannot." But this is by the way; the real point is that, though it may be well to pass all these measures, they do not advance civilization, and by no means represent the goal of true Liberal policy.

—Outside of England it is difficult to look upon all this as it is viewed by the average British Liberal. Here in America, where liberty is as much prized and upheld as an abstract right, marriage with a deceased wife's sister is doubtless regarded as one of the natural privileges of freemen, but, perhaps owing to our equality, no one whom it did not personally touch would feel personally aggrieved at having a writer take the ground that it is much the same thing for a man to marry his sister-in-law and for a woman to marry her brother-in-law. The *Spectator*, however, is "impatient with its high-sniffing contempt for the work which, in default of better, Liberals find to do." But "in default of better" is begging the question, and sounds like the celebrated characterization, by one of our "practical" publicists, of civil-service reform as "a damned barren ideality." Restricting the freedom of bequest and entail in order to secure greater equality the *Spectator* likewise considers visionary and impracticable. "What is the use of a suggestion like that?" it asks in irritation. "What is the use of proposing a remedy which could not be carried without a revolution, which is utterly inconsistent with our manners, the power of bequest being the chief source of household authority, and for which not one elector in twenty would vote?" This strikes the disinterested observer as a treatment of social equality very like in temper to the treatment which that other agent of civilization, political liberty, received so long at the hands of the *Spectator's* opponents. But what is most conspicuous to a foreigner is the testiness displayed because a writer on social politics who points out general abuses and suggests general remedies is not ready with a bill for immediate introduction into the House of Commons. In his essay on "Equality" Mr. Arnold would seem to have forestalled this, surely. He imagines Lord Hartington inviting the attention of "his Scotch Liberals" at Glasgow to a reform in the law of bequest and entail, and adds, "One can hardly speak of such a thing without laughing," and that "The matter is at present one for the thoughts of those who think." Is not this the only way in which reforms are set on foot and carried out *without* the "revolutions" which the *Spectator* fears?

—Professor Kastorchis, of Athens, describes a newly-discovered temple-ruin. It is situated on a mountain in the Peloponnesus, close by the village Mazi, on the south side of the Alpheios, a few miles from the ruins of Olympia. The dimensions are 35x19 metres, of which four metres belong to the peristyle. Some of the stones of the cella are in position, surrounded by drums of fluted Doric columns. These are of the dark stone of the vicinity, but some architectural ornaments of white marble were found in digging a trench. The edifice has been plundered of stones by builders in the neighboring village, where it is called Xenophon's tomb. It has been conjectured that this is the temple, described in the fifth book of the Anabasis, which Xenophon erected from the tithe of the spoils won by the Ten Thousand. Kastorchis, however, thinks otherwise, because it is much too far from Olympia; Xenophon's was only twenty stadia. Besides, he observes a resemblance to the famous temple of Apollo Epikourios at Phigalia, not only in its mountain site, but in material, size, and style, and he infers that it was erected at the same date, and so before Xenophon's time.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CEREMONY.*

IN this part of Herbert Spencer's 'Principles' the author discusses the development of what may be called the rules of behavior in human society. Most of the book is taken up with a presentation of the evidence on the subject, drawn from the most various and diverse sources. For instance, with regard to obeisances we have citations from Lewis and Clarke, Livingstone, Laird, Cook, Isaiah, Guhl and Koner, and Ezekiel. Wherever it has been possible the authority for each statement is given in tables of reference at the end of the volume. The general results arrived at may be summed up as follows: Rules of behavior are not the result, as people tacitly assume, of conventions deliberately adopted. On the contrary, they are a natural product of social evolution. In primitive, "headless" groups of men customs regulating behavior are few and unimportant. With each increase in social complexity ceremony increases. From the same root grow up various kinds of forms. Descriptive names develop into numerous graduated titles. Weapons taken in war give rise to symbols of authority of all kinds. Besides the increasing heterogeneity in each society, there is the further heterogeneity between the "aggregate of products in one society and the allied aggregates in other societies." At the same time there is a progress in definiteness ending with fixed forms, and even written codes of laws, as in the East. Observances differentiate themselves as political, religious, and social, ceremonial government preceding in time the other forms of government, "into all of which it enters." The development of ceremony is likewise closely connected with militancy, and Mr. Spencer goes so far as to say that "from the beaten dog which, crawling on its belly, licks its master's hand *we trace up the general truth* that ceremonial forms are naturally initiated by the relation of conqueror and conquered." Ceremony, in other words, originates in fear; and this fact furnishes the key to the process by which the decay of ceremony is brought about. With the rise of a social type based on voluntary co-operation, fear, and with it the desire to propitiate superiors, and hence the importance of ceremony, decline. "The subordinate ruler or officer is no longer wholly at the mercy of his superior; the trader, not liable to be robbed or tortured by the noble, has a remedy against him for non-payment; the laborer in receipt of wages cannot be beaten like a slave. In proportion as the system of exchanging services under contract spreads, and the rendering of services under compulsion diminishes, men dread one another less, and consequently become less scrupulous in fulfilling propitiatory forms." War, of necessity, cultivates untruthfulness, skilful deception being an indispensable weapon in warfare. Slavery, the concomitant of primitive warfare, also breeds the desire to deceive on the part of the slave. The connection of these facts with ceremony is that all the ceremonial which pervades the régime of compulsory co-operation is insincere. As compulsory co-operation disappears before the modern industrial system, the temptations to insincerity become less and less, and sincerity is of course a deadly foe of ceremony. The love of independence joins the love of truthfulness in generating a repugnance to obeisances and phrases which express subordination where none is internally acknowledged. Again, the discipline of war is a discipline of callousness. War prevents sympathy between superiors and inferiors, and makes rigid subordination necessary. As war disappears sympathy increases,

* 'Ceremonial Institutions: Being Part IV. of the Principles of Sociology (the first portion of Vol. ii.) By Herbert Spencer.' New York D. Appleton & Co. 1880.

and hence a dislike grows up on the superior's part to forms which seem to imply abject submission.

At the same time that the restraints of ceremony form a part of the coercive régime peculiar to the primitive social order, they also form part of a discipline by which men are adapted to a higher social life. Established observances have the function of educating the anti-social nature of primitive man into a form fitted for social life. It is a proof of this that among many people whose ceremonial is of the most rigid type manners have reached a high degree of suavity. Conversely, "our own people, long living under institutions which guard them against serious consequences from giving offence, greatly lack suavity and show a comparative inattention to minor civilities." This brings us to the general truth that "within each embodied set of restraining agencies—the ceremonial, as well as the political and ecclesiastical which grow out of it—there gradually evolves a special kind of disembodied control, which eventually becomes independent." In other words, the personal commands of a superior based on force gradually change into laws based on an intrinsic authority derived from their utility. At the same time, "out of the supposed wishes of the ancestral ghost" come divine injunctions, and from these are derived "the set of requirements known as religious," the rules which we distinguish as moral being evolved within these:

"In the meantime, from within that part of ceremonial rule which has evolved into a system of regulations for social intercourse, there grows a third class of restraints, and these in like manner become at length independent. From observances which in their primitive forms express partly subordination to a superior and partly attachment to him, and which, spreading downwards, become general forms of behavior, there finally come observances expressing a proper regard for the individualities of other persons and a true sympathy in their welfare; . . . so that as law differentiates from personal commands, and as morality differentiates from religious injunctions, so politeness differentiates from ceremonial observance; to which I may add, so does rational usage differentiate from fashion."

Such is Mr. Herbert Spencer's view of the place which ceremony occupies in the scheme of evolution. We have stated it as nearly as possible in his own language. With regard to the future, he declares that we "cannot doubt" what it will be. With the further development of the social type based on voluntary co-operation ceremony will further decline. In its place a true politeness based on sympathy will grow up. With what Mr. Spencer calls "higher emotions and higher intelligence," external restraints will be supplied by internal restraints, until in the end—though he does not say this—ceremony will pass away altogether, and become as much a relic of the past as hieroglyphics or the interpretation of omens.

Mr. Spencer's writings on sociology have recently derived a new importance in this country from the controversy over their use at Yale College. The chief objection to them there urged was their agnostic character. We must say, however, that an unbiassed examination of such a volume as this raises another doubt still more fatal as to its utility as an educational text-book. The value of Mr. Spencer's researches cannot be denied, and the theories which he founds upon them are entitled to all the weight his name as a philosopher brings to their support; but they are, after all, mere theories. In saying this we do not at all mean to question the general truth of evolution, but a belief in evolution does not involve an acceptance of Mr. Spencer's law of the relation existing between the worship of relics of the True Cross and a dog crawling on his belly to lick his master's hand. He may be perfectly correct in his surmises, but they are certainly mere surmises, and to present to the minds of the young such surmises as these as deductions from the "law of evolution" would be a mistake.

It is perfectly safe to say that much of the evidence that Mr. Spencer needs to make out his case is wholly wanting. The sort of evolution that he has in mind is evidently based on a belief that with the progress of society the restraints of self-government are substituted for those of external force. If this were true, ought it not to be as apparent in that branch of social development which relates to crimes and their punishment as in any other? But while it is true that many things regarded as criminal in primitive societies become indifferent in advanced societies, still the progress of civilization is marked by nothing more distinctly than the evolution of highly complex penal codes, in which nothing is left to be dealt with by an internal sanction. Again, what ground is there for saying that war is dying out, when half the most civilized portion of the world is engaged in converting its population into easily-mobilized reserves? Further than this, why are we told to consider the early type of man "non-social"? Is not the social character of man one of his most fundamental traits? Darwin in his 'Descent of Man' makes the moral sense inseparably allied to the social instincts. From man's social disposition he thinks that an inherited tendency to be faithful to his comrades, to aid and defend them, and even a capacity for self-command, and perhaps the habit of obedience, might be derived. It is no argument, he urges, against savage man being a social animal that tribes inhabiting adjacent districts are almost always at war with each other, for the social instincts never extend to all the individuals of the same species. But what Mr. Spencer appears to insist upon is that primitive man is a non-social animal. To any one who has reflected upon the peculiarities of human nature, the prophecy that "sympathy" is going in the future to take the place of those external restraints which at present make industrial and social co-operation possible, is somewhat startling. If it is going to have this tremendous effect on manners, why should it not have the same consequences in other branches of life? Why are not the external sanctions by which contracts are enforced relics of a primitive barbarism, and, therefore, likely in their turn to disappear before the advance of sympathy? It seems hard to believe that sympathy should be sufficiently strong to replace force in ceremonial, and yet give no trace whatever of asserting its effect in the far more important field of bargains. We do not by any means mean to say that Mr. Spencer is wrong. He may be perfectly right. But sociology is not a science which has made such rapid progress as the student would be led to infer from this volume; and interesting as Mr. Spencer's speculations are, they are still speculations.

Reminiscences of Rev. William Ellery Channing, D.D. By Elizabeth Palmer Peabody. (Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1880.)—In reading this book one is sometimes tempted to question the correctness of the running-title, as if what was really in hand were posthumous 'Reminiscences of Miss Peabody' by Dr. Channing. With rare frankness the author prints his private letters to her, which, besides affording invaluable glimpses of his own character, convey with perfect distinctness his judgment of hers. This judgment is such that it is plain to see that he would never have chosen Miss Peabody for his biographer, and it serves—if that were necessary—to impose caution on the reader in accepting Miss Peabody's report on matters which were within her own experience and observation. We hasten to add that such a distrust implies in her case no moral delinquency whatever, and we do not know that we can better criticise her book than by citing some of the passages in which her incapacity for historical reminiscence is made apparent.

Some time about 1826, Miss Peabody having submitted to Dr. Channing a series of essays on the Hebrew Scriptures, in which, as she told him, she first expressed thoughts of her own, he returned them with the remark, "I was interested in them because your mind takes so opposite a direction from mine to come to the same result." In March, 1831, he wrote her from St. Croix:

"You are apt to prejudice the truth by placing it in unhappy connections. For example, in your remarks on the first chapters of Genesis you threw a doubtfulness over some great truths by supposing them to be taught, or veiled, in the narrative, which has nothing to do with them. I saw then one of your intellectual dangers. You are led astray by slight connections and analogies, and are apt to see in past or present facts what other eyes cannot discover. I have thought, too, that your interpretations of life are not always to be trusted, and that you are in danger of substituting your own structures for reality."

In August, 1835, he writes: "Your chapter on 'General Principles' interested me much. It is full of fine thoughts, but the lights are somewhat too scattered. If your inspirations had more consecutiveness and connection they would do more good." And similarly, in advising about a business enterprise (June, 1840):

"My fear on this subject came from the impression, which was quite common in your school-keeping days, that you want order, method, arrangement. If I mistake not, you had a notion that in regard to order, as in everything else, what we need is the spirit rather than the letter; that rules and machinery are worth little; that the principle within us will meet intuitively the wants of the moment. . . . Were your business to be more independent, I should also fear from the ascendency of your imagination."

We should hesitate to quote what follows if Miss Peabody herself had not printed it. A report had been circulated that Dr. Channing had employed her to copy his sermons for him, and allowed her nothing, though in absolute want. He writes with unconcealed vexation (November, 1837):

"Such a report I do not contradict, and I have not the slightest disposition to hold you at all responsible for it; but is it not possible that you talked confusedly of your circumstances and of your copying for me, so that some one's stupidity misconstrued your language into an imputation on my honor? . . . But cannot you avoid talking about me? I wish simply to advise you to greater caution in your communications about your friends. . . . I wish that what you say may have more authority by being spoken more considerately and precisely."

Forty added years have not brought Miss Peabody an orderly mental habit, a common vision for common things, a bridled imagination, a sobered enthusiasm. There is a chronological progress in the present volume, but it can hardly be called a sequence. Thirty years and more ago our author's name was associated with a "Polish-American" system of mnemonics for fixing dates in history. That her energetic advocacy of it grew out of a personal need will not be doubted by any one who peruses her latest writing. Two instances, out of many, of her "talking confusedly" in consequence of this defect are to be found on pp. 357–8 and p. 360. Miss Peabody says

"When Mr. Garrison began to edit the *Liberator* in Boston, Dr. Channing was one of the first subscribers; and among the things which I read to him were the early numbers of this paper. The first impression made on me by its motto and the fierceness of its attacks upon the Colonization Society were shocking."

Now, the shocking motto of the first and of every subsequent volume was "Our Country is the World—Our Countrymen are Mankind," while the Scriptural shibboleth which Miss Peabody had in mind, and which she misquotes on p. 385, was not uttered in Dr. Channing's lifetime. Still more mixed is this second passage:

"Dr. Channing was much pained at the 'mob of gentlemen of standing' in State Street, Boston, in 1836, as he had been at the attacks upon the Ladies' Anti-slavery Society. He had made himself quite conspicuous at the time of the shooting of Lovejoy at Alton, Illinois, etc."

The mob referred to took place in 1835 instead of 1836, and was in itself an attack on the Ladies' Anti-slavery Society. Lovejoy was killed in 1837.

It remains to be said that this book has the qualities of its defects, and is a really interesting picture of the time which it covers. It contains a great many contemporaneous abstracts of Dr. Channing's sermons made by Miss Peabody, numerous letters from and to her, some autobiographical data which will be read with sympathy, pleasing views of Channing's home-life at Newport, suggestions of ineffable transcendental and mystical conversations about religion, and sketches (or phases) of such lights of the past generation as O. A. Brownson, R. G. Hazard, Ripley, Alcott, Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Follen, Father Taylor, Tuckerman, Wm. B. Greene, Horace Mann, James Freeman Clarke, and the rest. Not alone of the "past generation," as several of these names remind us; but Miss Peabody, with an Hibernian tendency to blunder, makes an index of the "names of the principal *living* persons mentioned in the text," and gravely enters Allston, Buckminster, Coleridge, Follen, Gannett, and a score of others who have "gone over to the majority."

Shakspeare's Knowledge and Use of the Bible. By Charles Wordsworth, D.C.L., Bishop of St. Andrews. (New York: Scribner & Welford. 1880.)—It has not been generally believed that Shakspere derived inspiration from the Scriptures or set forth the tenets of the Church of England in his plays. The contrary view has prevailed among Christians as well as in the world at large; indeed, we know of a family edition of Shakspere in which nearly every reference to the Bible has been omitted as being disrespectful to God and depraving to young readers. The common opinion, however, appears to be faulty. The Bishop of St. Andrews has convinced himself that Shakspere's poetry and thought were so much colored by the Scriptures as to prove that he read them attentively and was thoroughly acquainted with the received interpretation of them in doctrinal form. "Take the entire range of English literature," the bishop says, "put together our best authors who have written upon subjects not professedly religious or theological, and we shall not find, I believe, in them *all united* so much evidence of the Bible having been read and used as we have found in Shakspere *alone*." The evidence referred to is an ingenious collection of parallel passages which show that the dramatist knew of the history of Adam and Eve, the murder of Abel, the Flood, the parables, the Crucifixion, and similar matters found in the Bible. In this there is nothing surprising, for such knowledge has been for centuries the common heritage of every Christian child; but some few Shaksperian students may be startled to find that their master's "views of the corruption of human nature," his "perception of the method of its recovery through divine grace," and his "theory of the formation of moral habits" were based upon Scripture; that "no professed divine ever understood the doctrine of repentance better or has expounded it more clearly than Shakspere"—nay, that even in his invocation of the holy angels (so careful was he of religious sensibilities) he did not, in the bishop's opinion, "transgress the limits which a sound theology would impose."

The striking novelty of these statements leads the reader to expect strong evidence of their truth. The method of adducing parallel passages in proof of any new opinion respecting Shakspere has been employed for such diverse objects that it lies under the suspicion proverbially attaching to statistics; in this way ingenuity can prove anything. The validity of its practice in the present case can be judged of by a few instances:

"I will speak daggers."—*Hamlet*, Act. iii., Sc. 2.
"Swords are in their lips."—*Ps.* lix. 7.

"In peace there's nothing so becomes a man
As modest stiliness and humility."—*K. Henry V.*, Act iii., Sc. 1.
"Study to be quiet."—1 *Thess.* iv. 11.

"Thy greatest help is quiet, gentle Nell;
I pray thee sort thy heart to patience."—*K. Henry VI.*, 2d Pt., Act ii., Sc. 4.
"Their strength is to sit still. In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength."—*Isaiah* xxx. 7, 15.

"his able horse . . . .
He seemed in running to devour the way."—*K. Henry IV.*, 2d Pt., Act i., Sc. 1.
"He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage."—*Job* xxxix. 24.

"Woe to the land that's governed by a child."—*K. Rich. III.*, Act ii., Sc. 3.
"Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child."—*Eccl.* x. 16.

"An if an angel should have come to me
And told me Hubert should put out mine eyes,
I would not have believed him."—*K. John*, Act iv., Sc. 1.
"Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel."—*Galatians* i. 8.

These are fair examples of the less obvious correspondences between the Bible and Shakspere; there are others in which the possibility of real connection is the slightest, and a few, such as occur in *Shylock's* speeches, in which Shakspere shows more acquaintance with the historical books than any other dramatist of his time. In fully two-thirds of the passages quoted there is no probability that Shakspere was aware of the Biblical parallel, if, indeed, in many instances, it really exists. In the other third the reference is either to some well-known event which he had learned in boyhood, or to wolves in sheep's clothing, leopards' spots, a tree's being known by its fruit, or similar figures, which dropped from his lips as naturally as a proverb from Sancho Panza's, and needed as little direct reading of the Scriptures. Marlowe, the atheist, uses them, though less frequently, in the same way. To characterize fitly the fallacy of inferring from such evidence that Shakspere was versed in the Scriptures would require the adjectival energy of Mr. Swinburne, as he has employed it upon other commentators in his recent book of Shaksperian criticism; and the evidence is exclusively of this character, unless the author meant to suggest an argument in calling attention to the "remarkable" fact that the two great depreciators of Shakspere were the infidels Hume and Voltaire.

To suppose that Shakspere meant to inculcate the peculiar tenets of the Anglican Church in respect to the corruption of human nature and the redemption of man through divine grace, or that he was indebted for his views and expressions to a direct study of the Bible, seems as wild an hypothesis as that he was a Romanist or a Puritan—fallacies which the Bishop of St. Andrews is solicitous to point out. The general tenor of his works shows that he was a secular genius, and special passages prove that he was by no means a religiously-minded man, although by faith a Christian. The author deserves credit for the charitableness with which he has overlooked these worldly passages, but his work can only be regarded as the outcome of that admiration for a hero which would impose on him our own horizons and transform him into the image of our own ideal, so that at the end we may exclaim: "My Shakspere!" A man who satisfies the requirements of an English bishop and of Mr. Swinburne truly deserves that most just epithet ever applied to him—"the myriad-minded."

The Great Artists.—Michelangelo. By Charles Clément.—Horace Vernet. Paul Delaroche. By J. Ruutz Rees. (New York: Scribner & Welford. 1880.)—The first of these latest issues of the 'Great Artists' series is a translation of the work of M. Clément, supplemented by a brief appendix in which the translator gives some memoranda of Michelangelo's familiar life from the family archives. The translation seems well enough done, the simple English professedly sought being attained even to such a phrase as "I allow that Michelangelo took," etc. M. Clément's work is in the main excellent, but the strictly popular purpose for which the series is designed would have been served by some modifications in the way of both elision and amplification. For a popular purpose the consideration of conflicting statements and other palpable errors of Vasari and other biographers is nothing less than surplusage which obstructs the current of the narrative needlessly; and upon such points as Michelangelo's quarrel with Raphael, and his criticism of Titian, and various historical allusions, too flattering a confidence is exhibited in the average reader's stock of information. There is a plentiful intersprinkling of criticism which serves to illuminate the record of events and give it proportion, and to which, considering the temperateness and good sense that characterize it and the definite place Michelangelo has come to occupy after so many years of discussion, almost no objection can be made; a primer about Michelangelo may be permitted to be freer than a Turner primer. We say almost no objection, because M. Clément does not completely avoid leaving the impression that his subject was as unique in the degree as he undoubtedly was in the quality of his genius. It is, for instance, out of place in a primer to say (p. 42), while speaking of the sublimity of Michelangelo's conceptions, that they "are far from captivating ordinary minds like the marvellous and charming creations of the painter of Urbino"; which is like saying that Raphael was the Racine of painting. Leonardo, and all the other contemporary masters, are allowed to be similarly dwarfed by implication, though not as specifically, and even Greek art suffers (p. 43). Indeed it may be laid down as a general principle that in such books as this the legitimate use of comparisons stops at illustration and characterization.

The author of the biographies of Vernet and Delaroche neglects this in so conspicuous a degree that his error carries its own corrective with it when he speaks (p. 13) of Vernet being "too true to himself to be led into the somewhat unrefined bohemianism of Delacroix," and (p. 59) of Delaroche owing an important part of his education to the warnings of the folly of extremes

furnished by Delacroix's work. These allusions are on a par with that to Michelangelo (p. 17) as Vernet's "great forerunner," and illustrate the mischief of perfunctory critical writing, which deems itself secure from error because it never rises out of commonplace. Neither of these sketches has any positive value, on the other hand, beyond that which is involved in the expansion of a cyclopædic article. The descriptions of Vernet's pictures are of the quality indicated by such a phrase as "realistic striving after effect"—that is to say, they are verbiage simply; and the analysis of Delaroche's "Hemicycle" is to the last degree trite and trivial—*e.g.*: "Delorme, rapt in thought, constructs, in fancy, castles grander than that which won the admiration of his contemporaries" (p. 70), and "Delaroche, by his intuitive perception of their leading characteristics, has so harmonized their natures as to present the idea of diversity in unity" (p. 71); and, to sum up: "The glory of divine art in human form has never been more fully illustrated." Some one signing the initials "F. C." has appended, "compiled from the most recent authorities," brief biographies of the artists represented in the 'Hemicycle,' which have the merit of convenience, and there is also a large folded engraving of the work with a key. Those who will get the most benefit from these ought perhaps to be warned that Nicholas as well as Gaspar Poussin is usually classed with the French rather than the Italian school, and that Phidias is supposed by some authorities not merely to have been the sculptor of the Parthenon but to have had some voice in the designing of it, along with Ictinus and Callicrates, who are here mentioned as its sole architects. The rest of the engravings are poor; on the other hand, some of those in the 'Michelangelo' are the best of the series. In both books there is nothing left to be desired in the way of copious indexes and catalogues.

The Elective Franchise in the United States. A review of the effects of the caucus system upon the civil service and upon the principles and politics of political parties. By D. C. McMillan, with a preface by Hon. Horatio Seymour. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1880. Pp. 198.)—Any earnest attempt to point out the mischiefs of our present political system, and to suggest a remedy for them, is welcome. We doubt whether the author of the book before us has fully solved the great problem; but he has directed attention to certain elements of the situation which are generally overlooked, and his plan, even if impracticable as a whole, has nevertheless features which deserve careful consideration. He would have done better, we think, if he had not expanded his thoughts to the dimensions of a book. The principal part of the volume, occupied in analyzing and describing the evils to be remedied, is good, and is, of course, logically necessary to the completeness of his discussion. But it is ground so familiar, arguments so many times repeated, that the really original parts of his work would have attracted more attention if he had advanced them by themselves, taking for granted all preliminary discussion.

The leading idea of the author appears to be the divorce of national and State politics. In their constant association he rightly sees a great evil, and he points out its bad effects with clearness and force. In his first chapter he asserts (p. 17) that "the existence of great national parties seems not to have been expected" by the founders of the republic, for which assertion he finds support both in the Constitution and in the language of the early statesmen. Political parties, it was expected, would hinge exclusively upon State issues, and national issues would be dealt with purely upon grounds of national expediency. It is easy to see after the event how unreasonable this expectation was; but the present condition of things, in which State issues are wholly postponed to the exigencies of national parties, was perhaps as little to be anticipated. The problem of the book is therefore to propose some plan by which State interests may form the basis of State parties wholly independent of the national party divisions; and, in doing this, to afford a remedy for the present maladministration of national affairs. The special scheme proposed by Mr. McMillan is that in all elections, State as well as national, there should be a preliminary or "nominating" election, held in advance of the final election; at this the candidates should be designated, between whom the subsequent election should be made. At this first election only candidates should be voted for who had been formally presented (for the Presidency, by the legislature of one or more States). There might, in this way, be an indefinite number of candidates at the first voting. Of course if any one obtained the majority he would be declared elected, and a second vote rendered unnecessary; but this is hardly likely to occur. If the vote had been taken last May, for instance, we should have had Grant, Blaine, Sherman, Edmunds, and probably any number of "favorite sons" for the Republican canvass, and an equal number for the Democratic; but only two of these would be taken, by the "survival of the fittest," for the final election. In order to preclude the possibility of the two final candidates being from the same party, it is provided that all of one party shall be classed as "First Canvass," and those of the other as "Second."

This proposition for doing away with the caucus and having a nomination made directly by the people, and the additional feature of having both parties participate in the same nominating election, deserve serious attention. It appears to us that they are fruitful ideas, although we question the working of the plan in the precise form in which it is presented. The first objection that strikes one is that if one election is such a nuisance, a second would only intensify the evil. But this objection is after all of very slight account; we have little doubt that this scheme would save far more cost and friction than it would cause. Suppose that in May such a preliminary election could have been held, and that Independents were able, by spending five minutes, or an hour, or half a day, to express their public preference for Edmunds or Bayard, their power would have been felt at once, and a vast amount of machinery been dispensed with. The thing would be as simple and inexpensive in its workings as is possible in the nature of things; and especially the plan of having the nomination made by a public election—a caucus, if we may so call it, consisting of both parties at once—is probably the only practicable method yet proposed for giving the caucus a public character.

That part of the scheme which limits the regular candidates to two is of course unessential; a third party is sometimes a necessity, and it would be as easy to have three "canvasses" as two. The writer, however, urges with force that only in this way can we be sure of a majority at the second election, and adds (p. 140): "The limitation of a voter's choice to two candidates at a subsequent election could work no injustice; for those who failed to secure approval when two persons are to be selected could have no hope of success as against candidates who had already demonstrated their powers, when the choice to be made is that of a single person." We are not sure as to that part of the plan which requires the name to be presented by a State legislature. It is certainly in itself the proper method; but, as our State legislatures are composed, it seems as if it would still result in the rule of the Machine. For example, it is not at all certain if Mr. Edmunds lived in a Democratic State that his name would be presented by any legislature. The main features of the scheme, however—nomination by the people at large, and that by both parties at a time—possess great merit. If it were thoroughly carried out in local as well as national and State elections, "King Caucus" would lose much of his power; and for that reason, if for no other, we suppose there is little chance of its adoption. Our rulers, the politicians, will not accept any scheme which lessens their power; but only by some such weakening of their power shall we ever reform our government. Mr. McMillan well says (p. 85): "Civil-service reform has been and will be a failure so long as our present election system exists, because in whatever guise it appears, *it proposes to substitute something in the place of the will of the legislator as the chief instrumentality for procuring appointments under the Government.*"

The Stage; or, Recollections of Actors and Acting, from an experience of fifty years: a series of Dramatic Sketches. By James E. Murdoch. With an appendix. (Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart & Co. 1880.)—Although we fail to find in this volume a worthy addition to the long list of histrionic autobiographies of which the latest and best are those of Macready and Mrs. Kemble, it is, perhaps, scarcely fair to Mr. Murdoch to complain that he has not here attempted an orderly biography, but rather a series of sketches, drawn partly from his professional reading and partly from his personal experience. The outline of his own life, which fills a dozen of the earlier pages, is contributed by Mr. J. Bunting, who completes his record at April, 1880, and is unable, therefore, to notice Mr. Murdoch's reappearance on the stage in his native town for a few nights in the month of May. This is followed by twenty chapters of Mr. Murdoch's own, taken, as we are told in the "Epilogue" (p. 419), from a series of his lectures called "Reminiscences of the Stage." These twenty chapters, the rather fragmentary character of which is perhaps explained by their mode of preparation, treat of the "Tragedian and his Relation to the Poet," of "Imitation and Mimicry," of the author's "London Experiences," of "Shakspere and his Critics," and more at length of the various leading actors of the last half-century whom Mr. Murdoch has had opportunities of observing and studying. These personal comments on Macready, Forrest, the two Keans, the elder Booth, and Charlotte Cushman are by far the most valuable portion of the volume, and, indeed, to any one fairly familiar with the literature of the American theatre the only valuable part of the book. Especially unnecessary is the appendix, the eighty broad pages of which are avowedly reprinted from magazines and pamphlets, though they were not worth reprinting. The final chapter of the appendix consists of "Strictures on the Acting and Personal Traits of David Garrick," and is an altogether unworthy and misleading arraignment. But where Mr. Murdoch has relied wholly on himself, his personal recollections, and his own power of criticism, his work is of great merit and interest. No one who comes hereafter to consider Forrest's career can afford to pass over Mr. Murdoch's many discriminating references to him. It may be noted that in addition to the author's portrait there is a fine steel engraving of Forrest at the age of sixty-five. Besides the purely critical consideration of histrionic notabilities Mr. Murdoch has given us also a goodly number of anecdotes hitherto unprinted.

The Natural History of the Agricultural Ant of Texas. A Monograph of the Habits, Architecture, and Structure of *Pogonomyrmex barbatus.* By Henry Christopher McCook. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880. Pp. 208, pl. 24.)—This work is interesting to the student of zoölogy on account of the additions it makes to scientific knowledge. Its value is enhanced by its being written in a style which commends it to the attention of the general reader. Occasionally the enthusiasm of the writer induces him to make statements that may appear rather strong, but in the main it can be considered a truthful account of the natural history and anatomy of the harvesting ant. It is intended for a "key to the habits of the whole family of ants," "a complete life-history of one representative individual." To call this a complete life-history is claiming too much for it; it would have been more accurately described as an approximation. The greater portion of the history of the queen remains to be written. We must know more of the differences between workers major and workers minor, between them and the queens and drones, and how they are caused. How the communities are governed is yet to be told. In regard to various matters which are here touched upon, the conclusions are quite unsatisfactory. In many important points the observations of Dr. Lincecum (who does not appear to be "an approved naturalist") are confirmed by the author, "and thus a strong degree of authenticity given to other *facts* recorded by him." Whether the ants sow the "ant-rice" upon the disc is left undecided and doubtful.

In places the reader is left in doubt as to the exact meaning through carelessness in statement. On page 20 it is said that when the sexes were out sunning themselves there were "many more females than males," and page 143 furnishes the following puzzle in arithmetic: "The females outnumbered the males at least two to one. . . . Each female struggled upon the ground in the embrace of four, five, even twenty males. Multitudes of males, besides, moved eagerly over the ground in search of females who were not to be found. The air also was full of them, flying round and round, going off a little ways and returning." A description of the pulvillus, or sucking-disc, of the foot which enables an insect to walk on smooth surfaces is given on page 101. "By means of this, Barbatus was able to run freely up or down or hang for long periods upon the glass surface of the artificial nests. . . . While all are able to move with more or less ease and facility over the smooth surface, some species seem to have no sort of embarrassment in such conditions." "So great was the desire to get the dead outside the nest (p. 137) that the bearers would climb up the smooth surface of the glass to the very top of the jar, laboriously carrying with them a dead ant. The jar was very smooth and quite high." "I could (p. 207) at any time in the course of a few moments obtain a three-ounce vial full of these ants by sinking it, with mouth open, within the disc. . . . The smooth surface of the glass, over which they cannot readily walk, prevented their escape." On page 63 it is said that six ants weighed given numbers of millimetres, and farther along that "a millimetre is approximately one-sixty-fifth of a grain," etc.

The chapter on the ancient belief in harvesting ants is interesting, but not very closely connected with the history of the ants of Texas. It goes to prove the value of Solomon's advice to the sluggard. Altogether the book has a considerable scientific value. We would suggest to Dr. McCook that if in future he were to turn his attention to the grasshopper and army or cotton worms he might lighten the labors and expenses of the Entomological Commission, and win the gratitude of farmers and taxpayers.

Early Chroniclers of Europe.—England. By James Gairdner.—*France.* By Gustave Masson. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Pott, Young & Co.)—The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has instituted several useful series of books, but none perhaps more useful—certainly none which more manifestly fills a gap—than this of the 'Early Chroniclers of Europe,' of which two volumes have already appeared, small octavos, in good type, of about three hundred pages each. We are not told what other volumes are in contemplation, but Germany, at any rate, will be looked for with great interest. The volume upon England is, we will not say better done, but far more interesting than that upon France; partly, perhaps, by reason of Mr. Gairdner's literary experience and skill, partly, no doubt, because the larger number of French chroniclers makes it necessary to treat them in a more compendious way. Mr. Gairdner has not merely given a very full account of every important chronicler, with abundant and well-chosen illustrative extracts (twenty-three pages, for instance, from Giraldus Cambrensis); he has accompanied them with such full commentary that the volume really contains a tolerably complete history of England for the Middle Ages. And not merely does it serve as a general commentary: several points are so treated that the results have almost the value of special treatises. For example, there will be found here one of the best and most instructive brief accounts of the mediæval monasteries, especially of the newer orders—the Carthusians, Cistercians, Franciscans, etc. Students of English history will find this book an indispensable aid, and it can hardly fail to stimulate them to go for further instruction to the writings of the chroniclers themselves.

Mr. Masson's volume is not deficient in interest, and his description of the several chroniclers of France is clear and instructive; but he seldom gives extracts from their works, at least any but the most brief, and the great mass of his materials forces him to dismiss most of his subjects with only a general characterization. France was no doubt more active than England in literary work; moreover, the Chronicles of the Crusades were mostly French, and these make an addition to the historians of France, properly so called, perhaps equal in amount. We think it might have been well, considering the great importance of the Crusades and the number of their chroniclers, to give them a separate volume, and thus, by limiting the present volume to the chroniclers who wrote of the internal history of their country, to make possible a treatment like Mr. Gairdner's. As an illustration of the different styles of the two works, Villehardouin has only eleven pages to Giraldus Cambrensis's twenty-three; and—to take works of precisely the same character and value—Eginhard's Life of Charlemagne has three pages, Asser's Life of Alfred eighteen pages. So far as the scale of his book permitted, however, Mr. Masson has aimed to give the same kind of general illustrative information which Mr. Gairdner gives with such fulness. His work is introduced by a chronological list of French chroniclers, occupying over three pages.

We have only noted one misprint in Mr. Gairdner's book—where Henry I. (p. 92) is called "the impious king" (for *imperious*). On page 231 William of Occam is said to have taken refuge from Pope John, and "put himself under the protection of the Duke of Bavaria." It would mean more to the reader if it said "the Emperor Louis the Bavarian," for the Duke of Bavaria was at this time Emperor. The other volume contains several misprints. On page 36 we read Louis the Fat for Charles the Fat; on page 116, the date 1230 for 1300, and page 155, 1860 for 1272; page 278, Charles VIII. for (we suppose) Charles VII.; page 310, Chartier for Charlier; page 349, Gnesnen for Gnesen. Philip Augustus is said (p. 102) to have "divided his dominions into seventy-three *prévôtés*, each placed under the rule of a bailiff." Perhaps "bailiff" is meant for a translation of *prévôt*, but if so it is misleading, for there was a superior officer called *bailli*, and each *bailliage* contained several *prévôtés*. Moreover, the reader would naturally understand by "dominions" the kingdom of France; but this arrangement was confined to the royal "domains"—the duchy of France, and the country between Paris and Orléans—being afterwards extended to the great fiefs of Normandy, etc., as they were successively annexed. By an oversight (p. 297) the chronicle of St. Maurice is said to have been, down to the year 965, a mere compilation from Orosius—who died about 420.

We find an interesting remark of Mr. Gairdner (p. 231), where he has been speaking of the Franciscan, William of Occam: "It was the friars of the Middle Ages, and not Wycliffe, who really were the first to shake the dominion of the Pope of Rome. It was they who, pointing to apostolic poverty, suggested how Christianity might be relieved of everything that was superfluous, and reduced once more to its essential principles."

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Appletons' Summer Book, swd	(D. Appleton & Co.)	
Bailey (J. M.), The Book of Ensilage	(J. M. Bailey)	
Corfield (Dr. W. H.), Health	(D. Appleton & Co.)	
Denison (Rev. F.), Narragansett Sea and Shore, 2d ed., swd	(J. A. & R. A. Reid)	$0 50
Edkins (Rev. J.), Chinese Buddhism	(Houghton, Mifflin & Co.)	4 50
Lamb (Mrs. M. J.), History of the City of New York, Vol. 2, Part 10, swd	(A. S. Barnes & Co.)	50
Mahaffy (Rev. J. P.), History of Classical Greek Literature, 2 vols	(Harper & Bros.)	
Maurice (M.), French Men of Letters, swd	(D. Appleton & Co.)	35
Smith (T. R.), Architecture, Gothic and Renaissance	(Scribner & Welford)	2 00
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Continued from page iii.

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"(Signed)
"CHARLES DAVIES, LL.D.
"WM. F. BARRY, Maj.-Gen. U.S.A.
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 12, 1880.

The Week.

THERE was a "conference" of leading Republicans held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel on Thursday morning last, most of the States being represented. An attempt was made at the outset by General Logan to have reporters excluded, on the ground that if the proceedings were public it would be "advertising the campaign to the enemy," but this failed. After much discussion a resolution was passed declaring the expediency of carrying on as active a Republican campaign as possible at the South, and requesting the National Committee to respond to such calls for speakers as they should deem wise and proper from Southern Republicans. The Southern Republicans first spoke. Mr. Hicks, of Florida, thought that with "aid and encouragement" from the North they could carry that State, and believed there would be a fair count this fall. Senator Conover, of Florida, also believed there would be a fair count, but Mr. Cessna, of Pennsylvania, thought the Democrats were sure to cheat this fall, and was in favor, if need be, of sending a Congressional committee down to the South to protect the Republicans in that section, and if he could not protect them in that way he would transport them out to the great West. Colonel Sypher, of Louisiana, also took a gloomy view. He denied that there would be a fair count in Florida, but thought that if the result of the October elections at the North were favorable some Congressmen might be gained in Florida, Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina, but no electoral vote anywhere. Judge Freeman, of Tennessee, thought there was no use in trying; that the ballot-stuffers would make the whole Southern vote secure for the Democrats. Mr. Pinchback, of Louisiana, thought great good might be done in the way of encouraging the colored people, if Messrs. Blaine, Conkling, and Sherman would go down and talk to them. Colonel Tony Jones, of Illinois, was somewhat bellicose, and talked of "raising another army" if necessary. Senator Blaine thought the way to stand by the South was to carry Maine, Ohio, and Indiana at the North; if this was done, he evidently believed that all Southern votes which could be obtained by any means would come in without trouble. His own sphere of usefulness lay at the North. Secretary Sherman had his "sympathetic repugnance" excited by the proposal to abandon the South; but he, too, declared that the way to stand by them was to send "men and money" into Ohio and Indiana. Sending them to the South he characterized as a "doubtful experiment," in which he was evidently going to take no part himself. General Logan advocated "harmony," and General Harrison "a concentration of forces against the weak points of the enemy's line."

Whether anything has come of the conference, and if anything, what, it would be hard to say. There was no expression of opinion on any subject now before the public except the probability of ballot-stuffing at the South, nor was any light thrown on the matter by the speaking at the demonstration in honor of General Garfield on the following day, which was devoted almost exclusively to recalling recollections of the war. It is quite evident that no leading Republicans have any intention of going South, either to encourage the blacks or secure a fair count. General Garfield's address to the "Boys in Blue" contained no programme except a promise to "stand by these black allies of ours" at the South, "until the equal sunlight of liberty, fixed in the eternal firmament of our constitution, shall shine with equal ray upon every man, black or white, in the Union." In the absence of any definition of "stand by," it is evident that this is a pledge which any statesman might make without the slightest inconvenience.

General Weaver's Alabama canvass probably gave rise, in other minds as well as in his own, to expectations which the election of last week completely dissipated. The Democrats carried the State by a majority estimated at seventy thousand, and the so-called Independent ticket—Greenback, "endorsed" *ad hoc* by the Republicans, who expressly repudiated the platform, but seized the opportunity to get their votes counted, and so had no separate ticket of their own—was successful only in a few localities where there had been some previous organization. There has been the usual allegation of wholesale fraud, but the specifications offered have been anonymous, and until white men at the South who protest against corruption and violence there have the courage to sign their names to communications to Northern papers, they deserve to have their testimony disregarded. Nevertheless, we do not believe that opinion is freer in Alabama than in the South generally, and as the Democrats had the appointment of election inspectors they had the means to secure returns satisfactory to themselves. On the other hand, we must not give in to the Greenback pretensions, and assume that a free vote would have drawn out the full Republican strength in addition to the defections from the Democracy. The South sharing the prosperity of the country is really no better field than the North for the demagogism which thrives only in hard times. The gospel of fiat money, too, has no such historical or sentimental associations for the negroes as to make it a substitute for Republicanism, whatever the latter may mean. It must be considered fortunate that the Greenback failure will loosen what little hold the heresy has upon them.

How much better the Greenbackers of Texas will fare in the November elections than their brethren in Alabama remains to be seen. Probably nowhere will the local Democracy repudiate more vigorously, by word and deed, Mr. English's doctrine about the twenty-year limit of office-holding. They are in a minority in Texas, and would strive in vain to maintain themselves in power but for the fact that the opposing elements are unwilling or unable to unite in turning them out. There is the usual coquetting between the Greenbackers and the Republicans, but no fusion ticket has resulted, owing to antipathies more powerful than the hatred of capital or the love of fiat money. The Greenbackers have chosen to try their chances with a "straight" State and national ticket, to which they can invite the adhesion of members of both the other parties without prejudice. Immoral as the alliance would be, it might embarrass a Northern missionary, sent to stump the State by the National Republican Executive Committee, to advise against it, all the more because the State platform of the Greenbackers does announce some aims which all friends of public order and intelligence ought to cherish. So we may yet see the Republicans harmoniously "buckling on their armor and putting on their war-paint," to borrow the anachronistic metaphor of the Greenback organ in Austin. Apropos of the subject which engrossed the Fifth Avenue Conference, an intelligent observer writes us from Texas:

"My conviction is that if a few Southern-born Union men, such as ex-Governor E. J. Davis, were sent for to canvass at the North, they would effect more good than any number of Northern politicians that might be sent to canvass in the South. The good people of the originally free States do not understand the condition of things in the South, where the *white men never were and are not yet free*, but are ridden by the same old set of Democratic politicians who held office before, during, and since the war, and intend to continue to hold office, without scruple as to how they get it, while life endures."

A correspondent has called our attention to an error in the *Nation* of July 29 with regard to the Chittenden-McClellan suit in the Circuit Court of Cook County, Illinois. We stated that the judge held the plaintiff's demurrer "good," whereas he, in fact, held it bad. The pleas to which the demurrer was interposed were held good, and these pleas set forth General Garfield's connection with the De Golyer contract in the light in which the *World* now thinks it ought to be regarded. Our correspondent thinks that the fact that Chittenden did not see fit to withdraw his demurrer, as he might have done under the decision, and put in an answer and go to trial on the facts, has some significance, and that we ought to have called attention to it. It has, however, absolutely no significance, as the motives which led to Chittenden's failure to continue the litigation are quite unknown. It may have been

from want of funds on Chittenden's part, or because he was badly advised, or for any one of a thousand other reasons. Besides all this, it should be observed that Mr. Garfield was not a party to the suit. For these reasons we do not think that the suggestion recently made in a letter to the *Sun*, that "a certified copy of the pleadings" in the case "would make a powerful campaign document against Garfield" is sound. To any one who recollects the "charges" brought against Mr. Tilden in 1876, the use made by Democrats of this case can but recall in a comical way the arguments then drawn by Republicans from "certified copies" of judicial records supposed to involve the Democratic candidate of that year.

Judge David Davis has published a letter in support of Hancock. He says that his election is desirable because it will "put an end to sectional strife," and "will revive a patriotic sentiment all over the land which political leaders and factions for sinister ends have sought to prevent." Great as were the achievements of General Hancock in war, "his conduct in peace, when in command of Louisiana and Texas in 1867, was still greater." Judge Davis is particularly pleased with General Hancock's Order No. 40, in which he announced that "the right of trial by jury, the habeas corpus, the liberty of the press, the freedom of speech, the natural rights of persons and the rights of property must be respected," and says that "these principles are the basis of free government." He declares that "the man who, in the midst of the excitements of that stormy period, was cool enough to see his duty clearly and courageous enough to execute it firmly, may well be trusted in any crisis." His letter to General Sherman "marks him as one of the wisest of his time, with a statesman's grasp of mind, and with the integrity of a patriot whom no sense of expediency could swerve from his honest convictions." With regard to the Republican party he urges that "long and unchecked possession of power by any party leads to extravagance, corruption, and loose practices. After twenty years of domination by the Republicans chronic abuses have become fastened upon the public service like barnacles on the bottom of a stranded ship. There is no hope of reform by leaders who have created a system of maladministration, and who are interested in perpetuating its evils." As to the prospects of the campaign, the judge is clear that "the people demand change, and, being in earnest, they are likely to be gratified." This letter, carefully avoiding any topic upon which there is any conflict of opinion or interest in the country, and going back to the sure ground afforded by trial by jury and habeas corpus, marks the judge as even a wiser and more statesmanlike man than General Hancock. If the latter, in reply to General Sherman's letter, had written about the Wilmot proviso and the alien and sedition law he would have performed a feat equal to that of his independent supporter.

The cheerful Colonel Forney, who makes a specialty of "looking at the bright side of human nature," has been getting into trouble by his overzealous devotion to General Hancock and his very gloomy view of General Garfield, whom he calls a "hypocritical charlatan" and man convicted of "ineffable baseness." This has led the Philadelphia *Bulletin* to take a gloomy view of the Colonel, and to recall in an unkind way that $25,000 of the Pacific Mail Corruption Fund was traced to the Colonel's hands by a committee of Congress in 1875, when he had gone abroad as some sort of Commissioner for the Centennial Exhibition. We called attention to the matter at the time, and urged the officers of the Exposition to give the Colonel a furlough, and let him come home to explain what he did with the money, which we believe he has never done, feeling doubtless that it was too dismal a subject for a joyous nature like his to dwell on.

The census has already given a very heavy blow to the great Chinese question. The Californians, in working up the Mongolian grievance, have long maintained that in San Francisco, out of a population of 300,000, 60,000 to 75,000 were Chinese. It now turns out that the total population of the city is only 233,000, and of these less than 21,000 are Chinese. It is highly probable, but not yet certain, that there are not over 50,000 Chinamen in the whole State, instead of 150,000 to 175,000, which have been the favorite figures of the agitators of the Mongolian question. This does not prove that there is no such a thing as a Mongolian question, but it does prove that there is gross exaggeration in most of the talk about it.

John McDonald, the most prominent member of the Whiskey Ring which was broken up by Secretary Bristow, has come out with "revelations" on the subject intended to set all doubt at rest with regard to the connection of both General Grant and Babcock with the conspiracy. He is himself a convicted whiskey-thief, and since his release from prison has been getting ready, "with the aid of a young journalist," an octavo volume of some six hundred pages. This is said to have been offered in the first instance to the Republicans, who prudently refrained from paying any hush money for it, and it will now appear as a Democratic campaign document. McDonald says that there was a distinct understanding between General Grant, Joyce the revenue agent, Ford the collector, and himself that a ring should be formed for the purpose of getting up a campaign fund, and that Grant's collusion with the ring "consisted in his utilization of corrupt money to secure his election." After this object was secured McDonald wanted to dissolve the conspiracy, but on laying the matter before Grant and Babcock it was determined to make further use of it for third-term purposes. He says that Commissioner Douglass was one of the ring, and that at the time of the gift to General Grant of a carriage and horses by the ring he took from the President the sum of three dollars, "to enable him to say, if the question were asked, that he had sold the team to him." At another time a box of cigars with a thousand-dollar bill enclosed was sent to General Babcock. He also gives an account of another interview with the President, at which the latter promised to prevent any accumulation of evidence of the whiskey frauds, and if necessary to turn Mr. Bristow out of office. So far as Babcock is concerned the evidence of McDonald is very important. It seems to supply many connecting links that were wanting at his trial, and had it been forthcoming at that time might have resulted in his conviction. As to General Grant, the evidence of a convicted whiskey-thief whom the President refused to pardon, wholly uncorroborated by documentary or other proof, cannot be accorded much weight.

The execution of Balbo and the close of Dr. Tanner's fast will give great relief to a very large body of decent newspaper readers. The space devoted for a fortnight back by some of our esteemed contemporaries to minute accounts of Balbo's physical and mental preparation for death has been almost as great as that devoted to descriptions of the phenomena of Tanner's stomach, and have been fully as disgusting. Chastine Cox's case was taken up by a considerable body of colored people and their ministers as a race question, though it should in justice be said that a public funeral and street-procession were prevented by the good sense of two colored clergymen. His friends threatened Governor Cornell with punishment at the polls for not pardoning him, which was not very surprising considering the talk they heard from plenty more knowing white men in the Whittaker case. After this it is natural that the Italians should have made Balbo's case a race question, and should have threatened Governor Cornell with punishment at the polls for not pardoning *him*. Not only did they give him a huge public funeral, but they held a meeting outside the cemetery after the interment, at which one of the speakers, named Pratti, a mayor's marshal, denounced Governor Cornell furiously, and, recalling the example of the negroes in Cox's case, pledged his hearers to vote against Garfield in November. Balbo murdered his wife in a most brutal manner, and Cox smothered an old lady in her bed.

Tanner's vomitings and eructations, as minutely described by our esteemed contemporaries, ceased at twelve on Saturday by the close of his fast, and he began to eat again in a most promiscuous manner amidst the frantic applause of the crowd. His eating as he does seems to have alarmed the doctors who have had him in charge almost as much as his fasting, as it ought, under the received theories, to throw him into the most frightful convulsions, but as a matter of fact he seems to digest considerably better than if he had not fasted at all. Medical men, outside the circle of his watchers, do not seem to attach much importance, from a scientific point of view, to Tanner's perform-

ance. They are not satisfied with the guaranties for the *bona-fide* character of the fast, and they say, which we believe is true, that people have lived for forty days on water before now. In the religious world opinions seem to be divided about it. One paper objected to the fast as throwing a slight on one of the New Testament miracles, but others, the Rev. C. S. Williams, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for instance, rejoices in the victory of Tanner's will over his stomach, as showing the superiority of the immaterial over the material, the power of cold water, the folly and ignorance of the doctors, and as rebuking the spirit of gluttony.

Foreign gold of the value of about one million dollars arrived here from Europe during the week, and the foreign exchange market is a trifle nearer to the point at which gold imports will be freely made. Notwithstanding these arrivals and the payment by the U. S. Treasury of about $3,000,000 coin interest, the weekly statement of the New York banks showed a gain in specie of less than $700,000. The Treasury bought $2,500,000 bonds for the sinking fund during the week, making $4,500,000 within ten days of the close of the bank week; but the bank statement showed a loss in legal-tender notes of about $3,500,000. Some currency was sent to the West and the South, but it is impossible to believe that this amounted to one-third of the apparent loss. It was, therefore, concluded by bankers and others that the bank statement had been "rigged" by Stock Exchange speculators. Railroad earnings continue to show a wonderful increase. Forty-two railroads, reporting receipts for June, exhibit an increase of about 34½ per cent. over the large receipts during July, 1879, a circumstance which makes it clear that mercantile business is very active and in volume very large. At the Stock Exchange, investment securities further advanced; the U. S. 4 per cents sold at 109⅝ to 110, the highest price ever reached; and railroad bonds advanced 1 to 3½ per cent. The stock market was without decided tone, except for the stocks of railroads in the Northwestern States, and these advanced from 3 to 10⅝ per cent., the wheat harvest, which the rumor-mongers so persistently destroyed a few weeks since, having turned out to be the best and largest ever gathered. In every department of trade the indications favor a prosperous autumn business.

The Ministry in England seem to have accepted the defeat of the Irish Compensation Bill in the Lords as a final disposition of the matter, and apparently propose nothing in its place, but are determined to enforce the law in Ireland, and have sent fresh troops thither for that purpose. It was somewhat disheartening to find that a majority of twelve of the Liberal peers voted against them. The severe distress in Ireland has ceased for the present, and there is a fair prospect of a good harvest. What the Irish Home-Rulers will do in consequence of the defeat of the bill—that is, whether they will break with their late Jingo allies and support the Ministry or continue their warfare on it—seems to be still undetermined. That the Irish land question will come up again in the next Parliament, and that Mr. Gladstone will attempt to deal with it permanently in a more carefully considered measure, there can be little doubt. There is abundant evidence of the failure of the act now in force to do for the tenant all that it is intended to do, partly owing to the costliness of litigation and partly to a narrow construction of it by the courts. For instance, it has been ruled that to enable an evicted tenant to obtain compensation for his improvements under the act he must, at the time of his eviction, have been in possession of exactly the same holding on which the improvements were made, neither more nor less. Should he before eviction have surrendered a part of his land to the landlord, or have accepted more from him, he lost his right to compensation.

Ayub Khan, who, after his victory over General Burrows on July 27, had the choice of marching either on Kandahar, held with its citadel by General Primrose, or northeastward on Kelat-i-Ghilzai, the British garrison of which is both isolated and weak, seems to have been vacillating for some time, and finally determined to march southward and turn Kandahar, with the object of preventing its relief from Quettah. His troops are reported to have crossed the Argandab. General Primrose has a force of about three thousand men, including the remnants of Burrows's brigade. He has cleared Kandahar of hostile elements, and is believed to be provisioned for more than a month. General Phayre, commanding at Quettah, immediately on receiving the news of Burrows's defeat, marched his troops to the relief of Kandahar, but he has been unable to proceed beyond Chaman-Choki, not fully half-way between the two places. Beyond and around Chaman-Choki the country is seriously disturbed, and both that place and the Khojak Pass, which its fort is intended to secure, are threatened by Afghan tribemen. In the rear of Quettah, too, skirmishing has taken place between British troops retiring upon Sibi and Afghan bands. Though considerable reinforcements have been despatched from India for the support of Phayre, it is very doubtful whether the rescue of Primrose's division can be effected by this advance from the southeast. A more powerful column has been directed on Kandahar, under General Roberts, from Kabul. This column, numbering ten thousand men of all arms, with eight thousand camp-followers, is to pass through Ghazni, there overawing the elements of the population hostile to Abdurrahman, and fight its way, if necessary, to Kelat-i-Ghilzai and Kandahar. This march of about three hundred and fifty miles, from a base which is just being evacuated—General Stewart retiring from Kabul, with the rest of the troops, to Gandamak—will require at least a month's time, and equal boldness and prudence. Kabul is quiet, and the disposition of the new Amir, who is about entering it, is said to be quite satisfactory. On the whole, however, the military situation of the British in Afghanistan is very grave, and the English Government recognizes this fact by sending there reinforcements from Portsmouth, the Cape, Bombay, and the Indus.

Dean Stanley's letter, acquiescing in the decision of the committee to abandon the erection of the monument to the Prince Imperial in Westminster Abbey in submission to the resolution of the House of Commons, has caused his friends a genuine and somewhat painful surprise. He not only argues the matter over again in a very acrid tone, but closes with what it is almost charitable to call an explosion of anger. He compares the spirit which actuated the House of Commons in passing the recent resolution to that which led the Parliament of 1661 to order the remains of Cromwell and other chiefs of the Commonwealth to be disinterred and dragged from the Abbey to the gibbet. His imagination seems to have been so much touched by the Prince's personal misfortune that he had no eye for the political bearings of his career.

The elections of the Councils-General in France have been looked forward to with great interest as an indication of the effect on the public mind of the Government policy towards the Jesuits. Each department elects a Council, one member being returned from each canton. The term of office is nine years, and a third go out of office every third year. As the electors are the voters of the commune who vote for the members of the Assembly, the result is a pretty fair expression of public opinion, apart from the fact that the Councils-General elect a portion of the Senate. The complete returns show a gain of three hundred seats for the Republicans, a preponderance so enormous that it seems to promise the virtual exclusion of the Bonapartists and Legitimists from public life. As this result is wholly unexpected—the clericals counting with the utmost confidence on the support of the rural districts, and many of the conservative Republicans, such as Jules Simon, fearing that the attack on the religious orders would ruin the Republic—it seems to have produced complete bewilderment among the enemies of the Government of all shades of opinion. It will probably put a stop to the attempts of the Jesuits to resist the Ministry in the courts on the plea, which is technically true, that their houses are private property. The most important consequence of the event, however, will probably be the acceptance of the Republic by a large number of Conservatives who have hitherto refused to treat it as a definitive political settlement. It is undoubtedly the most important event which has occurred in France since the overthrow of the De Broglie-Fourtou Ministry.

THE CANDIDATE'S PARTICIPATION IN THE CANVASS.

GENERAL GARFIELD'S travelling through the country delivering addresses, and visiting New York for the purpose (it was said) of participating in or exercising some influence on the Republican Conference which has just been held in this city, is reviving the discussion of the question of the extent to which a Presidential candidate should take part in his own canvass. As to the expediency of the thing, considered with reference solely to its effect on votes, some of our Republican contemporaries seem to have fully made up their minds. They say that General Scott did it, and was defeated; that Horace Greeley did it, and was defeated; and that any candidate, however able or judicious, who does it is sure to be defeated. No matter how dextrous his speeches may be, and however effective they might prove if delivered by the same orator in a different character, the appearance on the stump of an aspirant to so high an office as the Presidency on his own behalf gives, it is said, a fatal shock to popular prejudice. A good many of the traditions of decorum connected with the Presidency in the public mind have perished since the war. The President delivers speeches during his term of office; he accepts invitations to dinner; and, in fact, of late takes considerable pains to avoid any appearance of official dignity in his relations with the world outside of the White House. With all this people are very well pleased. They like to see the Chief Magistrate carrying himself as a common man while wielding the powers of the greatest office in the world; but they still insist, we are told, that anybody who asks their votes for this office shall during his canvass remain in rigid retirement, and leave to others the task of setting forth his claims to it. This delicacy was pushed so far in 1876 that Mr. Tilden's superintendence of his own canvass, even to the extent of establishing an office for purposes of correspondence and for the issue of documents, was treated by a good many Republican papers as a very serious scandal. This view has, however, of late been completely abandoned. In fact, Mr. Tilden's *modus operandi* seems to have tickled the imagination of many of his Republican opponents to such a degree that they have since then adopted it themselves. No disgrace seems any longer to attach to "seeking the Presidency." The organization of two, at least, of the "booms" which preceded the late nominating convention was superintended personally by the candidates themselves, who resorted without the least shamefacedness to any means which seemed likely to pack the convention in their own interest. Mr. Blaine's exertions in this line were last spring a frequent subject for the admiration and applause of his supporters. Mr. Sherman modestly announced himself as a candidate on the stump, and followed Mr. Tilden's example to the extent of establishing a "literary bureau" for the issue of documents intended to convince the Republican party of the wisdom of nominating him. Indeed, after all that has occurred, there would have been a certain absurdity on the part of either of these gentlemen in refraining, if nominated, from taking the stump on their own behalf. A candidate who has passed six months in trying to pack a convention cannot possibly lose much dignity by trying to explain to the people that it was all done for their good. In fact, there would be a certain fitness and propriety in his accounting publicly for his extraordinary activity in his own behalf.

We have little doubt, therefore, that though the popular prejudice against the personal participation of candidates in the canvass may still exist, it has been considerably weakened within the last few years. What ruined General Scott was the folly or insipidity of his mode of commending himself; that is to say, he revealed in a peculiarly flagrant manner by his speeches the unfitness for the place which might very well have been inferred *à priori* from his character and career. Somewhat the same thing may be said of Horace Greeley. He was, under the best of circumstances, a poor orator, and it would have required such powers of speech as very few men possess to make his appearance as the Democratic candidate seem anything but grotesque. When a man puts himself in such a position as that in which he put himself by accepting the Democratic nomination, silence is his best vindication. His wisest course is to let the voters explain his conduct for themselves. They are almost sure to think better of it before hearing his reasons than afterwards. There is nothing either in Greeley's case or General Scott's, apart from the popular prejudice to which we have referred above, to demonstrate the impropriety of the public appearance of a candidate whose nomination has come from his own party, and is a legitimate and just result of his experience and achievements. In fact, there is a great deal to be said in its favor. The great flaw in the working of the governmental machine in our time is the absence of any direct responsibility to the public on the part of officers, and the absence of any direct means of communication between them. If Presidential candidates had always been expected to justify and commend on the stump the party nomination, there is very little doubt that the practice of nominating obscure and mediocre men and keeping them in strict seclusion till the election, would never have sprung up; and the candidate, on the other hand, would not have been able, as he is now, to protect himself against all responsibility by taking shelter behind the party. His position towards the public, in short, would have undergone an assimilation, in many ways desirable, to that of the chief of the cabinet in England. The party would not venture to nominate a man who could not make a good figure in the public presentation of his views on the leading questions of the day, or who had no views to present on such questions. Knowing well, too, that if he took the stump he would have to explain the party position on these questions, not vaguely or evasively but explicitly, they would probably be more careful to furnish him a platform which would bear being expounded. In expounding it, too, he would necessarily commit himself distinctly on all matters of importance, and would thus furnish the voters with very valuable memoranda to be used in watching and criticising his Presidential career.

The effect of this in increasing his sense of responsibility can hardly be overestimated. In England at this moment the Liberals possess no more effective instrument for keeping the Ministers now in office up to their work than the speeches they made when out of office. These speeches were made by the score by nearly every member of the Cabinet; Mr. Gladstone, as was fitting, made more than anybody else. They could not have filled them simply with vague generalities. They had to enter into detailed descriptions of the kind of policy they would substitute, on nearly every matter then before the public, for the policy which was being pursued by the Beaconsfield Ministry. They thus furnished the voters with a kind of hand-book by the aid of which they are now able to call them to account for all errors either of omission or commission. They cannot treat as of no importance things which they said on the stump were of the utmost importance, or escape under cover of a high-sounding phrase from the performance of a duty of which they had before the election given a minute account. In France, in like manner, it is Gambetta's speeches, not only in the Assembly but before popular audiences, which are marking him out for the presidency of the Republic. He is winning public confidence, not by lying quiet or by holding his tongue, but by letting people know what he thinks. In truth, it is through speech and not through silence that the road to high office should naturally lie in constitutional government. In its natural working a man who asks the country for a high trust, instead of becoming dumb as soon as he has announced his candidacy, should talk more than ever before. Nothing can be said in the canvass of half the value of what he says for himself. Our plan of carefully shutting the candidate up after the nomination is made is the result, in part, of the fact that a sort of monarchical tradition surrounded the Presidency from the beginning, and made the reticencies and reserves of royalty seem a part of its essential drapery; in part, of the working of our nominating machinery, which so often produces a candidate who is simply the result of a compromise, or whose best claim to the office has been derived from his obscurity, and who is, therefore, in no sense a fit person to go forth as its champion and attempt public justification of its right to carry on the government.

In 1876 the working of what may be called the Grand-Lama theory of the candidate's position was carried in Mr. Hayes's case to a very mischievous extreme. His backers not only threw the platform overboard, but preached furiously a policy with regard to the South of which it subsequently appeared he totally disapproved, and ignored completely a reform to which he had in general terms committed himself strongly in his letter of acceptance. Nor was this all. While he was presented to the people as *par excellence* a scrupulous politician, who would win

by fair means or not at all, and to whom all tortuous ways were odious, thus offering a happy and most edifying contrast to Mr. Tilden, the chief managers of his canvass, the late Mr. Zachariah Chandler and Mr. Jay Gould, were engaged in a great variety of sinful games (which Tilden must have often viewed with envy) under the pleasing euphemism of "fighting the devil with fire." In fact, Tilden's cipher operations were neither more nor less than an attempt to undo the process of "fixing" which the Republican managers had already successfully carried out in the Southern Returning Boards. When all was over, nobody on the Republican side was responsible for any wickedness or evasion, or for any attempt to mislead or confuse the public mind. Tilden, having assumed the direction of his campaign in person, was, however, held to strict accountability, which he in vain tried to evade, and politics were undoubtedly the better of it.

If it had been possible to retain the earlier ideal of the Presidency—that of a sort of elected constitutional monarch, representing not one party but the whole people, and confined in his sphere of duty to the execution of the laws and the recommendation of beneficial legislation—the plan of keeping him out of the strife of the election would have had a great deal to be said for it. But this ideal has long passed away. He is now recognized as a party leader just as much as Gladstone or Gambetta, and is expected when he gets into office to do far more for his party than either Gladstone or Gambetta. There is, therefore, no reason that will bear serious examination for closing his mouth before election. There are a dozen excellent ones why he should be called on to talk freely. If he talks foolishly or indiscreetly he ought to suffer for it like any other public man. If the candidate *had* to talk, the convention would take that into account in making the nomination, and govern themselves accordingly. Reputation and experience would then come to have a far higher value in conventions than they have now; the canvass would be much more instructive and interesting, and the people would know on election day far better than they can know now for what and for whom they were going to vote. Though last, not least, the nomination would become a prize to which men of real ability could more confidently look forward, and skill in the manufacture of "booms" would correspondingly decline in value.

THE ADULTERATION OF NEWS.

WE publish elsewhere some account of the expedient to which some men, of both parties in England, who are interested in the Eastern Question have been compelled to resort in order to obtain trustworthy accounts of the real state of things in Turkey. The Eastern Question is, in some of its phases, to Englishmen very much what the Southern question has for some years back been to Americans. Turkey is inhabited by men of various races, and of at least two creeds. Between the Turks and Christians of all races there reigns the deadliest hostility, which displays itself in "outrages" on both sides. These outrages have for the last three or four years played very much the same part in English politics which Southern outrages have played in American politics. It helps the Liberals to produce plenty of outrages by Turks on Christians, and these the Tories have of late been making desperate attempts to offset by stories of outrages on Turks by Christians in the recently liberated provinces. The newspaper correspondence from those regions is almost invariably colored by the political sympathies of the journal in which it appears. The Liberal correspondent is most impressed by the ruffianism of the Turk, the Tory correspondent by the villany of the Christians, which he always maintains is largely the result of Russian prompting. Even tourists, travelling for their own pleasure or information, seem to have their observation affected by the possible influence of what they see upon the fortunes of their party at home. The general result is that materials for a sound judgment upon the policy which England ought to pursue in the East are considered by a good many Englishmen as not attainable in their own press. They have accordingly opened a news-office in London at which they undertake to collect really impartial and trustworthy intelligence from the region which the Eastern Question covers, and sell it at retail to subscribers, much in the fashion in which news of all kinds was sent to the provinces by letter-writers in London in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In this country, at this moment, the public is reduced to almost similar straits with regard to home politics. There is no leading daily paper, except, perhaps, the New York *Herald* and its Boston namesake, which makes any attempt to draw a clear line of distinction between its news reports and its editorial commentary. The attitude of the paper towards the politics of the day is settled by the editor in his articles, and the reporters then either only collect such news or give such a coloring to all news as will support his view. The newspaper treatment of the Southern question has, of course, supplied the most striking illustration of the way in which this system of news-gathering works. To the Democratic editor there have never been any outrages or any ballot-stuffing at the South, or, at least, there have been none worthy of notice. To the Republican editor outrages and ballot-stuffing have since the war constituted not only the principal occupation of the Southern whites but their favorite amusement. If the editor sends a reporter or "staff-correspondent" down to discover the real state of the case, he invariably finds that the facts are exactly such as would sustain his chief's editorial view of the situation. The chief's view of the situation is such as to constitute an unanswerable argument for putting or keeping his own party in power. It is not the South alone, however, which furnishes party ammunition. Almost everything that occurs in the political arena at the North is equally useful. Every public man who makes himself at all conspicuous on the opposite side is described either as a drivelling idiot or a great scoundrel. His speeches are either not reported, or reported in such fashion as to make them seem an outburst of either wickedness or folly. The meetings of the opposite party are described as wretched failures in point of numbers or as a huge assembly of the criminal class, drawn together by a brass band and calcium lights and addressed in the intervals of disorder and tumult by notorious political profligates. No reading of the newspapers will to-day furnish any intelligent man with the means of forming a rational judgment as to the condition of political feeling in the Northern States or the prospects of the opposing Presidential candidates. He will find in every State and district that Democrats and Republicans are equally joyous and hopeful; if there has been any apathy or despondency on either side, it has just given place to the most buoyant anticipation. The Democratic reporter never meets or converses with any one who does not look for a "rousing victory" in November for the Democrats. The Republican reporter never meets or converses with anybody who does not look for the same thing for the Republicans. Neither of them ever overhears any talk in hotel, bar-room, or railroad-car in the least discouraging to his own side. He frequently hears, however, expressions of great despondency on the part of the enemy and cutting remarks on the terrible blunders of the leaders. In fact, if either the Democratic or the Republican view of the situation were anywhere near correct, the other party would hardly think of keeping the field, even in name. No foreigner would infer from reading the newspapers on both sides during a Presidential campaign, or during the preparations for the nominating conventions, that there was any body of persons in the country who cared to know the exact truth about the social or political phenomena of the day. He would never imagine that the collection of news—or, in other words, the description of facts just as they occur—was ostensibly one of the largest business enterprises in the country; that tens of millions of capital were invested in it, and probably more ardent, unremitting industry ostensibly devoted to it than to any other money-making calling.

That this is a very serious state of things is plain enough when we consider how rapidly the dependence of the public on the newspaper for everything it knows or wishes to know is increasing. With regard to events which have no especial bearing on party politics the newspaper discharges the function of news-gathering fairly enough. The story of a murder, a fire, a collision, a boat-race, an elopement, a foreign war, an inundation, or a pestilence is told in substantially the same way by all the journals. There may be a difference in the degree of correctness or literary finish between the report of the *Crab-apple* and that of the *Water-melon*, on any of these things, but both are written with a fair desire to tell the truth. But the opinion of the community on these things has no especial importance; it does not lead to nor find expression in organized action. Politics is the one thing about which half, or nearly half, the nation has to come to a common understanding and

take some decided and concerted course; and the reasons of this course have to be such facts of the day as the working of certain legislation, the condition of society in certain parts of the country, the conduct of certain public men, or the drift of opinion in particular States. It is true that were these facts never so correctly reported, parties would differ in the lessons to be drawn from them. The inferences of one party or the other, or of both, might be erroneous, but no error based on essentially correct information can be half as mischievous or far-reaching as error based on sheer delusion. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the picture of the political condition of the country presented by the party newspapers on both sides at this moment is a phantasmagoria. Not only is nothing of the kind to be found anywhere, but anything of the kind is hardly possible.

As the country grows in population this adulteration of their wares by the news-collectors will prove an increasingly dangerous cause of confusion, unless a new branch of the newspaper business springs up for the supply of as pure news as can be got. It seems useless to expect anything of the kind from the managers of the great journals already in existence. They are all apparently under the influence of traditions of party fealty and advocacy too strong to be overthrown. The separation of the news department from the expository department will apparently have to be the work of a fresh set of newspaper pioneers, like those who produced the form of "great daily" which now flourishes in this city and is such a remarkable advance on its predecessor, which made little pretence to news-gathering at all. Certainly it would be hard to think of any new agency which would contribute so much to the rational decision of great political issues, and to the encouragement of talent and integrity among public men, as the application to news-gathering of the rules of conduct which now make it infamous for a man to sell watered milk, or sanded sugar, or fill life-preservers with hay.

THE DECLINE OF "YOUNG AMERICA."

IT is considerably less than a generation ago that the representative American youth took a pride, that was at least conspicuous, in the possession of traits of character which it is easy to see are now the object of his profound, though it may be half-conscious, commiseration. The spirit of "Young America" was a very distinct and not unpicturesque thing; it was both American and young; the national symbol of the American eagle, noticeably rampant, and the national sentiment that found expression in the three or four songs of which the airs alone now remain familiar, had their correlatives in the individual character, in which the virtues of independence, self-reliance, energy, shrewdness, and so on were often recognizable in their respective excesses. The individual's association of himself with his country was intimate to intensity; patriotism was quite unreasoning—"My country, right or wrong," its shibboleth; a general jealousy of foreigners, a particular hostility to Great Britain, admiration of things American because they were American, were universal. Impersonal criticism of these or other things was very nearly unknown; "culture" was an unmeaning term; education was viewed as a process of acquisition merely; and even of education which exceeded plainly utilitarian purposes it may be doubted if there was not a popular distrust felt by the "self-made" majority, which echoed the sentiment of the late Mr. Greeley: "Of all horned cattle deliver me from college graduates." College graduates themselves were very much of Mr. Greeley's temper; they were not given to abstractions, and had a quick sympathy for vigor, activity, summariness, and the chameleon quality called practical common sense. A firm belief in material civilization, a confidence in its ability to take care of itself with the minimum of guidance, a comfortable comparison of the United States with priest-ridden Italy or "slow-going" Great Britain, charity for "idealists," a devotion to the simpler half of Davy Crockett's maxim, were as distinctly in the creed of the college graduate who was "worth anything" as they were illustrated by the lives of the exemplars held up to him from his boyhood. The "be-sure-you're right" part of the maxim was undoubtedly in effect assumed to be Fabian and un-American. The condition of politics quite as much, perhaps, as the character of our civilization contributed to this; the two, at any rate, joined forces and worked in harmony. The division of parties was, except to a very few, essentially a moral one. The great political question, in some shape or another and more or less remotely, being slavery, it could not be that the disputants should conceive each other as intellectual opponents merely, or as anything but fanatics on either side. One of the heaviest penalties that has been exacted of the South is, perhaps, to be found in the survival among the most intelligent of the Southern people of the political terminology of a past period; the term "Abolitionist" has passed out of existence in great measure, but that of "Radical" still remains, and is supposed to characterize a political opponent with equal vigor.

This mental attitude is certainly not confined to the South, and one may still hear in certain highly cultivated quarters of Yankeedom a doubtful person referred to with sincerity as "either corrupt or a Democrat," or, on the other hand, find excellent and "conservative" folk who still associate certain political doctrines with "short-haired women and long-haired men." But this is strictly confined, so far as our observation serves us, to the passing generation. The youth of the present day, whose family teaching was that one set or the other of public men were profoundly immoral, but who finds that there is really no way of telling whether a man is a Democrat or a Republican except by asking him, and experiences increasing difficulty in deciding whether he himself is one or the other, unless heredity (which has less and less force in such matters) settles it for him, is really hard put to it to appreciate his father's intensity in the matter. The feeling between the two is not very unlike that which Scott portrayed with so much humor in the novel in which figures the fine old baronet who is enraged at being entrapped into eulogy of Milton. In one sense this explains the phenomenon which has been so variously interpreted recently of the allegiance of the passing and the hostility of the rising generation to the Machine in politics; the Machine secures the adherence of the one in virtue of their habitual attachment to what the Machine once stood for, and which they are reluctant to see no longer exists; with the other it stands on its merits. As Mr. Beecher says, the "*very* young men" do not like it. The same attitude is observable in their patriotism, which has manifestly little that is obtrusive or rank about it. Former universality of the most cherished stock notions seems to be less and less a sufficient guarantee to them for the validity; and the notion that "the great American" this or that is the ideal of its kind is in the way of suffering accordingly. Cosmopolitanism is a new thing in America, but among them it is a decorous enthusiasm. The association of monarchical institutions with despotism no longer occurs to them; the disadvantages of a democracy in general and of this republic in particular are quite as present in their minds as the corresponding excellences; they have a smattering of political science, and are fond of using its terminology and applying its abstractions. Scores of young men whose "language" is "large" may be found who look upon the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor as rather puerile, think the execution of André a piece of colonial impertinence, and regard Washington as a prig; who will argue in favor of caste and the beneficence of an aristocracy with a fervor and from premises that would astonish an Austrian archduke, and plead the right of "the people" to be governed, with a cordiality that Carlyle would approve. We venture to say that the advantages which lie in conditions that preclude the uneasiness of ambition and the anxiety of human competition, are set forth nowhere with so much fluency and unction as they are by a young American fresh from his Senior year's examination of a philosophy which proclaims the ideas of the Declaration crude and unsound. We have recently witnessed the expression of a good deal of strictly American indignation, excited by Mr. Henry James's book on Hawthorne; and it is not to be denied that this incident is scarcely an apt illustration of the decline of one of the most ridiculous phases of "Young America." In general, however, we suspect it is true that the younger of its competent critics did not find it an objection to the book that it measured Hawthorne by universal rather than American literary standards; and that, if we except the surviving Transcendentalists of thirty or forty years ago, most of its censors were dissatisfied with it not because Mr. James's view was unpatriotic, but because it was a little too consciously "objective"—although it must be admitted that this was not the reason generally assigned. But Mr. James himself is a hundredfold nearer the typical American youth than his censors, and the difference between the reception of his book and the storm of patriotic disapprobation which Cooper aroused by a far milder cosmopolitanism, is a striking instance of the change which a few years have wrought.

That potent material cause to which so many and such various effects upon national manners and character are so rightly attributed—the sudden increase of wealth, namely—is evidently to be credited with a good deal of this. It is, of course, idle to speak of it as universal; one thinks of a multiplicity of exceptions at once. But in speaking of types no one looks for an actual embodiment of the qualities in question, or attempts to arrive at them by a count of heads and determination of majorities; in other words, it is plain that the "average" man may or may not be the "typical" man, and that when we speak of the typical American youth of the present day, it is largely a matter of tendencies generally characteristic rather than of the individual character shared by the greatest number. In this sense it is clear that he has now become a member of a class which, to a greater or less extent, is an educated class, and which—since every American, whatever his own acquirements, has an active belief in education—is increasing in numbers in a direct ratio with the increase of wealth. Of this class many have travelled, and not a few have studied abroad. Every year all the colleges send a larger number of graduates to Germany. Those who go, from the Heidel-

berg student of biology to the butterfly who flits from London to Paris, to Vienna, and so on, are, in one way or another, learners; and they come back, many of them, in precisely the opposite spirit to that of Senator Conkling, who waited till late in life, like General Grant, before leaving "the greatest country the sun shines upon," even temporarily. Unlike Senator Matthews, they care very much "for abroad." In New York there is a large class of wealthy young men who omit no effort to secure complete Anglicanization. They cherish the eccentricities of the English vernacular and accent, order their clothes of a London tailor, interest themselves in the fashionable gossip to be obtained from the new English weeklies, possess photographs of English "professional" beauties, and even go so far as to "talk horse" in English fashion. The solemnity with which this last is done is very remarkable; conversation about "riding to hounds" in a country where there is no opportunity for such an amusement, except in a few instances where there is no game, sounds as singular as it is undoubtedly innocuous, but it is certainly a striking indication of the dissatisfaction existing among many young Americans with the "provincial" sports that have hitherto sufficed for them. Coaching, polo, and lacrosse can be transplanted and have intrinsic adaptability to American conditions, but nothing, one would say, could be more like the play minus *Hamlet* than fox-hunting in a country where there is nothing to resemble or answer to the time-honored squirarchy of Great Britain. Along with this no close observer can fail to notice a great decline in the peculiarly American vices of young men. The more boisterous varieties of dissipation seem to be gradually but perceptibly getting out of date, though we can fancy the statement would be received with surprise by the great West. Nothing is so fatal to fashionable vice as becoming unfashionable, and the whiskey-drinking, gambling, and horse-trotting young man of a dozen or fifteen years ago has in great measure given place to a *jeunesse dorée* which has come to regard his practices as vulgar. The people who "hang around theatres," frequent bar-rooms, and drink too much when they plainly shouldn't, are now apt to be either low or over forty. There may be as much dissipation, but it is fair to say that it is more decorous.

A sense of decorum, even in its excess of affectation of manners, freedom from prejudice, even in its excess of lukewarm patriotism, and an inclination towards things of the mind even at the price of exchanging the substance of realities for the shadow of abstractions, are not, however, qualities to be deeply dreaded in Americans. They are, as yet, chiefly tendencies, and it will probably be some time before their conflict with their opposites ceases to be unequal. Moreover, they are now mainly visible in the excess, which is a characteristic of all development so rapid as that of America; and that they lie in the line of national development instead of being an accidental variation, should be clear to every one. For the present, at least, action is giving place to speculation in American life, and it is more important that the national intelligence should be widened and quickened than that the American heart should be fired by a newspaper rumor that a Spanish gunboat has made a target of the stars and stripes, or a squad of Mexicans has crossed the Texan border; more important that political economy should be generally understood than that Fourth of July audiences should be large; and of consequence that men should know how to use as well as how to get money. Nevertheless it can hardly be that the present transformation should not be looked upon as a mark of decadence by many of the passing generation, at least by that part of it which has acumen enough to realize the change without the ability either to sympathize with it or contemplate it impersonally. The passing generation is always the *laudator temporis acti*, if it has accomplished its work as faithfully and through as high a sincerity as the generation of Americans which has been an active witness of a great civil war, the death of a powerful social institution, the establishment, as it were, of something like a new nation. It appreciates too nearly the cost of its own progress to accept lightly the possibility of another step in advance unattended by "severe pains and birth-throes"; it reflects upon risks which seem too great to be run twice with impunity, and dreads the effect of its own momentum. But no historical induction is clearer than the constant correspondence between new dangers and adequate provision for them, if only the two conditions of character and intelligence accompany national growth; and to distrust the effect upon character of the evident progress of this country in intelligence is to abjure what may almost be called the main article of the American creed, which affirms the intimate connection between education and morality. There is slight analogy as yet, at all events, between the United States and the later Roman Empire. We have long ere this had the stimulant of our Gothic invasion on the one hand, and have stood the shock of barbarian hordes on the other. The modern world having very distinct characteristics, its own perils and its own defences, the main thing is to keep abreast of the modern world. Having accomplished this to the world's surprise in a material way; having conquered a lasting peace, wealth, and, relatively, thorough contentment, to put our "machinery" to some use, and to keep pace with the world in the things beyond machinery, other faculties are demanded than those required to perfect it. To avoid the result of stagnation, in which successful struggle sometimes ends, a new set of forces is clearly needed, and any one who infers from their fastidiousness, idealism, or even their pococurantism and absurdity, a lack of seriousness in contemporary American youth, evinces ignorance of one of the most characteristic of American traits—a trait whose permanence is secured by the genealogy of the people—namely, a disposition, proceeding equally, perhaps, from sensitiveness and bravado, to guard securely and, if necessary to that end, misreport in a dozen ways the really fundamental earnestness which is their Anglo-Saxon inheritance. At least the decline of "Young America" was as important as it was inevitable, and to lament it with misgiving will seem to reflecting patriotism a mark of the "little faith" which has always, and on the highest authority, been adjudged unwisdom.

JULY 14, 1789—JULY 14, 1880.

LONDON, July 27, 1880.

"OF all the events in the history of the world, how much is this the greatest, and how much the best." These were the words with which Charles James Fox greeted the tidings that the Bastille had fallen. His language re-echoed the universal sentiment of his time. Pietists such as Cowper, writers such as Coleridge and Wordsworth, destined to give expression to the sentiment of anti-revolutionary reaction; thinkers as calm as Mackintosh, statesmen as versed in affairs as Washington, or, one may add, as Pitt; men leading the quiet life of the middle classes, such as Dr. Rigby at Norwich, or Steffens or Perthes in Germany; persons, in short, of all nations and of all ranks, shared, or even exaggerated, the enthusiasm expressed by Fox. The fall of the Bastille was to the men of 1789 like unto the fall of the walls of Jericho. A miracle had been worked. At the voice of the people the high places of tyranny had been overthrown, and a generation burning with what in later days has been termed the "enthusiasm of humanity" were prepared at once to occupy and possess the long-promised land of freedom, of equality, and of enlightenment. Now that ninety-one years have passed since the day which the French Republic has with admirable tact chosen to commemorate by a national anniversary, the enquiry inevitably suggests itself whether the enthusiasm excited amongst our forefathers by the "greatest event in the history of the world" has been justified by its results. The question is one rather of history than of politics, and may now be discussed without prejudice as without passion; and I will, with your permission, give the reasons which, in my judgment, may satisfy an age as sceptical and unenthusiastic as our own that the hopes of 1789 were something better than generous illusions, and have received as much justification from the course of events as is ever granted to the aspirations of mankind.

Any one who discusses this subject must at once make one or two admissions. No person of half Fox's sense could (it must be granted) now in calm blood apply to the taking of the Bastille terms which, in his mouth, were the natural expression of natural feeling. The storming of the royal prison-house was assuredly neither the "greatest" nor yet the "best" of historical transactions. If, again, we are to estimate the true results of the Revolution we must be careful not to limit our gaze to France. We must further admit that no movement, however great—not, for example, the Reformation, nor, one may say, the propagation of Christianity itself—has ever produced, nor, human nature being what it is, can produce those purely and absolutely beneficial effects which have been expected from it by reformers, heroes, or saints. These and some other obvious admissions must undoubtedly be made by any one who attempts to answer the enquiry I have raised. But they need not prevent him from replying to it with a decided affirmative.

The objects towards which the hopes of 1789 were with more or less consciousness directed may be roughly summed up in the terms "popular sovereignty," "equality of rights," "liberty," and "enlightenment." These terms are vague. Part of their power to move mankind was due to their vagueness. They are, however, though, like all general conceptions, extremely hard to define, sufficiently intelligible. The true mode of estimating the results of the Revolution is to consider how far these its aims have been attained. The "sovereignty of the people" was, unless my memory deceives me, the principle which was toasted by Priestley and his friends when the philosopher incurred the anger of the mob of Birmingham; and persons like George III., who were not prepared exactly to justify Lynch law, still felt and expressed a certain gratification at the dreams of a philosophical radical being roughly broken by the very mob to whose sovereignty he was doing homage. No doubt the celebrated Unitarian was for the moment met by a rather awkward *argumentum ad hominem*; but whoever compares the present with the past must surely admit that Priestley's dream has been verified, and his formula, in substance, been accepted by the world. The "sovereignty of the people" means neither more nor less than the admission that in civilized countries the government exists for, and ought to be in the main carried on in obedience to the wishes of, the majority of the nation. This principle, like every other, is but imperfectly obeyed, but it certainly is throughout the greater part of Europe, as in the United States, a recognized

axiom of government. Its power is, in fact, most observable in states which do not possess democratic institutions. Bismarck and his master are more powerful than any other European rulers, but every one knows that their power rests on their fulfilling the main wishes of Germany. The people, like nature, are governed by being obeyed, and within a century after the fall of the Bastille the most powerful monarchy in Europe owes its strength to owning the sovereignty of the people.

Of the triumph throughout the civilized world of the idea of "equality" there is no need to say much, since the very complaint of thinkers who, like De Tocqueville, have analyzed the political phenomenon of modern society, is that the passion for equality menaces the love of liberty. A single point, however, requires notice. One cannot understand what the leaders of opinion in the last century meant by equality unless one tries to realize the condition of ante-revolutionary Europe. Its prominent feature was inequality —*i.e.*, the fact that men's rights depended on difference of classes. This held good throughout the Continent. It was even more true of republican Switzerland than of monarchical France. It was, in fact, the legacy of feudalism. No doubt there were many persons who fancied that because artificial class-distinctions were then the curse of the world an equally artificial absence of all distinctions whatever was the "state of nature," and as such the true panacea for all the diseases of a corrupt civilization. But the real grievance was a condition of things which the most vehement conservative of the nineteenth century would find in practice absolutely intolerable. The cry for equality meant the abolition of feudal institutions and the opening of a free career for talent. In its real significance it embodied a perfectly rational demand, which has during every year since 1789 received more and more complete satisfaction.

The side on which a hostile critic would, at first glance, be most likely to charge the Revolution with failure is the attempt to secure individual liberty. There is certainly much to suggest that in France, as in some other parts of Europe, the movement which produced equality took away many of those checks on power which are essential to the security of freedom. Still if, putting aside theories or preconceived ideas, one tries to look facts in the face, it is difficult to believe that during the last ninety years individual freedom, both of opinion and of action, has not made the most stupendous progress. If we leave Russia and Turkey out of account, as countries which lie outside the great European movement, there is not a civilized state where individual freedom is not, at any rate in theory, admitted as the basis of the existing institutions. No doubt theory and practice by no means always coincide. Still, it is not rash to assert that throughout every part of the civilized world an ordinary person leading the every-day life of a common citizen is protected or is, in fact, exempt from the caprices of arbitrary power. Persecution, in the true sense of the term, has all but ceased to exist. The petty and irritating despotism which till the very eve of the Revolution was rampant in every state of Germany, would not now be tolerated even in Spain; whilst in countries such as England, France, and Italy there are such security for personal freedom and such unrestrained liberty of discussion as have never been known at any other period of the world's history. The intense admiration excited in the last century by the English Constitution is not so much a tribute to the merits of institutions far inferior to those which now exist in Great Britain and elsewhere, as an unmistakable sign of the failure during the eighteenth century of Continental governments to secure for their subjects the most ordinary blessings of freedom.

The weak point in the revolutionary movement lies in its not achieving anything like the general diffusion of enlightenment which was supposed to be the almost necessary result of overthrowing political despotism. The causes of this comparative failure might themselves form the subject of lengthy speculation. One or two points, at any rate, deserve consideration. It is, in the first place, clear that the opponents of the Revolution, such, for instance, as Burke, were nearly as much at sea as the revolutionists themselves as to the relation between religious belief and politics. In a certain sense the revolutionists were the clearer-sighted of the two. They at least saw, though very dimly, that somehow or other Catholicism and modern liberalism must come into conflict, whilst Burke never seems to have supposed that many of the notions of justice and good government in which he himself fully believed might be thwarted by religious fervor or fanaticism. No one, in the second place, anticipated that the religious society in which Talleyrand was a bishop contained in it sufficient life to become again a moral or immoral power in the world; and one cause of this was that few persons appreciated what is after all the formidable fact in the modern world, the different degrees of education attained by different classes, and hence the difference of the beliefs by which they are certain to be influenced. Add, lastly, that the statesmen of the Revolution deplorably neglected the lessons of the Reformation. They neither knew how to oppose fervent faith to fervent superstition, nor how to strike at the root of priestly domination by substituting for an unmarried priesthood, who could not be citizens, a body of married clergy forced by their very position to be loyal to the state.

On one side, at least, the movement of 1789 has hitherto fallen short of its promise. Still, even this shortcoming is due rather to the reaction of the nineteenth than to the Revolution of the eighteenth century. In any case, an event which heralded in the reign of popular sovereignty, the abolition of legal inequality, and the increase of human liberty, may claim a foremost place among the great transactions in the history of the world.

A. V. Dicey.

THE PASSION PLAY.

Ober-Ammergau, July 14.

THIS quiet Bavarian village of some two thousand inhabitants, remote from the railroad, isolated from the rest of the world in a broad, high valley, which is surrounded by a wall of mountain ranges, and through which flows the swift and sparkling Ammer, is very old. It was built on the mediæval highway between Venice and Augsburg, and has always been under the immediate auspices of the great and famous monastery of Ettal, two miles away. The soil is clayey and infertile, and the inhabitants make a scanty livelihood by carving wooden images of the saints, altar-pieces, crucifixes, and more recently toys and useful and ornamental articles of household furniture. The Passion Play has probably been performed here since the thirteenth century, although tradition dates it from early in the seventeenth, and declares that it was first represented in consequence of a vow made during a plague. Like other mysteries and miracle plays it was originally written in doggerel, the manuscript of which the burgomaster still preserves, and was performed in the churchyard, with the church-door as a background, and with priests and monks in the chief rôles. The prince of hell and his court were represented on the lower part of the stage, and imps tore out and devoured the entrails of Judas after his suicide. Rival representations in other places decayed one after another, while this, owing in part to the constant revision of the monks of Ettal, and partly to the unique character of this choice survival, has steadily grown to be more and more widely famous; till now, as the inhabitants of Olympia were largely occupied during the intermediate years in preparation for their great festival, so here the Passion Play is the great event of the decade for the Ober-Ammergauers. The "passion year" is a sort of jubilee. Debts are paid, the poor pensioned, marriages delayed or hastened to fall within its limits, and every household receives a part of the proceeds of the season after it has ended.

The people are devoutly religious in the best Catholic fashion. The outer walls of all the best houses are adorned with large and gaudy paintings representing Biblical scenes, and done by native artists. The usual form of salutation is *Greet God*. There are few newspapers and almost no books to be found in the village, but I heard in a kind of beer-shanty a lively discussion of the manner in which Joseph of Arimathæa embalmed the body of Jesus. An immense crucifixion group, done in stone, was presented by the King of Bavaria and stands on a slight eminence just outside the town, and a tall wooden cross rises above the lofty peak of the Kofel, which almost overhangs the town. Votive tablets abound in every street. In short, since a brief visit in Oberlin some years ago, in which I was immediately questioned with considerable minuteness by the venerable ex-president about my personal relations to the Saviour, and since hearing in the college yard there the prayers and hymns with which every recitation is opened, I have not spent a week in an atmosphere of such all-pervading piety as here. The peculiar flavor of *Gemüth* native among these highlands, together with the dreamy beer, the intractable and almost threatening aspect of nature, poverty, and I know not what other causes, have combined to give the inhabitants a calm, tender, and contemplative character which their occupation in carving, and now, since the establishment of a school of design here, in studying various attitudes of devotion and suffering in saints and martyrs, has deepened and confirmed.

I shall attempt no account of the play itself, which is described in a dozen hand-books. It consists of seventeen acts, lasts eight hours, brings between five and six hundred people upon the stage, and is listened to on an average by about thirty-five hundred peasants, who sit through rain and sunshine on the benches in the unroofed space immediately in front of the stage, and by more than a thousand "guests" further back under cover. A great majority of the latter are English and American visitors. Most have read by this time how the rôles are assigned by vote of a large committee of citizens, after long and careful discussion of natural adaptation in character and personal appearance; of the long and tedious drilling required at rehearsals; of the studies of costume and attitude, many of which are easily-recognized copies of pictures in the galleries of Munich; of the inflexible rule that only those born in the village can have any hand in the play; of the long hair and beard cultivated years beforehand; how the tall, handsome Joseph Maier, who looks and acts the part of *Jesus* so creditably, must seclude himself after the play till the peasants from a distance have left town, that they may not fall to saying prayers to him as if he were really Christ. Indeed, I have been told (I know not how advisedly) that some of the leading characters live and grow into their parts so deeply—for which, indeed, they are sometimes destined from childhood—that, but for the long interval of ten years, aided by the cor-

rective influence of assuming various parts in other smaller religious dramas (including even a version of "Antigone," often performed for practice and for the amusement of their townsmen), they would no doubt fall into the insane delusion that they were in very deed the characters they delineated. However this may be, most of the leading performers, whom I have taken pains to meet, appear in their homes remarkably as they do on the stage, and they seem to me profoundly penetrated with what they suppose to be the consciousness of the characters they have assumed. I have observed in none of them the frequent fluctuations of tone common to so many actors in personal intercourse with their private friends.

I heard the play twice—once among the peasants and once upon the visitors' seats further back. Many of the former come from a great distance, and sometimes on foot as a sort of pilgrimage, and prepare themselves for it by fasting and by attending early mass, where they are told how to make the spectacle a means of grace. Most of them wept, some convulsively, at the affecting passages, and laughed heartily at the well-acted remorse of *Judas*. The play is designed, of course, for the people, and is intensely realistic. They see and hear the blood spurt when the spear is thrust into the side of *Jesus*. The casting of the lots and the parting of the garments are tediously true to life. Real doves fly away when the tables of the money-changers are overturned. Every spectator can see and count the thirty pieces of silver as they are rung down upon a stone table, and the laugh is loud as *Judas* greedily scrabbles them up one by one into his bag. The scourging, the bloody sweat, the blows of the hammer upon the nails of the cross, are all wearily real and unmistakable without the long explanation of the *choragus*. Nothing whatever is left to the imagination. Even the language in some scenes is scarcely less than vulgar, and most of it is in striking contrast with the elaborate elegance of most of the English versions. That the people who hear the play are edified and instructed there can be little doubt. It is also a valuable discipline for those who perform it. The community is united in a common, serious occupation. In the larger scenes hundreds act and sing together with an earnestness and unanimity very rarely witnessed in the best operas or theatres. Each feels a common local pride and responsibility; and although the individual actor often seems to forget himself in the earnestness with which he enters into his part, I doubt if he for a moment entirely forgets that his *Dorf* is under inspection.

The great majority of the guests also were religious people, but Protestant, with perhaps even a larger proportion of clergymen than there was of priests among the peasants. Here I saw no one visibly affected by the pathos of the scenes: none laughed; but many turned away with apparent pain or disgust at the thrust of the spear. I believe that all who expected to find any grand dramatic element, or religious edification, or to get a deeper sense of the ideal content of the story of the cross, were disappointed. The details and the dénouement were too familiar beforehand, and interest centred inevitably upon a critical contemplation of the technical elements of the play. There is a melodramatic sort of religious idealism in tinsel, gaudy costumes, transformation effects, *tableaux vivants*, and pleasant but indifferently good music for peasants, if the theme is moral and devotional, which no degree of realism or vulgarization can entirely obscure. This effect all who have thoughtfully observed the unhappy results of scepticism upon the average half-cultured mind must heartily sympathize with. There is a steadying, elevating power about this most sublime of popular epics the place of which for the ordinary consciousness nothing else can supply. It closes up the vast abysmal and unprofitable speculative questions of life and destiny in which the oriental mind was absorbed, in a way which stimulates art and regulates conduct and has given a practical direction to the course of history. Yet at the same time, from the Protestant standpoint, the Passion Play seems pretty well shorn of better and higher motives, clumsily composed (in a dramatic sense), and its leading rôles very inadequately conceived. Thus, despite sympathy with the theme and the kindest feelings toward those who represent and enjoy it, there is an element of pity, disappointment, and recoil from such a materialism of faith which the high strategic authorities of the Church, who are so hopeful and happy over the popularity the play has attained among Protestants, do not detect, and which will make it harder than ever for clergymen to produce any effect by mere descriptions, however vivid, of the life and passion of Jesus. Powerful as these have been in art and in the history of Catholicism, and readily as they would lend themselves to a more Protestant treatment (as Bach's Passion music shows), making the cultus of Protestantism less nonsensuous, and less remote from every-day life, and less transitional and unsteady, no one can or does deny that they are rapidly losing points of contact with modern life.

At the same time there is one obvious "improvement" which we trust it is not too sanguine to expect many Protestants may extract from their experience in this village. There is a standpoint of more trained and developed understanding and reason, still more non-sensuous and still more deeply religious than theirs; a standpoint from which their creed and service appears in all respects precisely as that of these peasants appears to them—as a useful and valuable symbol of truth, the perfection of which for those who hold it is to be judged by its moral and social effects. That the Protestant is less satisfied with his faith than the Catholic believer is shown by the great jealousy of the former of being approved or "patronized," however warmly and sincerely, by those above him, who dispute nothing but the old and baseless claim of absoluteness and universal validity, and whose social and devotional sentiments often lead them to try to attend church despite so much that is personally distasteful to them in the utterances of the pulpit. Finally, the Passion Play is a product of the ancient communal German life. It is eminently national, although it is animated by the old guildic local spirit. It has demonstrated the possibility and the tremendous impressiveness of the historic drama. The size of the stage and the number of people shouting and acting in chorus upon it are the largest and most impressive, I think, in the modern world. As Devrient well says, upon such a stage and in the open air of day, not only the ordinary private confidences and intrigues of guardians and lovers, but even *Thekla*, *Romeo*, and *Katherine* of Heilbronn would be shamed and ineffective. A larger measure of interests transcending the individual, and even a realistic roughness in act and word in place of ordinary dramatic polish and unity, become imperative. The "Nibelungen" can, why cannot more strictly sacred themes be made impressive by the highest of the arts?

THE LONDON PRESS.—III.

THE MORNING POST.

LONDON, 1880.

THE London morning newspapers, making exception of those which are purely local and are devoted to cultivating the public spirit of Hackney and Kensington, of Newington Butts and Hockley-in-the-Hole—a class of journalism to which of late a considerable extension has been given—are seven in number. They are the *Times*, the *Morning Post*, the *Morning Advertiser*, the *Standard*, the *Daily News*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Daily Chronicle*. Of these one is distinctly Conservative, the *Standard*; two are distinctly Liberal, the *Daily News* and the *Daily Chronicle*; the remaining four fluctuate between Liberalism and Conservatism, as Liberalism or Conservatism happens to be in the ascendant, or as Lord Beaconsfield or Mr. Gladstone is the Minister of the day. Of these newspapers three are published at what is now considered to be the full price of threepence, though a generation ago, and even less, a threepenny newspaper would have been considered as an impossible and dangerously cheap venture. Looking back on the past it seems almost impossible that an evening journal such as the *Globe*, whose size was not greater than that of a single page of one of the present morning newspapers, should have been sold for sevenpence. The threepenny newspapers now in existence are the *Times*, the *Morning Post*, and the *Morning Advertiser*. They are also, by a coincidence which has no particular meaning in it, the oldest members of the London morning press. They a little resemble ancient stately but impoverished families, who carry on a starved but dignified existence in scantily-furnished baronial halls and at slenderly-burdened baronial tables. The *Times*, of course, stands by itself, and it ought to be excepted, perhaps, from the remark which has just been made. It is quite probable that under skilful management it will maintain its position as the organ of the purely political world, of the richer mercantile classes, and of those wealthy persons who stand aloof from narrow party connections.

The other two papers, the *Morning Post* and the *Morning Advertiser*, maintain their threepenny dignity under conditions very different. The *Morning Post* is the oldest daily newspaper now published in London, its existence having begun some dozen years before the *Times* appeared under its original name of the *Daily Universal Register*, and some sixteen years before it was issued with the title that it now bears. The *Morning Post* was started in 1772, four years, therefore, before the American Declaration of Independence. It always affected to be what is now called a society paper, and its first editor, who was known as Fighting Parson Bate, from his profession and from his duelling propensities, was a journalist of a type, half ruffler half dandy, which is more common in Paris at present than in London. Parson Bate afterwards succeeded to a baronetcy, and was a characteristic figure of his time, when a clergyman was often a younger son who would more decently have been in the army than in the Church, and when prize-fighting and cock-fighting were considered to be if not essential to the character of a gentleman, yet by no means in disparagement of it. The *Morning Post*, however, had its brilliant literary period. It fell into the hands of two very business-like gentlemen as its proprietors—a Mr. Stuart, who was connected with literature in so far as he was the brother-in-law of Sir James Mackintosh, and Mr. Christie, who was a well-known auctioneer. These gentlemen dealt with and used authors as Mr. Tattersall would deal with and use horses, or not so well; or as the publishers of a former day dealt with and used Johnson and Goldsmith and Savage. Besides Mackintosh, Coleridge, and Wordsworth, Southey and Charles Lamb were contributors to the *Morn-*

ing Post, Coleridge writing political and literary articles, Wordsworth and Southey writing anti-Gallican verses, half-reactionary and half-revolutionary, and Charles Lamb contributing what were supposed to be sprightly paragraphs. The difference between the contemporary and the posthumous estimate of great men can scarcely be more pointedly conveyed than by the comparison of the terms in which Mr. Stuart spoke of his literary men, and the value which the present generation place on their writings. Fox declared that it was Coleridge's articles in the *Morning Post* which provoked the rupture of the Treaty of Amiens; and the story is told that the first Napoleon made an attempt to intercept the vessel which bore his literary assailant from Italy to England. They deserve to take rank among the very few writings in ephemeral politics which, in discussing the questions of the day, elucidate principles and evolve ideas of permanent value and general application. In this respect they may be compared, although the interval is great, with the speeches and letters of Burke. The difference is that Burke gave up metaphysics for politics, and that Coleridge gave up politics for metaphysics. In other words, we have in Burke's writings and speeches the thoughts of one who above all was a statesman and a man of action, and in Coleridge those of one who drowned in moon-struck and opium-inspired reveries whatever faculties of clear and decisive perception were left to him. Byron alludes in one of his spiteful lines to Coleridge as having let his "flighty pen unto the *Morning Post's* aristocracy," with a sneer at his unaristocratic matrimonial alliance.

The *Morning Post's* aristocracy is the one feature which has remained common to it from the days of the fighting Parson Bate to those of its present proprietor and manager, Sir Algernon Borthwick. It is the organ of the two most aristocratic classes of English society—of gentlemen, and of the persons who are known as gentlemen's gentlemen; of ladies, and of ladies' maids. Its politics are essentially of an exclusive type, and if there is any class of persons more exclusive than the upper ten thousand of English society those persons are the lower hundreds of thousands of gentlemen in livery or out of it, and of ladies in the cast-off robes of their mistresses, who wait upon the titled and untitled nobility of England. The politics of the boudoir and of the still-room, of the smoking-room and of the butler's pantry, are, there is every reason to believe, identical. They are inspired by the common dislike of Mr. Gladstone and of the Radicals, and a contempt for the trading and the lower classes. Probably this feeling is stronger in "Jeames" even than it is in his master. The mention of Jeames at once recalls Thackeray, who threw the fierce light that now beats upon everything on Jenkins of the *Morning Post*. The original Jenkins (his real name was even more literary) was during his day the most valuable of contributors to the *Morning Post*. He is still living. He has retired from journalism to the wine trade, in which there is every ground for thinking that he flourishes. In the same way the humbler Jeamses of plush usually emancipate themselves from servitude by becoming the owners and landlords of public-houses frequented by their former comrades. It was Jenkins's business to describe fashionable weddings and funerals, and other festive and melancholy celebrations in which the aristocracy bore part. On one occasion an account appeared in the *Morning Post* of the interior of a great house in which events supposed to be interesting to the public were taking place. Midway the narrative was suddenly interrupted, and the writer proceeded, without a moment's notice, to describe the outside of the mansion which was the subject on which he was engaged. The comment of *Punch* on this abrupt transition was characteristic: he inferred from it that Jenkins had suddenly been detected and kicked out, and that, faithful to his duty, he immediately proceeded, without a moment's delay, to describe the outside of the edifice from which he had been violently extruded. Jenkins, however, had his revenge upon his malicious assailant. It was one of Thackeray's weaknesses not only to be fond of "good" society, but also to be anxious that the world should know that he was admitted to it. One of the duties of Jenkins, as it is now one of the duties of his very respectable successor, was to sit in the halls of great houses at which receptions are being given, and to take down the names of the guests, for publication in the *Morning Post* next day. Thackeray soon discovered that his name was systematically omitted from these lists, where probably he would have been prouder to see it than upon the title-pages of his books. He remonstrated with Jenkins, informing him carefully on more than one of these occasions who he was, but without effect. Jenkins avenged himself on Thackeray's satire by punishing his snobbism. The flunky saw the flunkyism which was the weak part of the great author's character, and punished his satirist through it.

The distinguishing feature of the *Morning Post* to the present day is its lists of the guests at aristocratic dinner-parties and receptions, which sometimes extend over two or three columns. These glorious registers enable fashionable people and people who are anxious to be fashionable, or to be known as occasionally in the society of fashionable people, to hang in a sort of ecstatic trance over the record which contains their names in the same column with those of dukes and ambassadors and earls. It is understood that a price is paid by some, at least, of the entertainers whose guests are thus made known to an awe-stricken world. The really fashionable and distinguished people are probably indifferent to the appearance of their names, and the commemoration of their hospitalities. But the would-be fashionable, the ladies and gentlemen who are struggling from the vast background and abyss and unorganized chaos of the vulgar world into the realms of light, who are striving for recognition, and may be said, so far as fashion is concerned, to be as yet but half created—these worthy people pay, and pay heavily, for the privilege of having it announced in the *Morning Post* that they have entertained at dinner or received in the evening Lord This, Lady That, and Sir The-other. The difficulty, of course, is to get the right people to come, and some well-born persons who, by certain errors of conduct and taste, have found their way to a certain extent out of society, are very glad to meet in mid-course the respectable people who are finding their way into it. It is said that there are Lord Thomases and Lord Williamses who are not above accepting a fee for dining with hosts and hostesses who have newly acquired riches and have not yet acquired position. This fee is increased, it is said, if the gilded youth—gilded in a nearly literal as well as in the metaphorical sense—condescend to join the ladies after dinner, and to look for a few minutes into the drawing-room after having sat through dinner and the wine after dinner. These newly-rich aspirants are the people whose advertisements of themselves under the guise of fashionable intelligence contribute, it is believed, no small part of its revenues to the *Morning Post*. Another source of its income lies in more open and genuine appeals of chaperones and ladies' companions, butlers and footmen, who want places, and of the people who want services of this kind.

The political tone of the *Morning Post* is in the main such as might be inferred upon these conditions. It aspires, above everything, to be genteel, and to take a gentlemanly view of the great interests of England and of humanity. Its accomplished manager, Sir Algernon Borthwick, is in a very good position for informing himself as to the currents of feeling among the more leisurely and idle classes. He is himself one of the few journalists who are legitimately, and not by vulgar self-assertion and intrusion, in society; and his dinner-parties and receptions are, in the conventional sense, "honored," if not always enlivened, by the presence of princely and noble persons, royal dukes and duchesses, and swells of every degree. Sir Algernon Borthwick was one of Lord Beaconsfield's latest knights. Defeated for Evesham at the last general election, he was consoled with the cheapest honor which it is in the power of a Prime Minister to bestow. Everybody was astonished when Mr. Borthwick consented to take knighthood. That dignity, except when it is forced upon judges and the law-officers of the Crown, who are not at liberty to decline it, is the reward usually of H-less sheriffs, and lord-mayors, and provincial notabilities. Sir William Harcourt, it is believed, made a stout but ineffectual resistance to his knighthood when he was appointed Solicitor-General, but routine was too strong for him. The only law-officers of the Crown and judges who have been able to refuse it in recent times were men like the late Spencer Percival or the present Mr. Justice Denman, who, as sons of peers, were higher in rank than knights, and could not, therefore, be required to take a title lower in the scale of precedence than the position which their birth conferred upon them. Lord Beaconsfield is said to have privately expressed the hope, in reply to some untimely ridicule of which Sir Alexander Borthwick, as the new knight, was being made the victim in his presence, that the time would never come when the title would be thought ridiculous which had been borne by Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh. Sir Algernon Borthwick certainly has no right to feel ashamed of being historically in the society of Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh. What Drake and Raleigh may think, if they have any cognizance now of what is taking place in this lower world, at finding Sir Algernon Borthwick among them, is a very different matter. They certainly need not be ashamed of him. If not a great man he is an able and pleasant one, whom many people like and of whom none has any occasion to speak ill. It is said that he himself is now a little repentant of the precipitancy with which he accepted knighthood. He feels perhaps like a man who, through some freak or other, in a weak moment has allowed himself to be ornamentally and conspicuously tattooed. The tattoo is indelible and so is knighthood. Sir William Harcourt, who is in some sense connected with Sir Algernon Borthwick, both of them having married daughters of the late Lady Theresa Lewis, and step-daughters of the eminent statesman, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, would no doubt have been glad if he could have handed over his knighthood to Sir Algernon Borthwick.

The characteristic feature of the *Morning Post* is that which I have described, but it is in other respects an ably and fairly conducted political journal, possessing, through Sir Algernon Borthwick's social opportunities, means of early and accurate information on political questions. From the Liberal-Conservative point of view of the politicians who take the name of Lord Palmerston in vain, it is efficiently written. The editor of the *Morning Post* is Mr. Hardman, who unites with this office the magisterial one of chairman of the Surrey Quarter Sessions. Its leader-writers include Mr. O Donnell, M.P., whose Ultramontane and Home-Rule politics do not prevent his

adapting himself to the John Bull Jingoism and the genteel Conservatism of the organ of fashion; Mr. James Knowles, a son of the eminent play-writer Sheridan Knowles, and Mr. Baker-Green, a gentleman whose training has been that of the bar and of the Reporters' Gallery. The dramatic critic of the *Morning Post* is the genial and jovial Joe Knight—it is impossible to call him Mr. Joseph—whose friends find in him a reflection of Mr. Fred Bayham; and its musical critic is Mr. Markwick. Mr. Dunphy is at the head of the reviewing department.

Correspondence.

RELIABLE INFORMATION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It is long since England has known more anxious days than at the present time. Internal questions are threatening enough, but from two different quarters are arising complications which may try the strength of the empire. The "Eastern" or Turkish question, though it may include the largest possibilities, is not so immediately dangerous; but in Afghanistan the interest has a realistic intensity. The English people, having entrusted their fortunes to an arch quack, who saw fit to place a fellow novel-writer in almost absolute power over two hundred millions of people, find themselves involved in a war which, in the motives which began it, in the preliminary steps, in the results, and almost the incidents which followed, was so completely foreshadowed by the previous events of 1840, that it seems as if those who neglected so obvious a warning could hardly have read the history. Among the unpleasant discoveries which a new government has brought to light and has to deal with is a deficit of some ten million sterling in a budget which had been represented to be in equilibrium. A brigade has been cut off and nearly annihilated in the interior of a hostile country; the troops in Kandahar have been obliged to retire to the citadel, and communication with the country below has been cut off. And besides this uncertainty is the added one whether all India, excited by an English reverse, may not rise and involve untold expenditure in money and men. Yet there is no panic in England. No reliable gentlemen are turning up from the seat of war and driving the community mad with manufactured news. The newspapers are not urging the Government frantically to adopt a dozen different courses. Members of Parliament are not turning to their constituents to find out what had better be done. In place of these methods, which may have a familiar sound, what does happen? The Marquis of Hartington rises in his place in the House of Commons and states what are the latest items of news from India. That ends it. Everybody knows that that is the only news of any consequence as far as action is concerned. Again, everybody either approves of any action the Government may take or disapproves of it, and when the latter side is in a majority the Government will go. But nobody outside the Ministry ever thinks of setting up a scheme of his own and expecting it to receive a moment's attention. Members of Parliament make themselves critics or defenders of a policy, instead of each one wanting to run the Government himself, or determining that if he cannot nobody else shall.

In Russia the machine of government seems to be falling to pieces because the unlimited executive power works so violently and arbitrarily, and cannot or will not respond in any way to the wishes and aspirations of the people. In this country, while our actual condition is, thank God! far better than that of any other in the world, our Government operations fail because we have no executive power at all, and are governed to death by legislatures. It is this combination of an executive, strong to despotism, but responsible for the use of power to the popular representatives, which has carried England through so many stiff crises and will carry her through so many more.

Why cannot we have it? Why cannot we have some individuals to give us on their public responsibility facts as to the South, facts as to the civil service, facts as to the tariff, facts as to the Indians; authorized to propose one policy at a time for Congress to accept or reject, instead of having a broth spoiled by too many cooks, out of which no policy can be evolved? We can do this when the leaders in politics will begin to talk about principles instead of disputing whether one of the candidates for the Presidency did at one time steal $329.

G. B.

Boston, August 5, 1880.

A TRIBUTE TO MOMMSEN.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Shortly after the great Chicago fire a large number of foreign authors united in sending their works, or sums of money, to form a nucleus for a library in that city—an act which was remarked upon at the time as an unusual and agreeable expression of international comity. To-day Mommsen the historian has the sympathy of scholars in all parts of the world for his loss of his library by fire, and a subscription to purchase a new library for him is now mooted in Europe.

Many of us who were school-boys or students not so very long ago know how much we are indebted to Mommsen, and it seems to me that it would be a graceful act of "international comity" if an American subscription were made for the same purpose as that in Europe.

If suggested by the *Nation*, such a tribute to the aged scholar would no doubt be looked upon with favor by a large number of your subscribers.

I am, sir, etc., E. Brainerd.

THE LIMIT OF DAMAGES FOR FATAL ACCIDENTS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the *Nation* of August 5, No. 788, on pages 86 and 87, there is an inaccuracy in the editorial calling attention to the disproportionately small amount of money legally recoverable as damages in actions for causing death by wrongful act, negligence, etc. It said on page 86: "In cases of death by the negligence of transportation companies, however, the statutory limit of *five thousand dollars* damages, *which prevails throughout the United States*, seems very low"; and on page 87 it is said: "While *the five thousand dollar limit* in cases of death *has been rigidly maintained in* this country," etc.—the italics being my own. The inaccuracy in the passages quoted is that they convey the idea that no larger sum than five thousand dollars may be recovered in any of the United States in such actions, while in Ohio, and perhaps in other States, by amendments to the statutes originally allowing any recovery at all, the limit beyond which a jury may not go has been raised to ten thousand dollars, just double the amount stated in the text.

This matter has already, in accordance with the *Nation's* suggestion, borne "legislative investigation," and by an act of the Legislature of Ohio, passed March 7, 1872, to be found in section 6135 of the Revised Statutes of Ohio, and amended by the Legislature of Ohio on April 13, 1880, the limit of the amount so to be recovered is raised to ten thousand dollars, while other humane provisions to expedite and effectuate the recovery, and its application "to the persons respectively for whose benefit such action shall be brought," are to be found in the same acts.

John Paul Bocock.

Cincinnati, August 6, 1880.

Notes.

Macmillan & Co. have in press 'The Aryan Village, Past and Present, in Bengal and Ceylon,' by Sir John B. Phear, formerly Chief-Justice of Ceylon, and one of the Judges of the High Court of Judicature in Calcutta.——B. Westermann & Co. send us Parts 16 and 17 of the new edition of 'Stieler's Hand-Atlas.' With maps of Upper and Middle Italy, Spain and Portugal, Northeastern France (including a large part of Switzerland and Southern Germany), the Eastern United States, the northern heavens, the editors postpone such controverted or unexplored territory as calls for the latest revisions. The general map of Asia, however (Part 16), diminishes Afghanistan in the sense of the "scientific frontier." It remains to be seen if the northern sheet of India will do the same.——'Scientific Billiards—Garnier's Practice Shots, with Hints to Amateurs,' just published by Appletons, is a work whose title sufficiently indicates its nature and value; but we may explain that it consists of a short preface which celebrates the usefulness of the game; an introduction which succinctly states terms and gives a few simple directions; and diagrams, executed with great precision, of one hundred and seven shots, from the ordinary opening shot to the most difficult massé. It will scarcely enable the amateur to bridge the great gulf fixed between "the average" and "a strong" game, but it may facilitate the acquisition of the former. To the small number of players who have tables of their own it will undoubtedly afford amusement, and so be of advantage. ——Jansen, McClurg & Co., Chicago, have published a very good translation of Ludwig Nohl's shorter 'Life of Mozart.' This work would have been more instructive had it contained more facts and fewer reflections; but on the whole it is pleasant reading. On pages 188–9, by a common figure of speech, the names of Händal and Bach are used for their works, but in such a manner that a person unacquainted with the history of music would certainly take the expressions literally, and infer that the men were living in 1788, and that Mozart then became personally acquainted with them.—— Sidney S. Rider, Providence, has handsomely brought out Mr. Edward L. Peirce's optimistic Commencement address before the alumni of Brown University on the "Public and Social Duties of the College Graduate."—— A thick pamphlet, consisting of the addresses before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on occasion of the presentation of a portrait of Maj.-Gen. John F. Reynolds last March, bears the title, 'Reynolds Memorial,' and the imprint of J. B. Lippincott & Co. It has an etched portrait of Gen. Reynolds, a map of the theatre of Lee's invasion of the North,

and a plan of the first day's fighting at Gettysburg, to the history of which decisive battle it is a useful contribution.——The beginning of a series of articles describing experiments in destroying obnoxious insects by means of fungoid growths is made in the *American Naturalist* for August, by A. N. Prentiss.——In a recent article in *Harper's*, Dr. Draper credited Dr. Franklin, we believe, with the earliest observation on the southern origin of our northeasterly storms. In the July number of the *Magazine of American History* are grouped several early descriptions of Niagara; from one written in 1764 we quote this passage: "It is very remarkable that when they hear the noise of the fall at the above fort [Niagara] more plain than ordinary they are sure a northeast wind will follow. This is really surprising, as the fall is southwest from the fort, and one would imagine it should be a contrary wind."——A brief bibliography of the Ober-Ammergau Passion Play is given in Bulletin No. 54 of the Boston Public Library.——The current number of the *Publishers' Weekly* makes the gratifying announcement that Mr. Leypoldt will undertake to complete the *Library Journal* to the close of the present year. It is also stated that in October Mr. George P. Philes will revive his *Philobiblion*, with fac-simile and other illustrations.——The publisher of the *Antiquary* will issue by subscription a work describing and in some measure graphically illustrating the sixty-six ancient monuments of Great Britain which Sir John Lubbock's bill proposes to put under Government protection. The book will contain numerous valuable appendices. Mr. J. W. Bouton is the American agent.——M. Jules Steeg has had the happy thought to make an abstract of the "principal pedagogic elements" in the first three books of Rousseau's 'Émile,' and to provide them with an introduction and notes. The confession of the Savoyard Vicar is omitted. Hachette is the publisher.——Several German newspapers have lately announced that Goethe's family originally came from Bavaria. His ancestors, under the name Götze, are said to have lived in the village of Heustreu, in Franconia, as early as 1449. Some of the descendants remained there. Another branch emigrated to Thuringia and called themselves Gothus, Gothes, or Gothe, from which the name Goethe was developed. The grandfather of the poet came to Frankfort as a tailor apprentice from Thuringia, and became by marriage the owner of the tavern "Zum Weidenhof," which still flourishes. It is also noteworthy that as a student in Leipzig Goethe was a member of the Bavarian corps.

—The *International Review* for August has an attractive table of contents; but, as magazine-readers are well aware, this is not an infallible indication of excellence in detail, and the different papers are each perhaps a trifle thin. The opening article, "The Caucus in England," by W. Fraser Rae, is rather fragmentary, and will be of value only to those who know nothing of English politics. Mr. Lodge's review of Masson's 'Life of Milton' is a glorification of the Puritan party, and summarizes very well the familiar points of the Puritan presentation of the case. How well taken most of these are has been very well known since Macaulay and Carlyle "laid their strong hands upon the historical fabric reared by fervent royalism," as Mr. Lodge says. But a search for the germ in Parliamentary times of what led to the Restoration immorality and weakness, seems more in order now than it did when there was occasion for using the said "strong hands." Mr. Lodge is content with the explanation that the Puritans fell out among themselves. Mr. Higginson writes of Garrison and Levi Coffin. Brooks Adams notes Mr. Howells's "new departure" with gratification, and thinks he has "spent his strength on rather small game" hitherto. Horace White contributes a chapter of "contemporary history" that was worth writing, on "The Nominations"; Prof. Crane, an account of "Italian Popular Poetry"; and Rowland Connor, a paper on "National Ethics." The reviews of current books are agreeably numerous, though none are striking if we except the remark on Oppert's Corean voyage (recently noticed in the *Nation*): "It is impossible not to sympathize with the author's disappointment at being unable to carry out his novel experiment for establishing commercial intercourse with a strange nation; it is to be hoped that his next device may be as ingenious and more successful." But we do not see how Oppert's experiment was, strictly speaking, any more "novel" than that of the abductors of Charlie Ross.

—One of the best specimens of destructive criticism we have met with in a long time is Mr. Henry P. Johnston's 'Observations on Judge Jones's Loyalist History of the American Revolution' (New York: D. Appleton & Co.) Mr. Johnston is known to our readers as the latest and most authoritative historian of the battle of Long Island; Judge Jones as the author of a posthumous work published last year, in which neither the leaders of the American cause nor their British opponents are spared, and which has naturally excited a good deal of resentment in various parts of the country. His critic, with characteristic restraint and judicial-mindedness, first exposes very clearly the temper which Judge Jones brought to his task (executed, by the way, in England after the war); his opportunities for observation, which were very poor, considering that he was part of the time a prisoner in Connecticut and part on parole on his own estate on Long Island; and his other sources of knowledge, which cannot be highly estimated, at least for their impartiality. Mr. Johnston then takes up in succession some of the more glaring misstatements concerning the Judge's own treatment, and concerning individual officers, the American Congress, the British generals, the fortifications of New York, the evacuation of Charleston and Savannah, etc. In every instance he completely satisfies the reader by irrefragable evidence of the falsity of the Loyalist narrative, and the cumulative effect of these rectifications is to create a serious doubt whether Judge Jones's History has any value whatever. Mr. Johnston, indeed, does not go quite so far as this, but his strictures involve a censure of Judge Jones's editor for dereliction. What is remarkable in this pamphlet is Mr. Johnston's range of Revolutionary knowledge and research. His method, too, is a model.

—The following belated addendum to our London correspondent's recent letter on the London *Times* will be read with interest:

"Professor Wace is also among the *Times's* leader-writers; and I must not forget Mr. John Macdonell, an able and rising barrister and a philosophical lawyer, the brother of Mr. James Macdonell, of whom I have spoken. The assistant editor of the *Times* is Mr. Frederick Clifford, a gentleman who has long served the paper in the Reporters' Gallery and as a special commissioner. Mr. Crump is the city editor, and Mr. A. J. Wilson (who must not be confounded with Mr. E. D. J. Wilson, before mentioned) is the assistant city editor. Mr. James Payn, the novelist, contributes bright and lively papers on social topics, and Mr. W. F. Rae, known in your country as a friendly traveller and critic, and on both sides of the Atlantic as a political biographer, versed especially in those portions of history in which English and American affairs come into contact, is among its reviewers. The chief of the Parliamentary staff is Mr. Ross, the Father of the Gallery, whose memory goes back to the times of the unreformed Parliament, and who is a better representative of an almost obsolete Toryism than almost any member of the House. Besides M. Blowitz, already spoken of, the *Times* counts among its foreign correspondents—foreign in a double sense—General Ebers at Vienna, Herr Löwe at Berlin, and Signor Gallenga, whose roving commissions and brilliant command of many languages have made almost every country of the Old and New World familiar to him. Mr. Mackenzie Wallace, whose work on Russia is perhaps the most complete study of a nation ever made by a foreigner, not excepting De Tocqueville's 'America'—for Tacitus's 'Germania' is as fictitious as More's 'Eutopia' or Bacon's 'New Atlantis'—represents (as the diplomatic phrase runs) the *Times* at Constantinople; and Mr. Shakspeare Wood does so at Rome. Its Philadelphia correspondent does not need any introduction to you."

—The *Athenæum* announces an extraordinary news-letter enterprise which must put journalists to the blush. Lord Dunraven, several M.P.'s, Mr. Laurence Oliphant, and numerous other gentlemen interested in the Eastern Question, who are fully convinced by past experience of the hopelessness of trying to learn what is actually taking place or being said or thought "in all the countries concerned" in that question, have undertaken to "collect, receive, and diffuse intelligence from trustworthy, competent, and impartial sources," at regular intervals. Convenient rooms will be taken at which "subscribers may receive and read the letters as they arrive." This seems like a relapse to coffee-rooms, packet-ships, and post-boys; but there is no doubt the press has forfeited its right to ridicule such rivalry by its failure to employ correspondents without bias, or rather its determination to have only one side presented, according to the editor's predilections or the requirements of party. We may witness, moreover, in our own country precisely the same phenomenon in the way news from the South is reported for Northern journals. Would that we, too, might have our "trustworthy letters from the most important places," not merely in times of excitement and disorder but from week to week or from month to month, marking the regular development of each community with no more passion than a gold-and-stock telegraphic indicator, and with as little liability to deliberate falsification. The English project, by the way, is perhaps the best commentary on our correspondent who writes, on another page, about "Reliable Information."

—Professor Hillebrand, whose name now appears more frequently in British magazines than those of most native writers, discourses, in the *Contemporary* for July, on "The Sources of German Discontent." He finds that his countrymen are really very well off, but that they do not appreciate their blessings, and are, politically speaking, spoiled children, unhappy because the moon is beyond their reach. "The sum total paid by every German annually for direct and indirect taxes scarcely exceeds fifteen shillings, whereas an Englishman pays at the rate of forty, a Frenchman even of fifty-four shillings; nor should we forget that in England, France, and Italy half the budget is spent in paying off interest, while in Germany it goes towards public education, worship, justice, canals, roads, etc. Ask every man belonging to the middle class; not a vote would be given in all Germany in favor of the abolition of universal service. . . . Our army amounts to 430,000 out of 43,000,000—*i.e.*, one per cent. The French army numbers 500,000 to a population of 37,000,000, more than one and one-third per cent." And as to the capacity for bearing taxation, a distinguished economist, Mr. Soetbeer, "has irrefutably proved that the growth of our national wealth has by

no means been checked by the depression of 1876, and that it is now more rapid than ever." To Socialism, also, this writer attributes but trifling importance. It "is redoubtable only where there is no true middle class, as in Russia, or where the middle class allows itself to be intimidated, as in France. In Germany, which has the most numerous middle class in Europe, and a middle class resolved to defend itself, Socialism has no more chance of success than the servile wars and Jacqueries which have burst forth periodically ever since an organized society has existed." It is not, therefore, in essentials that Germany is ill-off or behindhand; but the non-essentials are yet of considerable importance. "Our middle class cannot afford to purchase substantial goods, as the French and English middle class can, therefore the workmanship must necessarily suffer. Were we to renounce showy, scamped wares, we should have to eat with wooden spoons, and go about in homespun and unbleached linen. I do not deny that we might be happier and richer under a more primitive simplicity in our outward life . . . especially if we were to spend on our families what is now squandered in taverns in the evening." There are German gentlemen, Prof. Hillebrand continues, "reserved without austerity, self-reliant without intrusiveness; but as yet they are lost in the crowd of half-educated upstarts of all sorts, the stream of whom overflows foreign countries, exhibiting their collective conceit." This fact, however, does not lessen his faith that his country contains "within itself not only a perennial spring of healing water, but also the metal of which a strong yet comely and agreeable people may be made." For their improvement he relies upon the state, which, "although no longer paternal, still disposes of means—were it only in military service and the schools—that are sufficient to influence individuals—*i.e.* to *accustom*, which is the only effectual mode of influencing them." Unfortunately, the Government has not full swing in this direction, more than in any other:

"We feel that the Prussian monarchy, resting on the army, the bureaucracy, and the schools, is the only historical power of Germany, and that such exotics as parliamentary government . . . only serve to cramp its vital energies, or, at least, to fetter the liberty of its movements. . . . The continual interference of parliament is corrupting our excellent bureaucracy, while the 'Geheimräthe' do not allow a healthy development of genuine parliamentary life. On the one side there is nothing but servility, militarism, and rigid drill; on the other, insubordination, disrespect, and the free-and-easy ways of the *carabin;* on all sides half-culture."

—The fortunate possessors of Robert Koenig's 'Deutsche Literaturgeschichte' (Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing), which we perceive has attained a sale of from fifteen to twenty thousand copies, will be glad to learn of a companion work, a popular History of Germany, edited by L. Stacke and others, and published by the same house (New York: L. W. Schmidt). The plan of freely illustrating the text from the most authentic sources has been again followed with signal success. The first of five parts lies before us, and ends with the beginning of the reign of Henry I., the founder of the Saxon line. The columns of Antoninus and Trajan, sarcophagi, tablets, busts, statues, and other monuments have been copied for the earliest effigies of the German race in its contact with the Romans. There is the fragment of the Capitoline fasti for the year 222 B.C., commemorating a victory over the Insubres and Germani—the first known inscription of the latter name. Of peculiar interest is the epitaph from a columbarium near the Porta Maggiore—"Suebus Germanus hic situs est"; and so, too, the cenotaph of Marcus Cælius, who perished in the rout of Varus. Illuminated fac-similes occupying a full page are the title-page ornaments and lettering; copies of a mosaic preserving the appearance of Theodoric's palace in Ravenna; an edict of the Lombard King Rotharis, graduating the penalties of mayhem; a mosaic after the triclinium of Leo III. in the Lateran; a page from the Evangels of Charlemagne—gold and silver letters on a dark violet ground ("In principio erat verbum"); Sintram's "Evangelium longum" (Matt. i. 18), etc., besides numerous initial letters in two colors. Of the "iron crown" studded with gems, and anything but sombre, there is a beautiful illuminated picture from an aquarelle. Then we have Pepin's autograph as major-domo and as king, and Charlemagne's; a portion of the latter's will in Einhard's MS., and, among other examples of Carolingian and post-Carolingian manuscript, the passage from Widukind's Saxon History (tenth century) describing Henry the Fowler's preparations to meet the Hungarians. Maps of Europe at the close of the migrations and in the ninth century further aid the text. As in Koenig's History of German Literature, the designs are fully discussed in foot-notes or on fly-leaves; and the general typographical distinctions are preserved. The succeeding parts will doubtless not suffer in comparison with this in respect of embellishment. The whole work will cost but twenty marks.

—In his 'L'Art et le Comédien' (Paris: Ollendorf; New York: F. W. Christern) M. C. Coquelin, of the Comédie-Française, seeks to show that acting is an art, that it has its difficulties, its utility, and its greatness, and that the actor, therefore, takes rank alongside of other artists. This final part contains the gist of the matter and was the cause of the writing. Alone among all French artists, the comedian is not enrolled in the Legion of Honor. The rumor even that it was to be awarded to the three great comedians of the Théâtre-Français, M. Got, M. Delaunay, and M. Coquelin himself, excited much controversy. Of course, M. Coquelin in this little book, the substance of which he delivered first as a lecture, makes no allusion to his personal share in the question; but in pleading the cause of his order he makes out a strong case for his comrades, and gets altogether the best of his fight. The incidental discussion, however, of the principles of his art by an artist so celebrated as M. Coquelin is of more general interest. He considers carefully the question as to whether an actor should share every feeling of his part, weeping himself to make others weep, or whether he should remain master of himself even in his most passionate outbursts—in fact, in Diderot's phrase, "to move more surely not be moved himself"—and concludes that Diderot's "paradoxe sur le comédien" is not a paradox at all, but an elemental truth of histrionic art. M. Coquelin cites an apt anecdote of Talma and instances Rachel, and we may add that Mrs. Kemble laid down a similar law in her recent 'Records of a Girlhood,' and quoted her own experience. M. Coquelin, by the way, protests against Zola's attempt to abolish theatrical conventions, and he shows that the theatre is of necessity a mass of conventions which change from time to time, and even disappear, but only to be replaced by others.

—The following list of the more important of the Abbé Rosmini's works was unavoidably omitted from Mr. Davidson's interesting letter on 'Contemporary Philosophy in Italy' in last week's *Nation*:

Metaphysical:

1. Introduction to Philosophy. 1 vol.
2. New Essay on the Origin of Ideas. 3 vols.
3. Psychology. 2 vols.
4. Theodicy. 1 vol.
5. Theosophy. 5 vols.

Logical:

6. Logic. 1 vol.
7. The Supreme Principle of Method. 1 vol.

Ethical:

8. Anthropology as an Aid to Moral Science. 1 vol.
9. Treatise on the Moral Consciousness. 1 vol.
10. Principles of Moral Science, with a Comparative and Critical History of Systems dealing with the Moral Principle. 1 vol.
11. Philosophy of Law. 2 vols.
12. Philosophy of Politics. 1 vol.

Critical:

13. Aristotle Explained and Examined. 1 vol.
14. Renaissance of Philosophy in Italy. (A reply to Mamiani's work bearing a similar title.) 1 vol.
15. Vincenzo Gioberti and Pantheism. 1 vol.

Æsthetic:

16. Literature and Fine Arts. 1 vol.

Besides these there is a considerable number of smaller works, some of which are still in MS. Two volumes of letters have appeared, and five more are promised.

—Professor O. Rygh, who has charge of the unique collection of Norwegian antiquities at the University of Norway, has had upwards of six hundred of them drawn on wood by Mr. Lindberg, and is publishing them with Norwegian and French text in an elegant quarto volume, the first half of which has just reached us. The remaining half will appear early next year. The one before us contains ninety-one illustrations from the stone-age, fifty from the bronze-age, and two hundred and forty-one from the elder iron-age. The next will contain about three hundred illustrations pertaining to the younger stone-age. Of many of the finds several views are given, so that the whole number of figures is more than twice as great as that of the subjects proper. The title-page bears the imprint of prominent Paris, London, Leipzig, and Boston publishing-houses (in Boston that of John Allyn). The work is printed on heavy, almost stiff, paper, and the illustrations are among the finest we have ever seen, surpassing, in our judgment, the best work of this sort that has been done for the United States Geological Survey—which is saying a good deal. By addressing the Norwegian publisher, Alb. Cammermeyer, Christiania, *clichés* in copper can be obtained of all the designs in the volume, a privilege of which publishers and authors of prehistoric works will doubtless avail themselves. The stone-age department furnishes numerous specimens of axes, hammers, poignards, and arrow-points strikingly like those found in this country and attributed to the mound-builders. The department of the bronze-age supplies fine illustrations of axes, celts, swords, poignards, spear and arrow points, knives, buttons, buckles, pins, rings, and other ornaments. In the department of the elder iron-age we find straight and curved knives, celts, axes, combs, keys, shears, various parts of the primitive spinning-wheel, needles, handsomely-shaped boxes, spiral gold rings used as money, with balances for weighing them, two-edged swords with their appurtenances, bosses of shields, spears,

a fine lot of buckles and ornamental pins and rings. There are also several specimens of Roman gold coins which have been used as ornaments, and Norse imitations of these. Finally, there are beautiful bracelets in gold, armlets in gold and in silver, fragments of woollen cloths, Roman vases, glass goblets shaped like drinking-horns, buckets, kettles, and other household utensils. But all these things must be seen to be appreciated, and to study them in the pages of this work is a luxury.

—Of the accompanying text it is enough to say that it has been carefully prepared by Professor Rygh, who is the most eminent antiquarian scholar in Norway, if not in all Scandinavia. Of the stone-age he says that it has not yet been possible to fix even approximately at what time it began in Norway, or, in other words, at what period Norway received its first population. Nor is it possible to determine precisely the cessation of the stone-age. All that can be said is that it probably ended a few centuries before the birth of Christ. To what race the inhabitants of the stone-age belonged is not known ; the opinion heretofore generally accepted, that they were Lapps, has not been confirmed by the more recent investigations. The succeeding bronze-age ended, according to Prof. Rygh, about two centuries after Christ. To what race the inhabitants of this age belonged is also uncertain. Its monuments show that they not only raised cattle but also engaged in agriculture. They possessed considerable skill in working in metal, wove handsome clothes, and built ships of considerable size. The prehistoric iron-age extends from the first centuries after Christ to the introduction of Christianity—that is, to the first half of the eleventh century. Rygh divides it into two periods, the elder and the younger, the latter beginning in the eighth century. Cremation is known to have prevailed in Norway during the first part of the elder stone-age, but was also frequently employed even to its close. During this period are also found the earliest traces of a written alphabet. The alphabet of the elder stone-age was the so-called Runic Futhork, consisting of twenty-four characters, and was, according to Professor Rygh, formed in the lands near the Alps on the basis of the Latin alphabet, having been brought to Norway at the same time with the antiquities which reveal the first influence of Roman civilization. In this view the author is opposed to other scholars, who believe the runes not to be based on, but to have a common origin with, the Roman and Greek stave-rows. The language of the runic inscriptions is Teutonic, and thus they for the first time give unmistakable information in regard to the nationality of the population.

A PHILADELPHIAN ABROAD.*

TO most Americans, we fancy, the author of this stout volume of reminiscences is little more than a name. Although Mr. Wickoff's life has been a long and varied one, and has covered, in time, many Presidential terms, in space many strange cities and countries, and in sentiment an immense range of the most thrilling emotions, he has still not succeeded in so impressing himself upon his time, in literature, diplomacy, or any of the other branches of activity to which he has devoted himself, as to make his "reminiscences" sure of an eager and attentive audience. For our own part, we confess to having known little more of Mr. Wickoff before reading this volume than that he was generally identified as the "Chevalier" Wickoff. As to what kind of a "Chevalier" he was or how he became one, or, in fact, what "Chevaliers" nowadays are, seemed always to be a matter on which no certain knowledge was attainable. Even this book, so far as we have examined it, does not clear up the mystery, but that it is one which ought to be authoritatively cleared up, no one who recollects how many different sorts of chevaliers there have been in the world can doubt. This, however, is the only point on which the writer can be accused of failing to give exact information with regard to himself. On every other topic he unbosoms himself as an idler should, taking us into his confidence with regard to the most trivial as well as the most important facts of his life, including, as we have already said, an extraordinarily wide range of emotion.

It is really rather as a record of emotion and sentiment that the book has interested us. Mr. Wickoff belongs to a past generation, to which sentiment of all kinds was much more dear than it is to us—to the generation which took in its emotional nourishment from Scott and Byron and Bulwer. He travelled abroad before the mocking spirit of the latter half of the nineteenth century had reared its head, during a period marked by the production of "Childe Harold" as its greatest poem, which could not have enjoyed the 'Book of Snobs' nor have imagined the memoirs of Michael Angelo Titmarsh. It is impossible that foreign travel should ever again be enjoyed by any nation as it was then by Americans of means and education. Coming from a country not only absolutely barren of romance, unprovided with either literature or art, but devoted by necessity and tradition to the absolutely practical work of money-getting, and yet taking with them all the feelings and thoughts produced by early association with European literature, European history, and European art, the young American gentlemen who crossed the Atlantic in the second quarter of our memorable and wonderful century really went to an earthly paradise. Since then Europe has become Americanized and America has become Europeanized, and travelling has become so common that there is, comparatively speaking, little novelty in it ; but when Mr. Wickoff was a young Philadelphia lawyer the voyage to Europe was a real translation. To go to Paris, and London, and Vienna, and even (as he did) to distant Russia and Constantinople, to be presented at court, to see kings and queens, dukes and duchesses, great generals covered with orders, and to mingle with them and become for the time being a part of them, was a bewildering, intoxicating pleasure. Philadelphia is still, we suppose, a good place to go to Europe from, but not what it was in the golden prime of our emotional Chevalier.

To give any idea of the impression which Europe made upon our author, we must make an extract or two from his book. It was in November, 183-, that Mr. Wickoff first entered Paris. The whole way from Havre he "scarcely slept a wink for excitement," and, when he reached Paris about 10 A.M., he frankly says that his "emotions were overpowering." It has become quite the fashion for modern American travellers to deny roundly that the sight of places or things famous in song and story affect them emotionally in the way they are by tradition expected to do. But however this may be—and it must always depend greatly on the individual traveller—it was certainly not the case with Mr. Wickoff. A great New England lawyer, a contemporary of his, is said to have found such a difficulty in being properly affected by operatic music that he directed his daughter to explain the libretto to him, lest he should "dilate with the wrong emotion." There was never any difficulty of this kind with Mr. Wickoff. He always dilated with the right emotion. "Of all the cities of the world," he says, "I was most eager to see this renowned metropolis, whose history was so full of startling and terrible episodes.". The trait in Mr. Wickoff's character, he tells us, which "transcends all the rest" is "a veneration for the past." (The past has indeed such a hold upon our author that of the nearly six hundred pages of the volume he has devoted about one-half to an outline of the public events of the past forty years.) This veneration for the past invests "the men and events of other epochs" with a halo which, in Mr. Wickoff's eyes, "partakes of the sacred" (p. 82). "It often seemed to me I lived more in the past than the present. I could linger and contemplate an edifice, or a tomb associated with a great name, for hours together. I could conjure up all the moving incidents of their history, until I could almost fancy myself an eye-witness. Of all enjoyments this to me was the quintessence." Even in Philadelphia this taste was so powerful that Mr. Wickoff had endeavored to gratify it by visiting the room in the State-House where Congress in 1776 assembled. "Sitting down, I would abandon myself to my heated imagination, till methought the great men of that day stood before me. I could almost hear the ringing voice of John Adams, when he cried, 'Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I am for the Declaration.'" Yet this was only in the last century and in Philadelphia, in a plain, bare room in Independence Hall, in which the imagination, to become heated, must have had vast internal stores of fuel ; "whereas yonder palace was built by Catherine de Médicis in the sixteenth century, and those beautiful gardens were laid out by Louis XIV. in the seventeenth century. Since then what tremendous scenes have been connected with both! Why, it was only a few years ago, 1830, that an infuriated mob invaded the Tuileries for the second time, and drove forth to exile the elder branch of the Bourbon dynasty," etc., etc.

In England Mr. Wickoff was still more impressed. "No American," as he justly says, "can be insensible to the claims of the mother country on his affections and respect." We are not surprised when he adds: "My heart warmed as I heard for the first time in Europe the accents of my native tongue, and recognized in the manners and customs of the people the closeness of our relationship." "There are few Americans," Mr. Wickoff thinks, "who visit England for the first time whose feelings are not profoundly stirred by the consciousness that they are treading the ground of their forefathers, whose names still survive on the tombs scattered over the churchyards of England." This emotion, however, must be confined to comparatively few American travellers, unless indeed Mr. Wickoff has in mind that sort of feeling which all branches of the Aryan race may be supposed to feel on visiting any one of the various resting-places in its nomadic career. At any rate, the discovery by an American that he is really an Englishman may always be set down as greatly to his credit, particularly if he does not go any further in the invention of an English ancestry than to imagine, with Mr. Wickoff, that their names are still scattered over the churchyards of England.

All travellers in England have noticed the lack of appreciation of enthusiasm displayed by the average Briton. This at first jarred a good deal upon Mr. Wickoff, whose imagination, if it became heated by taking a casual seat in Independence Hall, fairly boiled over when he reached London. As he was bowling along in a coach he observed a "splendid park," "bustling with equipages." "'What's that?' I asked. 'Hyde Park.' 'Where's

* 'The Reminiscences of an Idler. By Henry Wickoff.' New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1880.

Hyde Park Corner?' I demanded eagerly. 'We are passing it now.' 'This, then,' I exclaimed earnestly, 'is the very spot where Charles II. made the witty retort to his brother James, who remonstrated at the king going about without escort. 'Nobody will kill me to make you king,' said the Merry Monarch, laughing." The gentleman holding the reins at Mr. Wickoff's side, to whom he imparted this interesting information, looked at him askance. "It may be so," he remarked, "but I never heard it." We cannot help thinking that we have heard this illustration of English lack of enthusiasm before; and we may observe, by the way, without questioning the historical truth of this instance of what Mr. Burnand would call "repartee to a king," that in the humorous anecdotes recalled by the author there is sometimes a lack of accuracy which suggests that his imagination is not so good when set to work upon humor as it is when fired by the grand events of history. In giving the history of the various places he passes through he adheres to facts with all the rigid accuracy which lends so much of their charm to guide-books and encyclopædias. But when he recalls a jest he is apt to give it a new turn. For example, the story of Dr. Johnson saying, on hearing from a lady that a certain piece of music which had just been performed was very difficult, "Would to God, madam, it had been impossible!" is a good story of Dr. Johnson, but when the invocation of the Deity is omitted, and the words are put in the mouth of Lord Melbourne, the anecdote lacks something of its point. So, too, it is rather a surprise to find Talleyrand's "*Déjà!*" put in the mouth of "the king," and addressed to Talleyrand himself on his death-bed (p. 477). If we could regard these changes as experiments or essays in jocular historical anecdote, it might do very well; but Mr. Wickoff is rather a serious writer than a humorist, and should not forget that his imagination is his greatest treasure as a literary possession.

It is needless to say that Mr. Wickoff was quite as much interested in persons as in places or things. With regard to ladies, he confesses that his interest in the fair sex was always so engrossing as not to leave him master of himself, and he speaks of the attractions of several ladies whom he met during his travels with a frank admiration that could hardly but be gratifying to them, however it may strike the male portions of their families. When he sees at once a woman who is a "superb creature" and a distinguished character as well, his emotions reach a pitch which, as is frequently the case with intense sentiment, curtails his powers of expression. On going to the Zoological Gardens with a family party he saw "a brunette with lustrous glowing eyes that seemed almost to scorch the object they lit upon." "Who is that superb creature?" he asked. "That is Mrs. Norton." "'Good gracious!' I exclaimed; 'Mrs. Norton, the authoress, the granddaughter of Sheridan, the heroine —?' I stopped abruptly. 'Yes,' returned Mrs. Dunlop, smiling, 'the same.'" In the course of his travels Mr. Wickoff fell in with a considerable number of more or less distinguished persons—artists, politicians, literary men, actors, and actresses—and of all of them he has something to tell. A good deal of the book is taken up with travels in which his companion was Edwin Forrest, and another portion with an account of the queer sort of superintendence which he and Mrs. Grote exercised over the fortunes of Fanny Elssler. Several letters of Mrs. Grote are given, which show her eccentric and amiable character in a striking light. Fanny Elssler and Mrs. Grote, however, were so much more interesting to Mr. Wickoff than any men could be that he neglects to give us much account of Grote himself and of Sir William Molesworth, both of whom he met, and the first of whom he must have seen in a familiar way. Of Grote he observes that "he had always an abstracted air, like a man thinking of something else. It was no doubt the case, as he was plunged knee-deep in a history of Greece that quite absorbed him." Sir William Molesworth Mr. Wickoff identified as "a chum" of Grote's, and sets him down as "evidently not a man of society, but rather given to study and seclusion." At the Grotes' he met Charles Sumner. Mr. Sumner has, of course, left his own account of his adventures in England. It is always valuable, however, to have several points of view in studying the career of a great man. We know the Senatorial Charles Sumner, and we know also the youthful Sumner as he appeared to the English people, to whom he took letters as a young man; but we have never before had an opportunity of knowing how he appeared as a young man in England to another American. The following is Mr. Wickoff's account of a brief conversation with Mr. Sumner apropos of Fanny Elssler: "'You seem attracted,' I said, 'by our hostess's newest favorite, fresh from the *coulisses*.' 'Yes, by Jove,' he returned emphatically; 'what a sweet-mannered, refined creature she appears to be! There's something about her, a *je ne sais quoi*, wonderfully engaging. And who could imagine the great woman sitting there, so modest and gentle, is the brilliant, dashing, ethereal artist I have repeatedly applauded at the opera?"

It must not be supposed from Mr. Wickoff's slightly negligent account of Grote that the history of Greece does not interest him. The impression that the reader gets from his book is that he is so thoroughly familiar with the history of all countries that the labors of those who devote their lives to historical research must appear to him rather thrown away. At Athens he was taken about by a "learned antiquary." Walking around the Acropolis the antiquary pointed out objects of interest to the young Philadelphian. "'There,' he said, raising his finger, 'is the prison of Socrates, the very cell where he drank the hemlock, 400 B.C.' 'What!' I exclaimed; 'was it there that he discoursed so tranquilly in his last moments on the immortality of the soul, and died declaring that there was but one God?' 'And there,' continued the guide, 'is Mars Hill, where the Areopagus used to assemble.' 'That tribunal,' I responded, 'so famous for its impartiality that it would allow no rhetoric to be uttered that would bias or disturb its judgment. And it was on that spot,' I asked, 'that St. Paul in the middle of the first century addressed these pagan judges, and boldly proclaimed the truths of the new Gospel?' 'The very place,' he answered. . . . 'There, where you see a clump of olive-trees, was the site of the Academy founded by Plato in 388 B.C.'" etc., etc. It must be confessed that Grote's history is poor stuff compared to this.

The above extracts will give a pretty good idea of Mr. Wickoff's book. As a work of sentiment and imagination it deserves more than a passing attention. As an historical manual it may prove of considerable value to other Philadelphians, combining, as it does, the range of Gibbon with the accuracy of Headley and Abbott. Its descriptions of the personal appearance of the ladies met by Mr. Wickoff in his travels will set fire to the coldest imagination.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY.—II.*

ASSUMING that he has disproved the wage-fund theory and the Malthusian law of population—having shown that the cause of low wages is not to be found either in an insufficiency of capital for employing labor or in an excess of laborers competing for employment—our author concludes that the fault, or the cause of the poverty of some and the wealth of others, must be sought for in the distribution of the general earnings of mankind. The factors of production being land, labor, and capital, the distribution of the product has been commonly assigned to rent, wages, and interest, or, by some writers, to rent, wages, interest, and profits, the last term being intended to include wages of superintendence and compensation for risk. Wages of superintendence, Mr. George thinks, should be classed under the head of wages simply, and "compensation for risk," he says, "has no place whatever, as risk is eliminated when all the transactions of the community are taken together." As the whole world is not a mutual insurance company it is difficult to see how risk is eliminated by taking all transactions together, or how Jay Cooke's failure in Northern Pacific, for example, is compensated by some other person's success in Union Pacific. If there is no such thing as risk in business there is no such thing as enterprise. If risk can be put out of sight by saying that the losses of some are balanced by the gains of others the parable of the talents is of no further use, for the servant who returned to his master his own with increase is not more meritorious than he who digged in the earth and hid his lord's money till his return. Wages of superintendence and compensation for risk are an exceedingly important part of the problem of distribution, and they are properly grouped together under the head of profits. "Wages of superintendence," as here used, has no likeness to the wages of employees, whether of high or low degree. It is a phrase signifying the return reaped by superior ability and directing force, not by conventional agreement but by virtue of its own grasp upon the nature of things—such, for instance, as that possessed by the late A. T. Stewart.

We pass over Mr. George's chapter on "Interest and the Cause of Interest," because it is hard to understand and is not satisfactory when understood. In this, and in the following chapters on Wages, it is sought to be shown that both interest and wages are governed by rent; in other words, that the proportion of the total produce assigned to labor and capital is what remains after the demands of land-owners have been satisfied. In the distribution of wealth land is the omnipotent factor, and it decides how much is due to itself, and from its decision there is no appeal. The rise in the value of land from generation to generation is but an expression of this law. Rent is for ever appropriating to itself a greater and greater proportion of the joint produce of land, labor, and capital. Wages may, indeed, rise simultaneously with a rise of rent—the laborer may obtain more comforts for his day's work now than in the time of the Heptarchy—but this is because the total produce has enormously increased. The proportion of this total taken by land in the shape of rent is greater now than at any former period, and is ever increasing.

It is an essential point in this enquiry to know whether land enjoys any peculiar privilege in determining the division of the joint produce, so that it may fix its own proportion without reference to the other partners and swallow up a greater and greater share as time rolls on. Rent seems to have been declining in England during recent years, not merely by reason of bad harvests, but also and chiefly by reason of the lessened cost of transportation of breadstuffs and meat from other parts of the world. Therefore the argument does not hold good as to any particular country so long as there are lands still

* 'Progress and Poverty: An Enquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of the Increase of Want with the Increase of Wealth. The Remedy. By Henry George.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.

to be brought under the plough in any other country, or so long as the minimum cost of transportation has not been reached. Again, the complaint is frequent in the Western States of America that the profits of farming—that is, the rental values of land—are entirely dependent upon the whims of the transportation companies. It may be replied, that competition will eventually bring the charges of transportation down to the lowest possible point, and that then the demands of rent will become irresistible. This view is opposed to George Stephenson's maxim, that "where combination is possible competition is impossible." The principal grain-carrying companies of the United States have been studying for years how to effect such a combination, and it is not unlikely that they will succeed. It does not follow that they will then be able to dictate the terms of division of the joint produce of land, labor, and capital, but it is clear that they will put it out of the power of land-owners to dictate those terms. What is true in this regard of the United States is true of every other country. It is true even of countries whose means of communication are natural water-courses open to all carriers. The carriers with large capital can always find means to buy out or crush out those of small capital, and thus monopolize the trade. In the existing state of the world land does not possess the domineering power over labor and capital which the author assigns to it. He frequently speaks of capital as labor stored up (which indeed it is) and refers to the world's wealth as the product of land and labor, instead of land, labor, and capital. This is scientific in the last analysis, but it cannot be said that land dictates to labor in this sense the share which the latter shall receive in the division of the joint produce. As civilization advances and the wants of mankind become more complex, and as exchanges multiply, the immobility of land will give to labor an ever-increasing power and weight of authority in the determination of this question.

Mr. George's theory of industrial depressions or commercial crises is that they proceed mainly from speculation in land. The genesis of such paroxysms is not, however, found in the multiplication of debts which the land-buyers eventually cannot pay—their defaults being propagated into other business channels—but in the fact that speculation in land causes rent to advance beyond its normal limit, "thus compelling labor and capital to accept a smaller return or (and this is the only way they can resist the tendency) to cease production."

"Now," he continues, "it is not only natural that labor and capital should resist the crowding down of wages and interest by the speculative advance of rent, but they are driven to this in self-defence, inasmuch as there is a minimum of return below which labor cannot exist, nor capital be maintained. Hence, from the fact of speculation in land we may infer all the phenomena which mark these recurring seasons of industrial depression."

The author has here lost sight of his definition of rent—the surplus yielded by certain lands over and above the sum yielded by the poorest lands in use—a surplus not dependent upon or subject to the desire or volition of anybody whomsoever. According to this definition of rent, which is the correct one, the speculator has no power to advance rent. He may hold his land out of use, neither cultivating it himself nor allowing others to do so, but this he seldom or never does. While waiting for somebody to pay him his price for the fee, he is always ready to accept what he can get for the use, if it be nothing more than the annual taxes. It may be safely affirmed that speculation in land never caused rent to advance a penny an acre; therefore, never caused labor and capital to cease production; therefore, never contributed to an industrial depression in the way described by the author. That it contributes to and sometimes originates such depressions by bankrupting the speculators, who in turn bankrupt other people, is, however, an observed fact in the commercial history of this country.

If Mr. George's conclusion depended wholly upon his premises, it might be dismissed without further consideration. But the expediency of private ownership of land is and will remain a debatable question from many points of view. The superior title to land is and must be in the state. This superior title is asserted in every act of condemnation of lands for public or quasi-public use. It is not doubted that the state might, for reasons satisfactory to itself, resume possession of all landed property, making compensation therefor through its own tribunals, without violating any right of its subjects. The expediency of private ownership rests upon the consideration or belief that public utility is thus best subserved; that cultivation is more thorough, and production greater under private than they would be under public or common holdings. The author of 'Progress and Poverty' seems to agree with this view, or not to dissent from it, for he proposes that no man's title shall be disturbed, and no new land policy be adopted, but merely that the taxes on land shall be made equal to its rental value apart from the value of improvements; in other words, that the state shall confiscate rent to its own use, and abolish all other taxes. This fiscal policy, he contends, would set the world running in new grooves; poverty would speedily disappear, overgrown fortunes would melt down to honorable competence, and the kingdom of Saturn return. No particular process or mode of transition bringing in this mighty change is pointed out. All is to be accomplished by adopting the *impôt unique* of the physiocrats—the single tax on land—provided the tax be high enough to leave the cultivator nothing but wages, and the owner nothing but interest on the cost of the buildings, stock, and utensils. Such a plan of taxation is not liable to a sudden access of popularity in a country where the ownership of land is widely distributed, although Mr. George takes pains to show that American farmers would be among the chief beneficiaries of the system.

Although we have to consider Mr. George's positions essentially unsound, we find many admirable passages, and a notable spirit of candor pervading his work. The style is for the most part engaging, and often eloquent. So far from being a work of communistic tendencies, the reader will find in it arguments to overthrow nearly all the communist theories of the present day.

A Physical, Historical, Political, and Descriptive Geography. By Keith Johnston, F.R.G.S. (London: Edward Stanford. 1880.)—By the preparation of this volume Mr. Keith Johnston has not only conferred a great boon upon geographical students in general, but has made a very important addition to English geographical literature; for if it is not quite as comprehensive and as carefully elaborated as we could have wished a work of this nature to be, it is decidedly a great way in advance of its predecessors. We have here not only a clear, concise, and, in the main, accurate account of the various natural and political divisions of the earth's surface, but also a valuable epitomized chapter (eighty-two pages) of the geographical history of the world, covering thirty centuries, illustrated by a series of maps delineating the progress of geographical discovery and of territorial conquest, a very interesting and not less useful sketch of physical geography, and a few introductory pages on map-making. Mr. Keith Johnston exhibits a facility for exposition and a skill for combining and condensing which render the work peculiarly readable and comprehensive for the total number of pages (487) which it covers, and he evinces a pretty thorough knowledge of the divers subjects brought under consideration. A certain carelessness in execution is therefore the more regrettable, inasmuch as the inaccuracies and omissions which, unfortunately, too frequently occur are sometimes of a serious nature, and ought not to have escaped the eye of an author of equal capacity.

Thus, in the orthography of foreign names little regard is had for the diacritical marks, for we have T*u*bingen, L*u*beck, W*u*rtemberg (p. 159), D*u*sseldorf, Innsbr*u*ck, and M*a*hrischen Höhe for T*ü*bingen, L*ü*beck, W*ü*rtemberg, D*ü*sseldorf, Innsbr*u*ck, and M*ä*hrischen Höhe. The Hungarian names Tátra and Kecskemét are printed T*a*tra, Kecskem*e*t. Orléans in France, which occurs several times accentuated on p. 223, is given as Orl*e*ans on p. 221; likewise the river Saône bears the circumflex on p. 224 and not on pp. 218 and 221. The accent is omitted in the Brazilian Pará, Xingú, Tupí, and Guaraní, and also in Potosí, Bolivia, and Copiapó, Chili. These oversights appear surprising when it is known that no inconsiderable attention has been paid to the rendering of foreign names in general, as is shown by a reference more especially to eastern countries. Readers unaccustomed to the new system of orthography gradually being introduced for East Indian names will scarcely recognize in the "Rann of Kachh" the familiar Runn of Cutch; or in "Gujrat," "Mirat," and "Haidarabad" the equally familiar Guzerat, Meerut, and Hyderabad. The frequently-recurring "Himalaya," usually misaccented both in this country and in England on the penultimate, should properly bear an accent on the antepenultimate, Himálaya. As for purely geographical data the book is not entirely free from what some may consider unpardonable blunders, as when, on p. 155, Cape Matapan (lat. 36° 23′) is given as the extreme southern point of Europe, instead of the promontory of Tarifa (36° 0′); or when, in treating of the hydrographical basins of Europe and Asia, no mention is made of the Ural River, although rivers of less importance and magnitude are enumerated. Nor is it correct, on p. 572, to state that Mont Blanc (15,784 ft.) is the highest summit in Europe, for whether the Caucasus be considered as forming the boundary between the Russian provinces of Europe and Asia, or to belong both by position and configuration mainly to Asia, the isolated peaks of Elburz (more properly Elbruz), 18,500 ft., and Kazbek, 16,500 ft., unquestionably belong within European limits. In some instances the author appears to have intentionally, in others inadvertently, failed to avail himself of the results of late explorations. The peak of Aconcagua, for example, perhaps the loftiest summit in America, is stated, on p. 408, to be 23,910 ft. in height, a measurement to be found in works as old as 1849, and which is about 700 ft. above that obtained by the officers of the *Beagle* under Capt. Fitzroy, nearly fifty years ago. The later determinations of Pissis, accepted by most Continental geographers, place it at 22,422 ft. On p. 410 we have the statement that the Organ Mountains, near Rio de Janeiro, reaching "heights of 7,500 ft.," "are probably the highest points in eastern South America," whereas the Montes Pyrenos, also in Brazil, attain an elevation of about 9,500 ft., and the peak of Itatiaiossú perhaps upwards of 10,000 ft. The Alleghany Mountains do not reach their highest elevation in Mt. Washington (p. 409) but in Black Dome, N. C. (as stated on p.

424), nor has Mt. Washington an altitude of 6,650 ft. Few well-known mountains of the United States have been more conservative of their height than Mt. Washington, which has gained or lost not more than a man's stature from the determinations of Guyot (6,288 ft.) thirty years ago to the more recent measurements of Hitchcock (6,293 ft.) We are unacquainted with the measurements which give Mt. Hooker, in British Columbia, a height of 16,760 ft. (p. 409). The author does not always appear to have been fortunate in the general apportionment of his material. We should have liked to see under Austria-Hungary a separate treatment of at least Bohemia, Galicia, and Hungary, as in the case of Saxony and the South-German states under the German Empire. In the section devoted to Switzerland no height is attached to any of the Alpine summits (although Mont Blanc is the only elevation of the Alps to which an altitude in feet is given in the general chapter on Europe), whereas no less than twenty-eight determined heights are enumerated in the British Isles.

The historical portion, treating by periods of one to three centuries, sets before the reader in a plain and attractive manner the development of the principal states, past and present, which have figured in history from the Phœnician colonization of the shores of the Mediterranean to the present time. The general skilful handling of the subject renders certain omissions and errors the more apparent. Thus, we fail to notice any account of the rise and growth of the great realm of the Netherlands—the successive annexations of Flanders, Artois, Brabant, Holland, etc., to the duchy of Burgundy—but we get the United Netherlands, as it were, ready made under Charles V. No mention is made either of Bohemia or Moravia in connection with the rise of the Slavic monarchies, nor does the name of Leon occur in the early history of Spain. The territorial acquisitions of Sweden by the Treaty of Westphalia, which introduced that kingdom into the Germanic body, are omitted. The dates are, on the whole, very accurate, but their frequent omission occasionally produces a disagreeable vagueness. On p. 58 we have the curious statement that the "Czar Romanoff, of the house of Rurik," was placed on the Russian throne, and on p. 29 that Roderick was the last king of the *Ostrogoths*. It may be as well in this place to note that Kepler was not a native of Stuttgart, had very little connection with that city beyond the fact of his having been born in the vicinity (p. 112); and that in addition to the three universities of Basel, Bern, and Zürich (p. 209) Switzerland has a fourth in that of Geneva, reconstituted from the *Académie* in 1875.

Despite all its shortcomings, this geography possesses very decided merits, which ought speedily to ensure it a wide circulation. It is but fair to suppose that a large number of the minor errata here pointed out would, in all probability, have been rectified by the author himself previous to publication, had not an untimely death, brought on by the hardships of African exploration, suddenly removed him from the field of his active labors.

Perception of Space and Matter. By the Rev. Johnston Estep Walter. (Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1879.)—It is a pleasure to meet with a really able American philosophical book; though at the moment of writing this sentence certain impressions accumulated during our reading of the work sum themselves suddenly up into the suspicion, May not the Rev. J. E. Walter be an Englishman in disguise? First-rate American writing is distinguished by a cleanness of form, a verbal originality, a sensitiveness seldom found in England. Poor American writing is more ignorant, more vague, more eccentric and lopsided than English work by men of corresponding native endowment. There is a straightforward, solid common sense about Mr. Walter's mental atmosphere, a business-like clearness about his style, and a solidity about his erudition within its narrow range which remind us of that whole class of well-educated medium British intellects to which we can offer hardly anything to correspond. An American book as good as this would be apt to be better—more winged, so to speak, more epigrammatic in style, more cosmopolitan in its learning, more excursive in its speculations. An American book as narrow as this in horizon would almost certainly be far less clear, solid, and thorough than this within the horizon's limits.

But, be the author Briton or American, we have rarely read better critical pages than those in which he reviews Hamilton's, Bain's, Spencer's, and Brown's theories of perception. The theory of cognition is, Heaven knows, clogged with enough of gratuitously-invented difficulties through which the student must wade. Of all the cobwebs with which it is overgrown none are nowadays so much in the way as those spun by Mill, Bain, and Spencer when they try to derive the notion of space from that of time, instead of postulating it as an original and primordial element of our sensibility. Here Mr. Walter's broom sweeps beautifully clean. His own position may be indicated briefly for the benefit of the initiated. He believes in the absolute veracity of our knowledge of space and matter; but he repudiates all attempts to prove this veracity either by "immediate" presence of distant objects to consciousness (Hamilton), or by arousal of cognitive faculty "mediately" through sensations which serve as *signs* (Reid, Kant). He of course rejects, as above remarked, all essays to explain away these perceptions; and he finds the only unshakable basis for realism in the assumption that the soul is an extended substance, and, knowing immediately the amount of space affected in each of its own sensations, can infer mediately the spaces occupied by objects. As for matter, when one bodily organ is grasped by another, the mind immediately feels "the incompressibility, so to speak, or resistance of the mind itself," and so can mediately become aware of substance when grasping an inanimate object.

Mr. Walter's doctrine that the soul is extended has received much elaboration in Germany at the hands of Ulrici, I. H. Fichte, and their school. It is likewise a favorite doctrine of Ueberweg, and Lange dabbled with it. But Mr. Walter seems unaware of any forerunner besides Ulrici. We must confess to a feeling of regret that such superior intellectual power should have been wasted on obsolete forms of the problem. Nothing, to be sure, is *entirely* obsolete in philosophy; but a discussion of space and the space relations of consciousness which ignores Hodgson, Abbot, Helmholtz, Wundt, and Lotze necessarily condemns itself to incompleteness. With all this imperfection, however, Mr. Walter's book remains within its sphere one of the clearest and ablest critical contributions ever made to the subject.

Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika. Von Dr. Friedrich Ratzel, Professor der Erdkunde an der technischen Hochschule zu München. Zweiter Band. Culturgeographie, unter besonderer Berücksichtichung der wirthschaftlichen Verhältnisse. Mit 2 Holzschnitten und 9 Karten in Farbendruck. (München: R. Oldenburg; New York: B. Westermann & Co. 1880. Royal 8vo, pp. xvi.–762.)—The first volume of Professor Ratzel's work was noticed in No. 699 of the *Nation*. With the second, now before us, is concluded the most comprehensive and, all things considered, perhaps the best book of general information yet written on the United States. Where such a multitude and variety of topics are treated there will be, even with great knowledge and ability on the part of the author, unavoidable inequalities in the execution and a varying value in the results. The first volume treats of the physical geography and natural characteristics of the country; the second presents a description of its civilization, with special reference to its politico-economical aspects. Four-fifths of the latter, it may be safely said, falls within the province of strictly scientific discussion, and the remaining fifth may be handled, if not with equal precision, yet "*neid- und neigungslos*"—without envy and without partiality.

This *Culturgeographie*, or discussion of the human element in the development and present condition of the United States, is divided into five sections, as follows: I. Introductory, treating of the natural conditions of American civilization, together with an historical synopsis (104 pp.) II. Population, treating of the Indians, immigration, the statistics of the white population, the negroes and their enslavement, and the Chinese (114 pp.) III. The politico-economical relations, including agriculture, forestry, mineral wealth and mining, industry, routes and means of communication, and commerce (256 pp.) IV. Political, ecclesiastical, educational, intellectual, and social relations (156 pp.) V. Separate descriptions of States and Territories (100 pp.)

Of these divisions the third is the longest and most elaborate, while the fourth, passing from the more material features of our civilization to the exhibition of its moral and intellectual qualities, is undoubtedly the most interesting to the general reader. It is at the same time the most difficult part of the author's task, and the least likely to give entire satisfaction. Foreign writers, when they begin to talk about American politics, imagining themselves on the high sea of political philosophy, and being unprovided with either coast-chart or pilot, are almost sure to run upon some unexpected rock or shoal. It is easy enough to give an intelligent and correct account of the Constitution and administration of the general Government, but far less easy to give a comprehensive and yet specific description of the various State governments, and utterly impossible to bring the multitude of differences in county, township, and municipal administration under a single rubric. There is a want of accuracy in this part of Professor Ratzel's work which, considering its otherwise high character, is, to say the least, surprising. For instance, here are statements supposed to be generally applicable:

"The [State] senators are elected from a larger district and for a longer time than the members of the House of Representatives" (p. 506).

"The Governor is elected directly by the voters; the council or the ministers (secretaries) who assist him, as a rule, by the Legislature. The Prime Minister alone, the Secretary of State, the Governor himself appoints" (p. 507).

On the other hand, the reflections which the author makes on American political life, political parties, tenure of office, elections, corruption, office-seeking, and the like (pp. 513–527) testify to his penetration, moderation, and impartiality. The same may be said of the dozen or more pages concerning the church. Dr. Ratzel thinks that, while the Americans have a special talent for politics, they have a talent no less for religion; and the practical direction which American religion takes, turning upon the solvable questions of

life rather than upon insoluble doubts and misty speculations, seems to him worthy of praise. Though he is not blind to the existence of a good deal of hypocrisy, he charitably attributes it largely to the respect which every American has for the opinions of others, and to the American's desire to avoid wounding the feeling of those who differ with him. Passing to the consideration of the intellectual life of America, we are told that, although politically and economically independent, we are, in matters pertaining to the intellect, still in the "colonial" phase of our development. This, being interpreted, means that we have yet no independent literature, science, or art. We are not, indeed, without talent; but the exigencies of life in a new country have thus far not been favorable to its cultivation. Our rising literature is like a star that "hath had elsewhere its setting." Our incipient science has been devoted mainly to practical inventions. Our art consists in imitation and importation. These are the general conclusions at which the author arrives (perhaps we ought to say, premises from which he unconsciously argues), and which to him are not irreconcilable with a large and often generous recognition of individual merit.

Candor compels us to say that Dr. Ratzel has sometimes yielded to the temptation to utter "glittering generalities" at the expense of careful, discriminating analysis. Many of his observations on the American people and on American society are thoughtful, well pointed, and altogether just, while others must be characterized as generalizations from insufficient induction. The tone and manner of his work are admirable, and taken together it is certainly a valuable addition to the list of "books about America."

Astronomy for Schools and Colleges. By Simon Newcomb, LL.D., Superintendent 'American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac,' and Edward S. Holden, M.A., Professor in the U. S. Naval Observatory. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1879. 1 vol. 12mo, pp. xii.-512. American Science Series.)—Of the manner in which the labor of preparing this work has been shared between the authors we have no direct indication, but those who are acquainted with the other works of Prof. Newcomb, not only on astronomy but in other departments of science, will probably infer that the general plan and tone of the work are due to him. It is in some respects quite different from most text-books of astronomy. There is hardly any department of the science about which we are not told something. Of course, where so many things are embraced in the compass of a single volume hardly anything can be treated in that exhaustive manner which one intending to make astronomy his profession would require. But this is rather a merit than a defect. Only an infinitesimal portion of those who would like to know something, not only of astronomy in general but of its instruments, its methods, and its processes, will ever give it any extended study after leaving school or college. If a text-book gives the pupil clear ideas of elementary principles, and takes him so far into details and applications that he will be able to use the knowledge already acquired, and ascertains what he must do and what he must expect should he desire to go further, it will do more than most text-books, either in astronomy or any other science. The authors have evidently attempted to construct a treatise which should combine as far as possible what are usually, though somewhat vaguely, designated as the popular and scientific methods. The attempt is, on the whole, eminently successful. A person of even no more than a common-school education will find enough in the volume to repay him well for its purchase and perusal; while those who come to the study of the book with sufficient preliminary knowledge will acquire such an insight into the methods and processes of astronomical science as to be able to study with profit works of far higher aim. Those portions of the work which assume a knowledge of the higher branches of mathematical science are printed in smaller type than the others, and are more especially intended for those who desire to go further than is usually done by persons of liberal education. But even in these portions the authors seem to have carefully abstained from any parade of the peculiar language of mathematics, and to have given the minimum of formulæ consistent with the attainment of the end in view. For example, they tell us in their preface that in some cases a knowledge of the differential calculus has been necessarily presupposed; but, while certain results are mentioned in various parts of the work as having been arrived at by means of the calculus, we have not noticed a single formula in the whole book in which the peculiar notation of the calculus is employed.

Much as the mathematical sciences are involved in every department of astronomy it is still eminently a science of the imagination. The student must mentally construct and carry about with him in his head a picture of the solar system, and the celestial sphere with its various imaginary lines and circles, or he can make little progress. For example, no map of the solar system can be constructed upon any one scale within the limits of a text-book. A scale which would bring the orbit of Neptune within the limits of a page would reduce the sun to a mere speck, while our poor little earth and moon would vanish from sight. The authors seem to have done all that is possible by means of maps, diagrams, and descriptions to aid the student in this respect.

The treatment of the tides is very brief. In his 'Popular Astronomy,' published in 1877, Professor Newcomb gave an explanation of the tides in which the centrifugal force generated by the revolution of the earth and moon about their common centre of gravity played a very important part. Mr. Arnold, in the *Scientific Observer* for October, 1878, criticised this explanation rather sharply. In a note published in the next number of the *Observer* Professor Newcomb admitted the general accuracy of Mr. Arnold's strictures, and said:

"The correct and vigorous translation of the expressions for this force from the language of the calculus into that of the vernacular does not seem possible, but I supposed I was near enough right to give a correct general idea of the reason why there are two tides a day. I now see that the task is a more difficult one than I supposed, and one which requires a good deal of close attention from the reader."

In the present work the authors seem to have abandoned the attempt to "translate the language of the calculus into the vernacular," and nothing whatever is said of the centrifugal force in question. The explanation given, is, no doubt, perfectly correct so far as it goes, and the pupil, by completing the diagram to which the authors refer so as to exhibit the action of the attractive force of the moon upon the waters on the remote side of the earth, will see that he is forced to admit a tide there as well as on the side nearest the moon. But even when thus forced to the correct result, probably his conception of the production of the latter tides will be clearer than of the former. But certainly the authors did well to abandon the language in which the explanation is usually couched. The talk about "the earth being drawn away from the waters," although susceptible of intelligible explanation, conveys no definite idea except to those who already understand the subject. Perhaps it would have been well to mention the fact that the tides at the winter solstice, owing to the greater proximity of the sun, are sensibly higher than at the summer solstice. An explanation of the phenomena of twilight would, we think, have been in place in a text-book on astronomy, but we find no reference to the subject in the present work.

Gleanings from Pontresina and the Upper Engadine. By Howard Payson Arnold. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1880.)—Pontresina is a village in the Upper Engadine, or upper valley of the Inn, surrounded by the Rhætian Alps. Its fifty solid stone houses, crowded upon a single and devious highway, are, no doubt, daily witnesses of peculiarities of peasant character which are worth recording, and would furnish forth an entertaining volume of the sort that has of late so frequently and pleasantly illustrated the modern taste for rustic life. The author, however, except in one instance—the description of the hermit brooding over the wrongs he had suffered in his enforced enlistment in the army, and kindled into momentary emotion by the rehearsal of his story—has been content to generalize the townspeople, and has preferred to attend particularly to the summer boarders. There is nothing agreeable, instructive, or interesting in the latter as he describes them, and, perhaps for that reason, he uses them only as the foil for his own humor and sarcasm. The English seem to have been the principal objects of his observation, and in exposing them he indulges in all the tricks of the peculiar American style usually termed "racy," marked by frequent puns and curiously constructed phrases which appear extraordinary in one who objects to Mr. Ruskin's English. Indeed, the style is as disagreeable as the people against whom it is employed. In the other portion of his volume, which treats of the natural features of the country, the mountains and the Roseg glacier, the Cembra pine, the Linnæa and other Alpine flowers, the racy style yields to the luxuriant, marked by an accumulation of choice adjectives and adverbs and by poetic quotations, of which the author is profuse on nearly every page. It is not often that style deserves so much notice, but in this book it is the most noticeable thing, and reveals the half-culture of which the volume is the product. Some aspects of life in a beautiful and remote mountain village the author has described truthfully, but for the most part they are in themselves unprofitable and are presented with what must be called coarseness. It requires genius to reconcile facetiousness and refinement, but when the facetiousness extends through two hundred pages, and is exercised upon everything and everybody, from Etruscan research and Linnæus to English subscription-lists and uncompanioned old maids, refinement is out of the question.

Outlying Europe and the Nearer Orient. A Narrative of Recent Travel. By Joseph Moore, jr. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.)—The bulk of this volume has appeared in the foreign correspondence of the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin.* The author travelled through the Mediterranean and up the Nile, made the tour of the Holy Land, Constantinople, Sicily, Spain, Portugal, Western France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and then returned through Berlin, St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Vienna to Paris. The rapidity of such a journey prevented any valuable observation of manners and customs, and, as in most of these countries picture-galleries are few, little was left for description but architecture and the broad

features of the landscape, the former of which is treated with considerable detail. Great attention is given to the historical associations of places, and a sketch of the history of countries, and frequently of cities, is introduced. The poetic associations are exclusively with "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage." There are a few characteristic stories of General Grant, whom the author found strangely inclined to conversation. The style is simple and wholly destitute of the rhetoric which disfigures so many American books of travel.

Chapters from the Physical History of the Earth. By Arthur Nicols, F.G.S., F.R.G.S. (New York: Harper & Brothers.)—The author of this instructive little work does not pretend to present his readers with an introductory general treatise on geology, or with an advanced text-book, but merely with an exposition of some of the leading phenomena connected with the earth's geological history. Commencing with the more purely physical problems involved in the formation of the planet and of its solid crust, a rapid survey is then had in chapters ii.–v. of the origin and characters of the stratified and unstratified deposits, upheaval, subsidence, and denudation, and the organically formed rocks; chapter vi., concluding Part I., is devoted to the glacial periods. This portion of the work, dealing with structural and dynamical geology, will probably be found to be the most interesting and readily digestible by the general reader, as its plain and familiar treatment, devoid of technicalities, cannot fail to render the subject-matter easily comprehensible even to the non-scientific mind. Part II., Palæontology, details at some length the beginnings and development of organic life from the Laurentian period to the Post-Pliocene, and concludes (chap. xiii.) with a review of fossil man. The author, in our opinion, might with advantage have restricted his remarks on the history of life to the more general principles connected with extinction and succession, instead of entering into the different minutiæ, which, in the absence of an introductory chapter on the animal kingdom, cannot but prove tedious to a considerable degree. The insufficiency of illustrations is another obstacle to the proper comprehension of this portion of the work. A stricter adherence to facts might in some cases be insisted upon. Thus, the statement on p. 150 that the crustacea were preceded in the order of appearance by the mollusca is, at best, very doubtful, the recent investigations of Mr. Hicks at St. David's, Wales, revealing in the Harlech and Longmynd group a rich trilobitic fauna where formerly scarcely any fossils were known to exist. Again, on p. 164 it is asserted that terrestrial vegetable life is "wanting, or at least as yet unknown," in any formation older than the Devonian, whereas, on pp. 159–60 we find the statement that "in the upper strata of the formation [Silurian] we have unquestionable sea-weeds, and an undoubted land-plant (*Lepidodendron*) . . ." The presence of true ammonites in the Palæozoic era (p. 170) is also very doubtful; on p. 205 we are informed that they first appear in the Trias. It is surprising to find omitted in the tabular view of the Palæozoic deposits Bohemia, the field of Barrande's remarkable labors, as one of the localities of the occurrence of the Silurian formation; and equally surprising to note (p. 174) that Carboniferous trilobites are exclusively American, when the three genera *Phillipsia*, *Brachymetopus*, and *Griffithides* are forms belonging to the Carboniferous limestone of England. On p. 185 the obnoxious expression occurs that the *Enaliosaurians* are divided into the principal genera of *Ichthyosaur*IA, *Plesiosaur*IA, and *Pleiosaur*IA. In the description of the Tertiary formations some reference might well have been made to the now generally received Oligocene, the more especially as a portion of the fluvio-marine deposits of the Isle of Wight are classed, on p. 247, partly with the Eocene and partly with the Miocene. The work will, on the whole, very well repay reading.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Art, L', Vol. XXI., swd.	(J. W. Bouton)
Bessey (Prof. C. E.), Botany for High Schools and Colleges	(Henry Holt & Co.)
Brisbin (Gen. J. S.), Life of James A. Garfield	(Hubbard Bros.)
Fate of Republics	(Estes & Lauriat)
Guerrier (G. P.), Pipes of Corn: Poetry, swd.	(W. B. Clarke)
Guerin (V.), Ile de Rhodes, 2d ed., swd.	(Ernest Leroux)
Hill (G. A.), Geometry for Beginners	(Ginn & Heath)
Jameson (H. W.), Rhetorical Method	(G. I. Jones & Co.)
Lamphere (G. N.), The United States Government	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Mitchell (Dr. A.), The Past in the Present	(David Douglas)
Morgan (H. H.), Literary Studies from the Great British Authors	(G. I. Jones & Co.)
Playfair (G. M. H.), Cities and Towns of China	(Trübner & Co.)
Riggs (Rev. S. R.), Forty Years with the Sioux	(W. G. Holmes)
Sill (J. M. B.), Practical Lessons in English	(A. S. Barnes & Co.) $1 00
Stacke (L.), Deutsche Geschichte, Part 1, swd.	(L. W. Schmidt)
Walford (Mrs. L. B.), Troublesome Daughters	(Henry Holt & Co.) 1 00

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Continued from page iii.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 19, 1880.

The Week.

THE two principal "campaign stories" of the week are that Mr. English has, during the past three or four years, foreclosed a considerable number of mortgages in Indiana to recover payment of small loans. This discovery was made by the Cincinnati *Commercial*, and many of our esteemed Republican contemporaries seem to think it a very valuable one. Some of them have given up nearly a whole page to the list of foreclosures. Mr. English seems, like many other men, to be in the habit of investing considerable sums on mortgage, which is usually considered a business transaction, the object of the mortgage being to enable the creditor to get his money back in case the interest is not paid. But the esteemed Republican contemporaries seem to think that the mortgage is something which is drawn up either for fun or to save the debtor's dignity, and which no creditor fit to be Vice-President would think of taking seriously. So when Mr. English treats his as real security and enforces it, they denounce him as a humbug and hypocrite, and as "no poor man's friend." This is a sorry business for a paper like the Cincinnati *Commercial* to take up, and would be much better suited to Denis Kearney's organ. When the editor takes a mortgage we wonder what he does with it?

The other "story" is that General Arthur was really born in Ireland, and is therefore disqualified. He admits that his father was an Irishman, but says his mother was a New-Englander who never left her native country. But Mr. Hinman knows better, and says that he can prove that Mr. Arthur, senior, came to this country thirty-five years ago, when the son was about fourteen years old, which looks badly for the son, as, if he first crossed the ocean at the age of fourteen, he must have known he was not born in the United States, and must now be "lying," as Horace Greeley used to say, "knowingly, wilfully, and with naked intent to deceive." Nothing will satisfy Mr. Hinman, however, short of the calling of another Republican convention and the nomination of a native in place of Mr. Arthur. There seems to be a decline of interest in Hancock and Garfield on the part of the story-tellers, and it has even become fashionable to admit on the stump that they are both men of good character. In fact, the wretched way in which Hancock "pans out" as a rascal is a sore subject with many of our Republican contemporaries when they look at the piles of useless material about Tilden's atrocities which they had collected, in their expectation that the old villain would assuredly be nominated. Our advice to them would be to publish it all the same. It will show what kind of party the Democratic party must be to have such a person even as an adviser. We must not omit to mention, however, that it is found almost impossible to sell Hancock's campaign life to the Democratic farmers. These simple-minded but sagacious men say they "have heard enough of Hancock," and the Democratic book agents are greatly disheartened. It has also come out that a poor old soldier went to Garfield to ask for relief, and he brutally told him that "he did nothing for soldiers," and asked him why he did not go to the almshouse. Republican candidates almost always treat soldiers in this way. Schuyler Colfax once refused to see an old soldier because he could not send up a visiting card on a silver salver offered to him for that purpose by Colfax's pampered footman. The poor veteran thus refused by Garfield then wrote a letter to Hancock, and by return of mail came a fifty-dollar check and a kind note. There are rumors afloat also that Garfield has an unpaid tailor's bill at Troy, New York, and stole much furniture and bedding from a widow at the South.

Mr. Blaine in his speech at Bath, Me., on Monday, the 9th inst., set a good example by addressing himself to the action of the two parties respectively with regard to the national finances, showing that the Democrats in Congress opposed the act of 1869, for the strengthening of the public credit by declaring the Government obligations payable in coin; the act of 1870, for the refunding of the public debt at a lower rate of interest; and the act of 1875, providing for a return to specie payments—the three great measures by which the national credit has been restored. It is quite true that these measures did not receive the entire Republican vote, but it is also true that they received most of it, and that they were Republican measures, and that the debates and divisions on them fairly support the conclusion that, although the Republican party has not been wholly sound with regard to finance, the Democratic party has been almost wholly unsound, and, in fact, has produced no respectable financial doctrine whatever. In discussing the tariff he took high protectionist ground, and drew a woful picture of what would happen to the manufacturing and ship-building interests of Maine if the Democratic plan of a tariff for revenue only were adopted. He did nothing to explain the present exclusion of the United States from the foreign carrying trade, and, in fact, did not go below the surface of his case on any point; but the speech was a wholesome one, and dwelt mainly, as speeches in a canvass ought to dwell, on matters which are controllable by legislation.

At the Bankers' Convention which has been sitting at Saratoga a letter on the national banking system from Secretary Sherman was read on Thursday. He traced the history of the connection of the Government with the State banks, showing the loss and embarrassment suffered by the acceptance of their bills in payment of Government dues, and the immense gain by the substitution of the more stable currency of the national banks, and by the use of these banks as depositories of the Government bonds. Indeed, the letter was a demonstration of the complete sufficiency of the national-bank currency for all the needs of the country as regards paper money, and raises the question how its statements are to be reconciled with Mr. Sherman's arguments last winter in favor of a permanent Government issue of paper money. It would have been very interesting to have heard from him on that point also, but he did not touch on it. The most valuable of the other papers was one by Mr. George S. Coe, of this city, on the silver question, in which he exposed once more the danger of the continued coinage of silver now going on. He pointed out that there is at this moment a difference of $8,000,000 between the nominal value and the commercial value of the silver already coined. What makes the persistence of Congress in keeping up this coinage the more extraordinary is, that the silver is of no use in trade; the balance due us from Europe, owing to the enormous increase of our exports, being every year very large, and mostly settled in gold. Mr. Coe's own remedy, however, which consists in making the Government receive silver without limit on deposit, and issue certificates against it at the market value of the metal, for use in circulation, is open to the fatal objection that it might deluge the country with a third highly fluctuating currency, and would almost certainly make us the recipient of all the surplus silver of Europe. When a folly like the Silver Bill has been committed the only safe remedy is to drop it altogether. The experiment has been fairly tried, and the honest silver-men can abandon their position without discredit.

Since our last issue about $2,500,000 gold has arrived from Europe, and between $3,000,000 and $4,000,000 is on the way here. Although what is called the foreign-trade balance, as made up from the Custom-house records, is not as favorable for the United States as a year ago, yet the actual balance is probably nearly so on account of the large shipments to Europe of American railroad securities, a demand for which has arisen because of the enormous earnings of the roads. As there is no official record of the exports and imports of securities, estimates as to the amount of gold which will be imported during the remainder of the year vary, the lowest being $15,000,000 and the highest $50,000,000. The principal part of the reserves of the New York banks consists of specie; the legal-tender-note part having fallen so low that it is no longer considered possible for the New York banks to supply the ordinary demands from the South and West for currency

without the use of gold or silver dollars. The standard silver buzzard dollars can be sent at the expense of the Government to any part of the country, while, if gold is sent, either the shipper or the consignee must pay the express charge. It is likely, therefore, that the Treasury will be able to relieve its vaults of a part of the silver stored in them, and that the West and South will have an abundance of the ancient dollars for which their representatives a few years ago clamored. It was a dull week at the Stock Exchange. General trade continues active.

The Tennessee Democratic State Convention has resulted in a complete victory of the State-Credit party and a bolt by the Repudiators, who have set up a candidate of their own for governor, though they propose to support Hancock for President. The history of repudiation in Tennessee has been a long and disgraceful one, and it is fortunate for the State that it has reached a point at which a plain issue between making some sort of settlement with its creditors and robbing them out and out is at last prevented. There has never been any reason for repudiation at all. The entire debt amounts to some $25,000,000, and the interest on it could have been met by a rate of taxation which capital could easily bear. But instead of taking any means to provide for it, the debt has been left for years to the mercy of the legislature, which has steadily refused to impose an adequate tax. This disregard of its obligations has, of course, strengthened the hands of the out-and-out Repudiationists, and the real difference between these and the State-Credit party is that the latter's platform insists upon a final settlement of some kind, while the former insist (we quote from the platform) upon the right of the people "to settle for themselves by direct vote their alleged indebtedness." This, they say, is "the only right the people have been able to secure after years of struggle and contest," and they do not mean to give it up. The State-Credit plank, on the other hand, is as follows:

"We recognize a disposition upon the part of the creditors of the State, in view of the great losses entailed by the late war, the great depression of business, and the general shrinkage in values, to make a liberal reduction in both the principal and interest of our bonded indebtedness, and we declare that we favor a prompt settlement by the legislature with our creditors upon the best terms that can be agreed upon as a result of negotiation."

This was carried by a vote of nearly two to one, and, mild as it is, is certainly a victory for honesty and good government. The bolt will not affect the Presidential election in any way.

The Georgia Democratic Convention, after a week's conflict of extraordinary tenacity and excitement, adjourned without being able to agree upon a candidate for governor. The present incumbent, Gov. A. H. Colquitt, was the choice of much more than a majority, but the convention had bound itself not to abrogate the two-thirds rule, and neither side would budge. They agreed, however, upon candidates for all the other State offices, and the majority recommended Gov. Colquitt to the people, while the minority separately denounced him and nominated ex-Senator Norwood. In view of these dissensions the Republicans have called a convention for September, to consider how they can profit by the situation, and whether they shall support one or other of the Democratic candidates, or nominate a straight ticket. The latter course is hopeless, and there is one reason for their supporting Gov. Colquitt which seems to us almost like the voice of duty. Early in this month the country was shocked by the news of a peculiarly atrocious assault upon an unoffending colored family living near Atlanta. A gang of white ruffians, masked, the leader of whom had been fined for previous brutality to one of the victims, attacked his cabin by night, dragged him and his aged wife out and beat them unmercifully, shot their married daughter dead in bed beside her little ones, and seriously wounded her brother. "In no country—in no section—under no circumstances," said the Atlanta *Constitution*, "has there ever been a more horrible crime committed." The assassins were recognized in spite of their disguise, and arrested, and a report having reached Governor Colquitt that their friends intended a rescue, he took the Gate City Guard, a local troop, to the adjoining town of Jonesboro', brought away the prisoners, and lodged them in the Atlanta jail. Such an act deserves acknowledgment, and the more specific the better. We do not know what surer guarantee there could be for the lives and fortunes of the colored people of Georgia than to maintain Governor Colquitt in office by voting for him on the express ground of his readiness to execute justice without regard to color or color prejudice.

The report that there have been, or are going to be, tremendous census frauds at the South, wrought in order to increase Southern representation, is being vigorously used, in default of outrages, to stimulate sectional feeling in the canvass; and it, of course, derives a certain apparent support from such undoubtedly fraudulent operations as the Alabama election. The way the story is worked up is by taking what appear to be the returns in certain districts, and showing that these districts cannot contain as many inhabitants as the returns would seem to contain, and then inferring cheating on the same scale in all the other districts. But unfortunately, or fortunately, General Walker, the Superintendent of the Census, who knows more about the matter than anybody else—perhaps, indeed, as much as all the rest of the world—not only does not believe these stories, but explains that from the very nature of the counting machinery the data on which they are based must be worthless. The enumerators have been selected by the Census Department with care; they are presumably honest, and their honesty is fostered by the fact that if detected in fraud they go to the penitentiary for two years, and that frauds are easily discovered by the system of checks in use. So we doubt if this cry will be of much use, and trust Republican workers and speakers will turn to more serious matters. We venture to say that many more voters are disgusted and repelled than are won over by this sort of electioneering.

Complaint is made that the census shows a rate of increase in the South greater than that of the North, or 28 per cent. against 27 per cent. But in the first place, the *rate* of growth in population is a delusive basis of comparison. In the second place, it is not denied that on account of exceptional immigration the rates of Florida and Texas are reasonably large, though Florida gains but about 112,000 over the census of 1870, and Texas only 682,000 (or 68,200 per annum, natural increase and immigration combined). Leaving out these States, the rate for the remainder of the South is 23 per cent. But, except that they are Democratic, is there, for statistical purposes, any reason for calling Missouri, Maryland, Delaware, or West Virginia Southern States; and does 44 per cent. seem to any one who knows the natural resources of Arkansas, the extension of the railroad system there, and the efforts made by the roads to dispose of their lands to immigrants, a suspicious increase for that State, even if it involves 306,000 additional population? Excluding these States also, the remainder show a rate of a little more than 17 per cent. (against 16 per cent. for New England.) We for our part know no reason why Virginia and Kentucky should not likewise be abstracted, or why 30 and 31 per cent. respectively seem abnormal in their case. However, the main outcry is against South Carolina, when its rate is only 3 per cent., and its total increase 25,000—if we may trust a table prepared by the Boston *Advertiser*, which we have thus far used, and which has been relied upon by most of the Stalwart press. The Charleston *News and Courier*, however, defends a computed increase of 247,804, and consequent rate of 35 per cent., placing it sixth on the Southern list of rates. The improbability of this the *News and Courier* explains away by charging manifest errors upon the census of 1870, and this method will not be questioned by the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, which says that if St. Louis had 310,864 inhabitants in 1870 "it must be apparent to the dullest comprehension" that "the census of this year must be widely erroneous."

As the time for the Indiana election draws nearer, its effect upon the minds of our esteemed contemporaries becomes more and more powerful. The defeated party in the recent constitutional-amendments case have petitioned for a rehearing, and the *Times* correspondent says that one judge is reported as having stated that the court would probably "grant a rehearing and reverse the decision." The

decision prevented Indiana from becoming a November State; a reversal would make it a November State, and the *Times* correspondent says that "it is significant of the disrepute into which the court has fallen, that *the general idea is* that it will be guided in its action entirely by the political situation." No decision will be made until near the time for the October election, and "then, if the political managers think they can carry the State and influence the November election, the court will allow the decision to stand, or at least will not reverse it until after election." But, "if the managers think the contest in October doubtful, or certainly against them, and that a Republican victory would end all hope for November, the court will not scruple to reverse its decision, throw the election over until November, and avoid the sure disaster which defeat in Indiana in October would precipitate." "That," adds the correspondent, "*is the feeling here.*" He has forgotten to mention one important fact—viz., that the petition for rehearing was the result of a corrupt arrangement between the defeated party and the Democratic managers. Such judges as the correspondent describes are very bad men, but no amount of badness will enable a judge to render partisan decisions until matters are brought before him for a hearing, and the opportunity for a reversal of the decision (originally unsatisfactory to the Republicans) is given by the Republicans themselves. How this can be the result of anything but a corrupt understanding between the Republican managers and the Democratic managers we do not see, and we beg to call our contemporary's attention to this aspect of the matter. Its correspondent is active and intelligent, and we feel confident that in the end he will get to the bottom of this Indiana conspiracy, which is one of the blackest in the annals of the bench. The *Albany Law Journal*, we notice, thinks that there is a good deal to be said on both sides of the question decided by the Indiana judges, but this was before the *Times* correspondent got at what the lawyers call the *ratio decidendi* of the case.

The annual report of the Texas-and-Pacific Railroad has been published, and is in some respects curious reading. This road has been of late years one of the most persistent and clamorous applicants for more subsidies from the Government, without which, it was stoutly maintained, it could not possibly be completed. After long and vain lobbying its managers came last year to the conclusion that there was no chance of getting the United States to help them to build the road, so they resolved in despair to build it themselves, and made a contract for six hundred miles of extension from Fort Worth to El Paso, the whole to be completed and equipped before the first of January, 1883. The work was begun promptly and has been prosecuted vigorously, and the report says 100 miles will be finished by October of this year, 50 more by April, 1881, and the rest within the time specified in the contract. The company will then have 1,140 miles of road, and expects in a few years to have only $25,000 of mortgage debt and $20,000 of capital stock per mile, as the capitalized cost of the road. Moreover, the business on the completed portion seems to be increasing rapidly. In fact, the outlook is cheerful in the highest degree, and shows what enterprising men can do when their attention is not distracted from their legitimate business by lobbying in Washington.

The Grand Jury which has been investigating the *Seawanhaka* disaster has found true bills for manslaughter against the owners, the captain, the engineer, and the Government inspectors. The presentment, with regard to the system of Government inspection, would have been much more effective had it been more judicial in tone; but the array of facts is such as has never before been made public in a civilized community. The jury state that an examination of seven engineers, licensed by the Inspector of Boilers and Machinery, has resulted in showing them all to be "incompetent for their several positions"; that there is no form or system of examination; that "not one of the licensed engineers examined by the jurors could answer the question how to ascertain the amount of steam in a boiler if for any reason such boiler had no steam-gauge," but that in several instances they admitted that they had "not got the education to figure it out"; that in the allowance of certificates to officers other than engineers "more consideration is given to the question of the applicant's availability for a 'special place' than to his general qualifications"; that the requirements of the law with regard to inspection "are not observed to any reasonable degree of accuracy or honest fulfilment"; that in many instances steam-vessels granted certificates are "absolutely unfit" for use; that vessels only fit for river navigation are permitted to carry thousands of excursionists miles out to sea; that the life-boats, floats, and preservers are in many cases insufficient in number, inconveniently placed, and in an unsafe condition; that no instance has been brought to the jury's attention of any drill or test being resorted to; that the annual examination required by law is grossly neglected, and that the *Seawanhaka* accident was directly caused by the licensing of incompetent officers, and the worthless system of inspection and equipment. They recommend the appointment of a "learned commission," and a thorough and complete revision of the laws. It does not need either learning or commissions, however, to tell us what is the trouble with the inspection.

Turkey had been allowed three weeks to put the Montenegrins in possession of Dulcigno, and at first signified her intention to do it within a still shorter period, and has despatched troops for that purpose, but still asks for a little delay. There is a general expectation, however, that she really means to keep her promise, but the difficulty has been suddenly increased by the Albanian declaration of independence. Pending the settlement of the Montenegrin difficulty, the Greek question is lying in abeyance, and it seems to be doubtful what will next be done about it. The French Government, supported with rather unusual unanimity by the French press, is said to decline joining in any coercive measures against Turkey on behalf of Greece, doubtless to Mr. Gladstone's great disappointment and chagrin. The *Temps* justifies this by alleging that France sought, at the Berlin Conference, to have the new Greek frontier line imposed on Turkey peremptorily as part of the requirements of the Treaty; but the matter was left open owing to the opposition of Lord Beaconsfield, and now that England has suddenly changed her Minister and her policy, France is not going to involve herself in war and precipitate the break-up of Turkey to satisfy Mr. Gladstone's "religious ideas and his love for the sons of Homer." Mr. Gladstone will now have to get help from some other quarter or else act alone, as Russia did. There is much reason to believe that this fear of precipitating a Turkish break-up will keep Austria and Germany back also, and that, in fact, nobody longs for it but Russia. But the Liberals have gone too far and are too much pledged to carry out the Treaty of Berlin, as against Turkey, to draw back now without most damaging discredit.

On August 11, two days after General Roberts's start for Kandahar, General Stewart withdrew with all his troops from Kabul, "in admirable order," and after "a very satisfactory interview" with Amir Abdurrahman, who came to the city for the purpose, before entering the Bala-Hissar in state. General Stewart's army was expected to reach Gandamak about the 17th, and thence, after a short halt, to proceed to and beyond "the scientific frontier," both military and political reasons demanding a complete evacuation of Kabulistan. General Roberts, marching in an opposite direction, made a good advance on the first day, and, as the country around him was quiet, he ought by this time to have reached and passed Ghazni. The longest and probably the most difficult stretch in his road is between Ghazni and Kelat-i-Ghilzai. The former city, after opening its gates to his still fresh force, may rise in arms after his turning his back on it. The country around Kelat-i-Ghilzai was undisturbed as late as the 12th, and its British garrison was abundantly supplied and in a condition to aid General Roberts with provisions. The news from Kandahar is even of later date, but less favorable and apparently less authentic. According to one report, Ayub Khan has begun the siege of that city in earnest, and "a heavy and continuous fire is kept up on both sides." General Phayre's advance is still delayed, and the regions adjoining his own base, Quettah, are, like the surroundings of Kandahar and of Chaman-Choki, beyond which he does not venture to march, scenes of skirmishes between British detached posts and aggressive natives. The hostile area is evidently extending.

THE WHITE SIDE OF THE SOUTHERN QUESTION.

THERE did not appear, at the late Republican conference in this city, to be much disposition among leading Republicans to go to the South to speak during the present canvass, and there is evidently a very strong disposition among many of them to rely on the old plan of "firing the Northern heart" by memories of the war, and by opposing a "Solid North" to a "Solid South." Mr. Wheeler, the Vice-President, whose voice is seldom or never heard in politics on any other subject, opened the campaign the other day in Vermont exactly as he opened it in 1876, by painting the Democrats as public enemies, of the same class as those who fought at Gettysburg, and their attempt to elect a President as a virtual continuation of that battle, to be met in the same spirit if not with the same weapons. Mr. Blaine is, thus far, the only speaker of note who has departed from this line, and addressed himself to economical topics. When Mr. Conkling takes the field, if he takes it at all, we may be sure we shall have the war view of the nature of the contest presented with the lurid rhetoric of which he is so great a master. If the Democrats are in truth a Mexican and not an American party—that is, a party seeking possession of the Government for the purpose of overthrowing it and plundering the Treasury, and not a party seeking possession of it in order to administer it constitutionally under the influence of different ideas—there is, of course, no use in sending orators to the South. It would be as absurd to do so as it would have been to send them into Lee's camp to argue him into disbanding his forces and going home. On this view, the one duty of the hour is to lash the Northern people into fury and distrust; or, in other words, to render them as impervious and indifferent as possible to what the Southern whites have to say for themselves. The first duty of a citizen in time of war is to turn a deaf ear to the enemy except when he cries for quarter, and quarter is only to be given to him when he agrees to stop disputing and accept the victor's terms.

This is, however, very distinctly the Mexican mode of conducting political campaigns; but the Mexicans conduct them in a much more rational manner than we do. As soon as a nomination is made the Mexican politician, instead of mounting a stump and denouncing his opponents as traitors and rebels who are beyond the reach of persuasion and deserve killing, gets his musket ready and begins to raise troops and drill them, and as soon as he sees a voter of the other side takes a shot at him. In order to provide funds for the campaign, instead of assessing the office-holders and sending out circulars asking for contributions from the faithful, he seizes the horses and cows and loose cash of the enemy and converts them into the sinews of war. He is right in this. With his view of the designs of the opposition he would act not only imprudently but absurdly in letting its voters come to the polls at all. The voting of men who mean to destroy the Government if they get a majority ought not to be permitted by any man who loves his country and thinks he has the preponderance of physical force on his side. If the Democrats in supporting Hancock are really engaged now in the same enterprise in which the South was engaged during the civil war, and are, as Mr. Wheeler says, for all practical purposes the same men who attacked the Cemetery at Gettysburg, it will be a very foolish thing to go through the forms of an election in November. If, however, it be thought better, on the whole, to hold the election, on the chance of their being beaten at the polls, the chance of their winning ought to be provided for, and the time now passed in holding meetings and distributing documents should be given to the raising and drilling of regiments and to collecting military stores.

The Conference, however, did not adopt the pessimistic view of the situation, and a resolution was passed requesting the National Committee to supply speakers for the South as far as practicable. We sincerely trust the Committee will be able to give effect to this resolution, and will take pains to do so. If it can send down leading and well-known speakers—that is, men who are known at the South to be influential in the Republican party—it will be a very important step, even if no immediate results from it are perceptible. It will be the first formal recognition by the Republican party that there is such a thing at the South as a White question. Hitherto the Southern question has been treated by the organs of the party, whether newspapers or speakers, as if it were simply and solely a Black question, whereas it is a combination of two questions, one black and the other white. The whites are more numerous than the blacks, and more energetic and able, and are far more potent for good or evil. The peace and prosperity of the South depend far more on their state of mind than they do on that of the blacks. In fact, to convince them, or win them over to Northern views of politics and manners, is to pacify the South permanently and to make an immense addition to the well-being of the whole Union, and nothing short of this will suffice. There has been, so far as we know, no public and conspicuous recognition whatever of this fact by the Republican party. All, or almost all, of its references to the Southern whites for the last fifteen years have been made in taunt or defiance, or in demands for degrading submission, like Mr. Charles Foster's complaint that the Southern members of Congress had made no public admission of their guilt in going to war. In nearly every Republican platform it has been, during all that period, the fashion to assume the *conscious* criminality of the 100,000 Southern whites who died on the battle-field, and of the survivors who sacrificed almost everything that they had in the world, except life, in the same cause. It has also been the fashion to assume that a Southern white ought not to have prejudices, or passions, or bitter memories, or foolish hopes; ought not to be ignorant, or stubborn, or turbulent—or, in fact, in any way different from a Massachusetts or Vermont white. It has been assumed, too, and is assumed to-day, in most discussions of the Southern reluctance to let negroes vote, that the question of negro suffrage is just as simple and as soluble for the South-Carolinian or Mississippian as for the New-Yorker—that is, that it is simply a question of abstract justice. The fact is that it is in some States a question whether the State government shall remain in the hands of the class which possesses nearly all the property and most of the intelligence and political sense of the community, or shall pass into the hands of a class without property, without education, and without a single political habit or tradition.

We are not now defending or attempting to defend the Southern method of solving the question. We are simply stating its real character, which Republican speakers and writers are apt to ignore; and yet we firmly believe that nothing has done more than this ignoring to keep up Southern resistance to Northern ideas. Southern whites are human like the rest of us. Providence has not created in those parts a new and peculiar human being, such as has hitherto been unknown in history. There is no Northern man who would not be exasperated by a counsellor who, in reprobating the smallness of his charitable donation, refused to hear what was the amount of his income, and insisted on assuming that it was a large one like his own. The conversion of the Southern whites to the ways and ideas of what is called the industrial stage in social progress, which is really what has to be done to make the South peaceful, is not a more formidable task than that which the anti-slavery men had before them fifty years ago in seeking to turn Northern opinion against "the peculiar institution." The intolerance to be encountered is no greater, while the natural forces which are aiding the change are much more powerful. But it must be effected, as that change was effected, by much speaking, not to the faithful but to the heathen, and by the kind of speaking which persuades men and not that which exasperates them. No good will ever be done, for instance, by telling Southerners that it is just as easy for them to accept negro suffrage as for Northerners to accept it, or that their first duty is to forget the dead who died at their bidding, or by asking them to admit, even for the sake of argument, their own moral inferiority and perversity. In short, the art of persuasion is just the same at the South as in other countries. To practise it successfully the prejudices, ignorances, and weaknesses of audiences have to be taken into account.

There is one other consideration which must not be overlooked. The South, in the structure of its society, in its manners and social traditions, differs nearly as much from the North as Ireland does, or Hungary, or Turkey. It has in common with the North religion, law, and language, which are very important, undoubtedly, as a basis to argue upon, but they are only a basis. They do not enable a man who has never been in the South or has never associated with the people to understand the real difficulties of the Southern problem now. There is no American of fair education who would not be ashamed to give himself

up for many years to declamation about Ireland, Hungary, or Turkey, and offer confidently to legislate for these countries and supply a complete cure for their respective evils, without ever visiting them or having anything but a superficial literary knowledge of them. And yet this, or something like it, is what most of the prominent Republican politicians have been doing with regard to the South for the last fifteen years. There is hardly one of them who has gone into that region since the war, except as a "Visiting Statesman" to brace up the Returning Boards; they have viewed the land from afar, through a very thick mist of misinformation, prejudice, and passion. Nothing would do more to give the party temper a more constructive and statesmanlike turn than a personal examination of the ground on which the phenomena to which they give so much of their attention actually take place. And nothing, as it seems to us, would do so much to win the Southern whites to a more sober and rational view of their situation than a fair opportunity of telling leading Northerners on the spot why they have such a dread of negro majorities, and of conferring with them as to the means of robbing these majorities of their terrors. Anyhow, one thing is certain—that a Solid North is no cure for a Solid South. You might as well say that hate would cure hate, or the vendetta put down murder. Any man who preaches it as a statesman's remedy preaches perennial bitterness.

AN AGRICULTURAL OUTLOOK.

THE recently published report of Messrs. C. S. Read and Albert Pell, who were sent by the Royal Agricultural Commission to enquire into the condition of agriculture in the United States and Canada with reference to its prospective influence upon British farming, is of course of interest to Americans. The report asserts that settlement of our free lands and the termination of the free ranges, by means of which millions of cattle and sheep are grown so cheaply, will increase the cost of production and consequently raise prices, which will be further enhanced by the increase in population, and therefore that the contest for agricultural supremacy will not result wholly in our favor: self-evident conclusions, but so simple that Americans have not thought of them, and of great importance to two nations. Free lands, cheap production and transportation, and favoring seasons here; high rents, oppressive taxation, and bad weather there, have combined to produce an agitation in the United Kingdom that bids fair to end in a land revolution, involving radical changes in the social system and in the methods of English agriculture. The British farmer prospered by reason of a dense population engaged in profitable manufacturing and commerce, the absence of injurious competition, and high prices for meat and wheat; American competition has made these products unprofitable, and they must give way to other crops; but farmers change slowly, and the interim is black with uncertainty—tempered, however, with the certainty of the repeal of obnoxious laws by the Liberal Government.

Though gathering momentum from the beginning, the great progress of this country has taken place within the past twenty years, owing to the rapid settlement and cultivation of Western lands, and we have been going on as if there were to be no exhaustion of the impelling force. The Government Land-Office supplies few facts for a careful analysis of the land question, but we can sift out enough for our purpose. The public domain in the "land States" comprised 1,814,788,922 acres; of this amount 734,591,236 acres had been surveyed and presumably disposed of up to June 30, 1879. Deducting also the Territory of Alaska, the unsurveyed desert territories of New Mexico, Arizona and Utah, Indian Territory, and the public lands in Florida and Louisiana, we have left about 500,000,000 acres in the desirable Northwest region; but from this we must again subtract the millions of acres of forest, mountain, swamp, desert, isolated flat prairie, watercourses, and sterile land, which as a free gift even would be a poor investment; also the many thousand unsurveyed "claims" of the pioneers. What remains of good land is now being disposed of at the rate of nearly ten million acres per year, and in an increasing ratio. In travelling through the Territories one sees the pioneer close to and among the foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains. Where five years ago buffaloes stopped the railroad-trains, now are seen grazing cattle and fields of wheat. The man who went on to the frontier five years ago now has a vanguard several hundred miles in advance of his ranch. The picket-lines of the approaching armies of settlers from the East and from the Pacific have met in the middle belt in Colorado and Utah, and the vast territories to the northward are being rapidly overrun by the conquerors. The graziers on the free ranges in New Mexico, Colorado, and the Northern Territories already complain of being crowded, and many of them are acquiring and fencing in large tracts for pasturage, which is a virtual abandonment of the free-grazing system. At the present rate of settlement the desirable free "homestead" lands will probably all be occupied before this decade has ended. There will still be many million acres of good land in the market at low prices, for, unfortunately, the railroads possess a large portion of the best lands in the Northwest; but even ten or five dollars per acre is very different from a free range over thousands of acres, and the land will necessarily more rapidly increase in value after the free lands are disposed of. Then there will be a corresponding advance in the cost of production. It matters little, under the free-range system, that a bullock requires several acres to graze upon, but on purchased land it is a factor which demands a different system of management and more capital in the business.

Increased cost of production in a great producing country, of course, means expansion of prices in the markets of the world. What this increase will be it is impossible to state, for there are other agencies at work to determine the result. Australia is becoming prominent as a food-producing country, and her position will be enhanced by the better facilities for transporting dead meat which are sure to be discovered soon; her wheat now commands a higher price in London than does American. Southern Russia contains vast tracts of as fertile soil as Kansas can boast, and steps are being taken for its development. India now sends wheat of superior quality to English markets, and her minister of agriculture reports her resources in this line as very great. What position the Continent of Africa, now being opened, is to hold in the world's markets is an important but unknown element in the equation; her immediate influence will be slight.

That our soil products will be greatly augmented as more land is tilled and better systems of culture are adopted may be safely affirmed; but it may be assumed, also, that the increase in amount will in the future, more nearly than in the past, keep pace with the growth of population. Then we shall have, proportionately, a smaller surplus to export. With less to sell abroad, and that at higher prices, our influence in foreign markets would cease to be the evil genius of British and Continental farmers. But even though we lose our agricultural supremacy abroad, the present outlook is that American agriculture will progress quite as rapidly henceforth as it has thus far done. Similar influences operated thus in England up to a few years ago, when the great tide of American competition poured into her markets, reducing prices without a corresponding rebate in the cost of production. The older States will suffer less from Western competition as the cheap lands become more valuable and home consumption increases with the growth of population in the sparsely settled districts. Western farmers will adopt more systematic and scientific and economical methods. Farmers generally will be obliged to use more working capital, which they will be enabled to do by reason of higher prices, and the facilities which will be forthcoming for the readier borrowing of capital on real-estate security. Business principles, with something of the system of manufacturing establishments, will continue to be applied in an increasing ratio. Crops will become more localized. It is rapidly being determined what products are best adapted to particular sections. East, West, and South may compete less with each other. Such products as blooded cattle, horses and sheep; poultry, milk, small fruits and garden crops; tannin-producing, fibrous and other plants used in manufacturing, may become the profitable specialties of the thickly populated districts; cereals, meat, cotton, wool, sugar, etc., of the broader fields and pastures. The sugar-beet rejuvenated the agriculture of Germany and France; the development of the industry for the production of sugar from beet-root and from sorghum is making rapid strides here, and, as we showed a few weeks ago, bids fair to save a large portion of the hundred million dollars now sent out of the country annually for sweetening. Other special crops, among them tea and coffee probably, will assist our agricultural progress. With greater

prospective emoluments we may expect that many able young men who now seek commerce and the professions will become farmers, which, with the slowly growing army of educated agriculturists, will tend to elevate the calling to the degree of dignity which it has attained in England and Saxony.

VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

THAT singing is one of those arts which the present generation is rapidly losing, is an opinion so often expressed by critics and amateurs that it seems worth while to examine how much truth there is in it. One thing certainly is true: the great age of song has passed away with the musical supremacy of Italy, and been replaced by the instrumental age, with Germany as a centre. And the causes of this change are, in the main, these: insufficient vocal training, the decline of the Italian opera, and the many advantages of instrumental over vocal music. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries schools of song flourished in Rome, Florence, Naples, and other Italian cities compared with which most of our modern conservatories are mere kindergartens. The average young American lady who dreams of cultivating her voice by taking a few lessons a week for a term or two at a music-school, might well heed the account given by Bontempi of the training given to pupils at the papal chapel about the middle of the seventeenth century. One hour a day was devoted to the singing of difficult passages, a second to the practice of the trill, a third to pure intonation—all in presence of the teacher, and with the help of a mirror, to avoid grimaces and observe the motion of tongue and mouth. Besides these, several hours were devoted to the study of expression and literature, several more to practice on the piano, composition, and the theory of music; and frequent opportunity was given to sing in church, while the Monte Mario was visited in order that the pupils might hear the echo of their voices and thereby study their own faults. After such training, and assisted by a climate most favorable to the human voice, one can hardly wonder so much at the feats said to have been performed by many of the *prime donne* and male *soprani* of the time. One of the latter could execute in one breath a chain of trills including every note through two chromatic octaves and back again. Another was rewarded by no less than five minutes' applause for the way in which he gradually swelled one note of an aria to the utmost capacity of his lungs and then as gradually returned to the scarcely-audible beginning. He then began to sing so rapidly that the band could hardly keep pace with him! When he was only seven years of age he had completely routed a celebrated trumpeter in Rome in a contest the aim of which was to see which of the two could hold out the longest on a note, pile the greatest number of trills on top of each other, and the like.

Such stories clearly show the prevailing taste of the time. People went to a musical entertainment very much as to a circus, not for artistic enjoyment but to behold a display of carefully-practised tricks. Sensuous beauty and agility of the voice outweighed all other considerations, such as the artistic value of the piece performed or histrionic talent. The composers, accordingly, were mere assistants whose duty it was to furnish a background on which a vocalist could paint his roulades, trills, and other fancy-work. In course of time a change was effected, in so far as the art of embellishing a melody was no longer left to the singer, but was prescribed for him by the composer himself. This period culminated in Rossini and Meyerbeer, whose chief aim in life was to observe what impression certain vocal tricks, such as very high notes and rapid passages, made on the crowd, and then to utilize them at every favorable opportunity, especially at the close of a scene, so as to secure applause and an encore. Rossini has now almost entirely disappeared from the stage, but Meyerbeer, owing to a shadow of dramatic talent which he doubtless did possess, is still popular, if not with people of refined musical taste, yet with those who think it their duty to be "cosmopolitan," and with the crowd of semi-musical people who in all large cities form the majority of an operatic audience. The only full-blooded representative of the old prima-donna type for whom this sort of music was written now living is Madame Patti, although even she has been obliged to yield to altered taste, in so far as she may no longer with impunity alter the notes of melodies contained in her rôles. The sensuous charm of Patti's voice is so great that she not only throws the crowd into convulsions of enthusiasm, but even leads sober critics to ascribe to her characteristics which we have found it difficult to discover in her. What is said of her skill as an actress and her fine mimic display seems in itself doubtful, since she hardly ever appears in a rôle that calls for any of these qualities. When she does appear in a work that has a real dramatic plot her weakness is fully exposed to light. Almost any second-rate prima-donna at a German opera-house gives a more correct notion of the genuine *Gretchen* one expects to see in "Faust" than Patti. It is positively painful to see her parodying the simple, modest German girl in the scene where *Faust* offers to escort her home, by appearing in a long, trailing silk robe, just from Paris, and strutting across the stage with the proud air of an offended peacock.

But it is useless to try to make an old-fashioned prima donna in her gigantic self-conceit understand that the first aim of a dramatic singer should be to merge her personality in the part assumed, just as a novelist must of all things beware of intruding his personality on the reader. Patti reminds one of an artist who would insist on painting his own figure in the foreground of every picture he makes. Every tone, every gesture of hers plainly says to the audience: "Behold and hear the great Patti, the adored of all adorers. What would this music be without Patti to sing it?" Such an attitude, combined with sensuous beauty of voice, is sure to impose on the public and bring down the house, because the people of taste who look for something else have always been in a minority. And this enables us to understand why in the days of the famous Italian singers audiences were habitually thrown into such states of wild excitement, compared with which the scant and artificial applause in modern theatres might seem a mere "damning with faint praise." Southern excitability has to be taken into account here; but the main difference lies in the fact that the æsthetic pitch, so to say, has since been considerably raised, and, while more art is expected of a singer than was formerly the case, the growth of emotional culture has tended to repress the extravagant expression of feeling by applause. Although mere beauty of voice and fine personal appearance will still draw a full and enthusiastic audience in very large cities, like London, Paris, and Berlin, where a house can be entirely filled with people belonging to an earlier stage of musical culture, there is at least one city in Europe where these qualities no longer suffice. Patti's complete fiasco in Munich last winter was an event no less intelligible than significant for the future. It is a well-known fact that no vocalist now stands a chance of securing an engagement in a German theatre unless he combines with a good voice a considerable amount of histrionic talent. Niemann, Betz, Vogel, Materna, Brandt, Wekerlin are the leading German vocalists belonging to the class of "fixed stars," and they are all of them Wagner-singers *par excellence—i. e.*, vocalist-actors. It must be admitted that the sensuous beauty of these voices is not comparable to that of the Italians. But a musician does not look for sensuous beauty of tone alone; he would rather have less of it and more expression, more dramatic art. And what we have lost in sensuous beauty of voice is a hundred times atoned for by the quality of the works performed and by the brilliant sensuous colors the orchestra adds to the vocal parts by its symphonic accompaniment.

The extinction of the old species of vocalists need not, therefore, inspire us with despondent thoughts as to the future of the vocal art. A new species is gradually coming into existence better adapted to present circumstances. But there is another apparent enemy to song whose inroads may seem of a more dangerous nature. Since the days of Beethoven instrumental music has been gaining more and more ground on vocal, so that the predilection of artists for the former might naturally raise a doubt as to whether the general notion that vocal music is the highest branch of the art is quite correct. A smooth and well-trained voice indeed has more elementary beauty and is capable of more intense and varied expression than any instrument, the nearest approach to the voice being in the case of the 'cello and horn. But such a voice is scarcely ever to be heard, while good instruments are abundant enough. Again, while an orchestra that can play a difficult composition in perfect time and tune is not an uncommon spectacle, at least in Europe, we have heard few choruses that could, unaided by an orchestra, do the same without flatting half-a-tone or more, and the same is true of individuals. Of course it must not be overlooked here that while the members of an orchestra are almost always professional artists, who devote all their time to their art, choral societies are usually composed of amateurs of all professions, who perhaps seldom sing a note except when they meet for a rehearsal. This, combined with previous insufficient training, accounts for the inferiority of vocal performances. Still more has instrumental music gained over vocal by the fact that its resources are so much greater. A whole evening of pure vocal music is apt to become monotonous, because, even in a mixed chorus of male and female voices, the variety of clang-tints or tone-colors is quite limited; and the modern ear requires a variety in this respect which only a full band with its infinite possibilities of combinations can satisfy. A vocal concert bears the same relation to an instrumental as the unchanging blue sky of a summer day does to the gorgeous hues of a fine sunset. The compass, too, of the human voice is very limited, and its powers of executing difficult and rapid passages still more so. No wonder, therefore, that musical Titans like Beethoven, seeing that the voice did not suffice (in this sense) for the expression of their glowing and varied thoughts, gave the preference to the many-tongued orchestra, whose resources are not so readily exhausted.

It may well be questioned whether vocal music will ever recover its lost supremacy. In this country the unfavorable climate offers another obstacle to the growth of this art which probably the most judicious training and constant practice can never entirely overcome. The harsh and disagreeable voices of our beautiful American women are proverbial, and a source of constant surprise and dismay to admiring foreigners. In our colleges, where young men from all regions and classes congregate, a good tenor voice is so great a rarity that a glee club is frequently brought to the brink of dissolution

simply for lack of it. All this seems to hint at the advisability of our paying especial attention to instrumental music in this country rather than to vocal. The great interest taken in some of our larger cities in the latest works of German instrumental composers is in part, no doubt, matter of fashion, and partly also owing to the exotic charms of the new and pleasing tone-color effects heard in them. But much is due to genuine admiration and intelligent appreciation, so that, all things considered, we are inclined to think that the future musical development of America will lie chiefly in the direction of instrumental compositions and concerts.

ROCHEFORT AND GAMBETTA.

PARIS, July 28, 1880.

OUR beautiful national fête of the 14th of July has been but a day's truce to party contention, which was renewed on the morrow with fresh ardor. First of all, the fête itself was the subject of the liveliest and most adverse criticism from the enemies of the Republic. I never better understood to what a degree party spirit disposes men to see things through colored glasses, sometimes black, sometimes rose-tinted. On this occasion the Royalist spectacles were of the deepest black. Although this entirely popular fête passed off brilliantly, untroubled by any vexatious incident, thanks to the spontaneous co-operation of our citizens, it has been depicted in the Clerical and Bonapartist newspapers either as a frigid official ceremony or as a saturnalia. The journals of the embittered Orleanists went so far as to say that Paris that day had given herself up to one of those orgies which prepared the massacre of the hostages. When contemporary facts witnessed by more than a million of people are falsified in this way, we can easily understand the difficulty there is in verifying the testimony of historians about past events. If the interest of any person leads him to believe that two and two are five, or that it is night at noon, he will think that it is so, whatever may be shown to the contrary.

It is not, however, the Royalist contention which has made the most noise lately; that party vented all its wrath when the first of the 29th of March decrees was executed against the Jesuits, whose appeal is pending before the tribunals, and will be brought before the "tribunal des conflits," a special court, called on to decide if such or such an act of a Government agent has been accomplished in conformity with the instruction of his superiors in the administrative hierarchy as to enforcing the laws of the country, or if he is personally responsible for violence committed. In the first case the "tribunal des conflits" will decide that the agent is not responsible and cannot be prosecuted. It is the Government itself which ought to be sued, and that can only be done in parliament, the only power able to modify the law when it has been executed. In the second case a suit can be brought against a Government agent as a private individual for having exceeded his instructions. The "tribunal des conflits," then, will have to determine whether the police commissaries who expelled the Jesuits from their houses have executed the laws of the land or have committed an illegal act. In consequence of the law-court vacations it is not probable that this serious affair will be decided before the autumn, and it appears certain that the Government will wait for the decision before proceeding to execute the second decrees of the 29th of March last, according to which the non-recognized congregations, other than the Jesuits, will not be expelled unless they refuse to ask for authorization by communicating their statutes to the Government. As yet they have persisted in their refusal, upon the ground that in their opinion the laws put in force against them no longer exist. For my part, I ardently hope the Government, before judgment is pronounced by the "tribunal des conflits," will prepare a law on the right of association, which will enable them to sanction such recognized fraternities as have nothing in their statutes contrary to the laws of the country. It cannot be denied that the expulsion of five hundred religious orders, among which are four hundred for women, from their houses will cause dangerous agitation, and will excite religious passions in the highest degree, to the great detriment of public peace and the consolidation of our present institutions.

As I have said, it is not just now the Royalist party who are making the most noise; it is the extreme Radical party, whose hero and chief is the celebrated Rochefort. Since the amnesty he has returned to Paris, where he was welcomed with a frenzied ovation; the mob all but harnessed themselves to his cab. Not a day passes without his presiding over some club, by which he is always enthusiastically greeted. When he arrived he immediately published a morning paper entitled *L'Intransigeant* ("The Non-compromiser"), in which he overwhelms M. Gambetta with sarcasm, accusing him of being the personification of opportunism—that is to say, of the policy which does not seek to realize at once the democratic programme, deeming it wiser to effect reforms gradually and opportunely. It is truly strange to see any political party taking inopportuneness as a principle of conduct, for until now it had been considered as the surest means of miscarriage for any project of reform. Moreover, the difference between M. Gambetta's party and extreme radicalism rests not only upon the haste needed in carrying out reforms; they differ as to the reforms themselves. M. Gambetta's programme is that of the great majority of Republicans; it is reasonable and aims at progress in all things, but without attacking the fundamental laws of society. The programme of M. Rochefort and his "uncompromising" followers is one of socialistic demagogues, with nothing precise about it, and this very vagueness opens the door to all sorts of folly. His first article was on the rehabilitation of the detestable Commune insurrection of 1871. This is the good news M. Rochefort preaches in our faubourgs, more by his incisive writing than by his speech, for he is no orator, and before a crowd he can only stammer. He is none the less applauded, however.

Whence comes this strange popularity? It arises from two causes—first, from the mortal blows Rochefort dealt Napoleon III., then at the height of his power, in the famous pamphlet *La Lanterne*, and subsequently to the aureole of the proscribed bold fugitive from New Caledonia. The people of the faubourgs do not enquire whether this proscription was not in its day the just condemnation of the courtier of the Commune, who excited it in his journal to every excess which did not involve the effusion of blood. It must also be acknowledged that Rochefort pleases the workmen of our faubourgs by a certain personal similarity of character. This descendant of the Comtes de Rochefort, aristocratic in his tastes and habits, is by the nature of his intellect a real Parisian gamin; he has their inexhaustible buffoonery, sportive spirit, broad sayings, and impertinent mockery. He produces the effect of a real clown amusing a theatre by his gambols and grimaces. He has thus become, as formerly the Duc de Beaufort during the Fronde, king of the Halles. He will not long remain so, for this kind of work soon uses a man up. Moreover, he has not the strength to contend against Gambetta, as we shall soon see when the lion shakes his mane and sends forth a powerful roar. The French people are too intelligent to approve for long of the great tribune, who personified patriotism during the war, being compared to the perjurer of the 2d of December and the vanquished of Sedan. Rochefort can only hope to please the excessive radicals, but to continue in that vein he must always be ahead of them. Now, in this steeple-chase of revolutionary folly one is certain to be surpassed. At the very moment Rochefort and his friends believed themselves in the vanguard a Communist congress was held at Paris to excommunicate them as vile citizens and unworthy confederates. It is true that one of the programmes unfolded at this congress consisted of but two articles: first, petroleum; second, nitrate of potassium. All these insanities, by being circulated in theory, have the effect of destroying each other. The present moderately republican government having done everything this year to further the material interests of the country, which was never more prosperous, and to reform and ameliorate all branches of public instruction, can present itself fearlessly before the electors of the Councils-General, now about to meet, and will no doubt receive from them a signal confirmation of their policy.

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GERMANY AND THE POPE.—I.

BERLIN, July, 1880.

WITH the adjournment of the Prussian Diet and the closing of the Berlin Conference we have entered upon our dull season. Court and courtiers, cabinet ministers and deputies, privy councillors and judges, all have shaken off the dust of the capital and retreated to the sea and the mountains to gather strength for the recommencement of their up-hill work in the fall.

While the success of the diplomatic achievements depends on their acceptance by Turkey, which at present is more than doubtful, the meeting of the foreign diplomatists is already forgotten, as if it had taken place years ago; but the new bill, popularly known as the Canossa Bill, which became a law on July 14, still stands in the foreground of public interest and debate. Instead of finding a quiet corner in the statute-book, it is now argued about and reviewed by all political parties. Although the original draft of the bill was so much amended that in its present shape it is nearly harmless, the circumstances under and views with which it was submitted to the Diet mark an important epoch in our political history. This law was a great political blunder. At a moment when all the resources of our bitterest foe had been exhausted, when France and Belgium appeared on the scene to join us in the battle, it stopped the struggle with Rome, and offered a peace which had been disdainfully rejected by the same adversary for whose benefit it is alleged to have been proposed. Bismarck, it is true, has not yet "gone to Canossa," but he has taken the train for that station. In one word, we are parting with a policy which, when initiated in 1872, was hailed by the great majority of the nation as the harbinger of Germany's firm and final resolution to have done once for all with Roman arrogance, usurpation, and encroachment upon the sovereignty of the Empire.

Several influences have brought about this change. They can partly be traced to court circles. The Emperor is growing older and weaker in mind. His wife, who has always been a fierce opponent of Falk's manly attitude towards Rome, has lately acquired greater influence over her husband. The old gentleman wishes to die in peace with all his subjects, and particularly

cherishes the idea of celebrating the completion of the Cologne Cathedral this fall with all the royal and clerical paraphernalia—the archbishop, of course, included. This archbishop, however, for disobedience to the laws, has been sentenced to be deposed, and has taken refuge in Holland. He, therefore, must be recalled and re-established to enable him to assist officially at the festivities. Personal considerations, however, would not amount to much if they did not meet Bismarck's policy half-way, who, as always, is also in this matter the moving and leading spirit. The motives which he gave for bringing in this bill were, in the first place, to fill about a thousand vacancies created by the former removal and deposition of disobedient ministers, parsons, and curates, and thus do away with a state of distress deeply felt by the Catholic population; and, secondly, to prove to the Pope by deeds his conciliatory spirit. In fact, however, Bismarck either wanted to annihilate or to win over to himself the Ultramontanes of the German Reichstag and Prussian Diet. Since the summer of 1878, when he first instituted his protective policy, he has been looking out for a parliamentary party strong enough to carry through his measures. Having abandoned the Liberals he had to rely on the alliance of the Conservatives and the clericals. The latter, by forcing through the Reichstag the Chancellor's tariff bill, had proved a very useful tool in his hands, but they refused to follow his banner indiscriminately, and asked to be rewarded for their services. Bismarck, however, did not see fit to comply with their demands, and bitterly attacked them in the Reichstag. This time he changed his tactics and tried to catch them by holding out the prospect of burying the *Kulturkampf*, which, had he succeeded, would, of course, have given him more strength at home and abroad; but Rome and its German followers did not swallow the bait.

The history of the transaction can be given in a few words: Leo XIII., in a letter addressed (February 24) to the deposed Archbishop of Cologne, had declared that, although he could not acquiesce in the Prussian laws, he was willing to tolerate at least some of their provisions—for instance, to allow the bishops to comply with the one duty imposed upon them by our Government, viz., to report the names of candidates for clerical appointments (*Anzeige-Pflicht*). The Pope could the sooner submit to this portion of the Prussian law as in smaller German states—for instance, in Oldenburg, Würtemberg, and others—he had never objected to and still practically acknowledges it. When, however, on March 17, 1880, the Prussian Cabinet solemnly declared that, provided Leo would bind himself to instruct the Prussian bishops to inform the Government of their appointees, it would moderate the Falk Laws, the Pope at first hung back and at last haughtily rejected this demand. Nevertheless, on May 19, the Prussian Government introduced its so-called Canossa Bill in the Diet, thus sacrificing the essential principles of the legislation of 1873, while the Pope, by withdrawing his private assent, declared that the Curia would have nothing to do with the Falk laws, and threatened any Catholic deputy who should vote for the Government with major excommunication. In ordinary life, the man who gives up the claims on the strength of which he opened hostilities, and pleads for peace, is considered as having succumbed and been beaten. Here the whole Protestant world looked at the question from the same point of view, and, with the exception, perhaps, of a few state officials, could not understand why the Government yielded to a Pope who not only rejected its offers but also insisted on the maintenance of his old ground. Every independent man wanted to have the Catholic clergy unconditionally subjected to the laws of the country before negotiations should be entered into, and this was the right way to look at the question.

The Diet struck out the most obnoxious features of the bill and did much to make the defeat of the Government appear less overwhelming; but it was rather the introduction of the bill itself at the present time than the several provisions of the bill which constituted the Government's defeat. The law was finally adopted by only 206 against 202 votes. The majority consisted of the Conservatives of all shades and 49 National-Liberals, while the minority was represented by the undivided Progress party, the whole Centre, and 44 National-Liberals. The latter, therefore, who in the beginning denounced the bill as outrageous, are responsible for its passage. The National-Liberal party, which under Twesten, Forckenbeck, Lasker, Braun, Bamberger, and others for more than fourteen years was the leading parliamentary factor, and to whose influence the country is chiefly indebted for all that is liberal and progressive in the new laws and constitution, has lately, under the leadership of Bennigsen and Miguel, become a too obedient tool of Bismarck. The more he kicks that party the more ardent they become in their devotion and subserviency. When the Chancellor introduces a new reactionary measure in open contrast to his former policy they support it, in order, as they say, to deprive the Centre of the chance of joining the Conservatives. Thus Bismarck has so far regularly played a double game, and by appealing to the National-Liberals in case of need has always gained his point. This time the party justified its yielding to Bismarck's pressure by the same shallow pretexts of compromise, and even declared that although they did not know where the Government was going to lead them, they would nevertheless follow its wise policy. This piece of masterly logic reminds one of the deputy who, hailing from some German Buncombe, once said: "I do not know the Government's views and tendencies, *and therefore* approve of them." It is of no great importance that the National-Liberals have committed suicide, as other and wiser men of less compromising propensities will and must occupy their places, but their great fault is that by pushing a bad law through the House they have only thrown new obstacles in the road to peace.

Practically, even the law may turn out rather innocent, as its principal features are limited to a short period—viz., to January 1, 1882—and as the Roman clergy in their present haughtiness will, like the Centre, scorn to avail themselves of the benefits offered. It is, on the whole, rather irrelevant whether some Catholic orders and associations for nursing the sick shall extend the field of their usefulness, and whether the priests who are regularly appointed shall henceforth be authorized to administer the holy sacraments to the inhabitants of those parishes which by legal sentence have lost their disobedient curates. It is even more correct, and in keeping with the canon law, that bishops and clergymen in future cannot be removed by the Government, but only be declared unfit to occupy any official position, although this article is of no practical value, for the simple reason that such proceedings are no longer pending. The most important concession of the law, therefore, in my eyes, consists in the permission granted to German clergymen to be educated in institutions of learning over which the Prussian Government has no control, and over which the Jesuits preside. The Government even went so far as to dispense with the oath of allegiance on the part of the clergy, and held out to them a prospect of getting their forfeited salary paid before they had acknowledged the supremacy of the laws of the land. The most obnoxious provision of the original bill, however, was article four, which was rejected by a large majority, including part of the Conservatives, and which granted pardon and return of the bishops before they had solemnly asked forgiveness for their past offences, and promised obedience for the future.

The Ultramontanes are, therefore, perfectly right in considering the but partial success of the measure as a defeat of the Government. They are now holding meetings in all the large cities where they command a majority and praising the policy of the Centre, and insisting upon the divine right of the Church, according to which the control of the schools does not belong to the state. The Falk laws, they declare, are shattered to their foundations, and must be totally abolished; and they consider it the duty of the Government to make peace with the Church at once by giving up its worldly presumptions, and by "reinstating the clergy in its old liberties and inalienable rights." Compliance with these demands on the part of the Government would virtually amount to nothing less than absolute surrender. By the introduction of that lamentable law the hopes and claims of the irreconcilable Ultramontane party have reached such a height that they will double their resistance, and that it will daily become more impossible to arrive at a *modus vivendi*.

Bismarck, for the present, if I am not mistaken in his character, will make his defeat the occasion for letting the Ultramontanes feel his anger more than ever before; but against his will influences already make themselves felt which as yet work clandestinely, but will in time publicly appear. It is the ultra-orthodox Protestant and Conservative party which, supported by the powerful assistance of members of court circles, is looking out for an alliance with the Catholic clergy, and is preparing for action behind the scenes. Puttkamer, the present Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, is a man as weak as he is frivolous. To-day a tool in the hands of Bismarck, he will to-morrow execute the orders of the court clique, or try to combine the wishes of both. The other day the *Reichsanzeiger* (the official organ), among new appointments, recorded that a Mr. de la Croix had been given the highest position under Puttkamer. This De la Croix, a mere creature of the "Ober-Kirchenrath," is one of the captains of the campaign which, in the next Reichstag, will be initiated by attacks on the civil-marriage bill, "a work of the devil," as our high-churchmen are wont to characterize it. The death of the Emperor, or some other untoward event, may postpone this clerical scheme, but cannot frustrate the attempt. The German Empire will never be firmly established on a solid foundation until it has defeated the combined efforts of Roman and Protestant ultras. For the last thousand years it has been our sad privilege to fight out the religious struggles of mankind. Since the re-establishment of the Empire we are less than ever willing to surrender to religious conspirators those great intellectual conquests and that political freedom which, emanating from the noblest feelings of human nature, were asserted by the sacrifice of the best blood of the country and of untold treasures. Unfortunately, by Bismarck's rather too shrewd and therefore unsuccessful stratagem, we are, after an eight years' struggle, not at the end, but at a new beginning of the old politico-clerical conflict. ? ?

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF CATHERINE DE MÉDICIS.

PARIS, July 23, 1880.

HISTORY is, in one sense, never written, never definitive. The modern historical school is positivist, in so far as it does not indulge in great theories; it looks into the documents of the time, and especially those docu-

ments which, not having been made for publication, are thought to be the most sincere. I know the method has its defects; the documents which are now thought the most important, the most genuine, are not necessarily infallible. People can lie in writing as they do in speaking. Original documents are necessarily fragmentary, and it is necessary that the historian should not only accumulate fragments, but that he should reconstruct a whole, as a palæontologist reconstructs a lost organic form from fossil remains. How can the palæontologist do so? Because there is a plan in the creation, because nothing in it is quite arbitrary. If you give to the naturalist a part he can safely reconstruct the whole. No fossil is found in New Zealand or in the Rocky Mountains which does not find, as it were, a place all ready for it in this long and gradual succession which marks the development of the same creative form.

It is so with history: the historian can reconstitute a time, a race, a character out of fragmentary documents, a few treaties, letters, anecdotes, genealogical notes; but he can only do so on one condition—he must be a moralist. He must be a great analyzer of human thought, he must have dived into the dark abyss of human depravity. Documents, as mere documents, are nothing; they are like the uncut stones spread over an area before the building is erected. Give us the architect, the man who will take all these stones and suspend them in the air, and unite them in one great, huge, harmonic whole. We are very apt to mistake the means for the end, and there are now in Germany, France, and England men who love documentary history for its own sake, without any regard for the actors of history or the ends of history. This reaction was a necessity. We have had too many systematic histories written without any regard to facts, often with perverted facts, for the amusement of the mind, for the glorification of some religious or political theory. But there is danger also in the mere accumulation of documents if these are never to be worked out, for the human mind would soon grow tired of historical science if it never gave any satisfaction to its profounder instincts. The most pressing duty is to collect all valuable documents; then comes the duty of classifying them and extracting from them something real, something which has some resemblance to life.

Many years ago we began in France a colossal publication of 'Inedited Documents for the History of France.' In this great collection, which is published by the state, and at its expense, there are some volumes which are not very important; some others of the very highest importance. It will be enough to say that the collection comprises all the known correspondence of Henry IV. (ten volumes quarto), and the enormous correspondence of Richelieu (six volumes quarto). Some volumes are on the point of appearing which contain the correspondence of Catherine de Médicis. The correspondence of Mazarin will, I hope, be published some day, but it is so long that I hardly dare say how many volumes it would fill. The correspondence of Catherine de Médicis was entrusted to M. Hector de la Ferrière, who has written a long preface to his great publication accompanying the first volume, which is printed but not yet distributed. Catherine de Médicis, though Italian—of the great family of the Medici—had a Frenchwoman for her mother, Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne. The Italian influence was, however, the strongest in the formation of her character. She was educated at Rome, and was a great favorite of Clement VII., who was her uncle. She learned there the art of dissimulation, in which the Italians of the time were the greatest masters. She was admired in her earliest youth for her calmness and dignity, her power over herself and her emotions. She is said to have fallen in love at Rome with her cousin Ippolito de' Medici, the natural son of Giuliano de' Medici, who was very handsome (Titian has left us his portrait); but the Pope had higher views for her, and gave her to the first king in Christendom, the King of France. She was affianced to the second son of Francis I. Her Roman education explains almost all her life; she always remained in communication with the nuns of a convent where she had spent many hours; she had breathed the artistic air of Florence, of Rome, seen or known the greatest artists the world ever saw, had become a Christian of the Renaissance type, of the Medici and Leo X. type—her Catholicism had a tinge of paganism; she was well disposed towards what were called then the novelties in every sense of the word, but Protestantism could not well suit her in its stern and Puritanic form. It has often been said by historians that Catherine was completely indifferent in matters of religion; that she was an unbeliever, a sceptic; that it was the same to her to go to mass or to *aller au prêche;* she herself said many things which tended to produce this impression. She was not a theologian, and political necessities as well as personal considerations often inclined her towards some of the Protestant leaders; but instinct is stronger than everything, and after having read many documents of the time, I have no doubt that she remained throughout a Roman, if not a Roman Catholic; that she liked what was called the *old* religion, if she did not much care about its dogmas. She had a strong leaning towards some of the Protestants, not towards Protestantism. The Protestant leaders whom she knew and liked were men like Soubise, the first gentlemen in the country; she was fond of poetry and literature, and in the beginning Marot was on the side of the Protestants as well as the learned bishops of the kingdom.

Catherine was almost a child in years when she arrived in France; but her character was completely formed—she had all the precocity of her race. She was married at Marseilles by Clement VII. himself, who gave the ring to the young couple. The Duchess of Orleans (such became her name) wore a crown so laden with diamonds that it was "worth a kingdom," to use the words of a contemporary. Her pearls were the finest known in the world; she afterwards made a necklace of them, which she gave to Queen Mary Stuart, and they finally came into the possession of Queen Elizabeth. Splendid presents were exchanged at Marseilles, for Francis I. would be surpassed by nobody in generosity. When the dower of Catherine was counted in the hands of the French treasurer-general, "It is larger than it appears," said Philip Strozzi; "you forget three jewels which are added to it: Milan, Genoa, and Naples." Francis I. had his mind always turned toward Italy, and the alliance with the Medici family was a card in his play against the house of Spain. As France did not much like the perpetual wars on the other side of the Alps, the young Italian princess was coldly received by the people. The first years which Catherine spent in France were not happy. She lost her beloved uncle, the pope; she lost her cousin, whom she had loved, who had gone with her as far as Marseilles, and who had proudly refused the presents of Francis I. She was living as a stranger at the French court—very reticent, very silent. Nobody cared much for her except the astute Charles V. "Write to me," says he to his ambassador, "what sort of treatment is shown the Duchess of Orleans; what people she has with her; if they have as much credit and receive as much respect as they did in the time of Pope Clement VII. . . . Write to me all you can hear about her." Charles V. had wished to marry Catherine to Francis Sforza, the Duke of Milan.

The death of the dauphin suddenly justified the curiosity of Charles V., as Catherine was now the future queen of France. She had very carefully put herself in the good graces of the king. Her own husband, who was now the dauphin, neglected her; he was under the influence of the famous Diane de Poitiers. Catherine understood fully the character of Francis. The king was in the habit of being adored; he was like a spoiled child; he had been everything at first to his mother, Louise of Savoy; he was the idol of his sister, Margaret of Angoulême, the most charming and learned princess of her time. Catherine became the intimate of the old king; she amused him with Italian manuscripts, Italian poets; she rode with him, hunted with him. "She never left the king," says Brantôme, her great admirer, "and always could follow him, as she was a very good rider and very bold, and had a good seat, having been the first to put her leg on the saddle" (before her, ladies had what was called a *planchette*). But Catherine had no child, and for many years it was thought that she could give no heir to the crown. Diane de Poitiers even advised the dauphin to repudiate her. Francis, fond as he was of the young Italian princess, had some thoughts of a divorce. After a few years Catherine had her first child, and her position became more assured. From that moment she changed her manner; the old king died, and Catherine became the Queen of France.

She had a rival, and a most insolent rival, in the person of Diane de Poitiers. Diane was, in fact, the real queen; Henry II. could refuse nothing to her. Wherever the court went all eyes were drawn to the famous Diane much more than to Catherine; she received the presents of the cities. At the ceremony of the entrance into Lyons, for instance—Lyons, which owed so much to the Medici, seemed to forget Catherine. A forest was improvised at the gate of the city, and out of it came a Diana with a silver crescent, with a black gown, spread with silver stars, followed by nymphs who held young dogs with leashes of black and white silk, the colors of the king. The fine bindings of Henry II., kept at the National Library, show us everywhere the crescent of Diana; it is seen everywhere on the Louvre. Diane was the acknowledged sovereign. She was in communication with all the courts, with Charles V., with the Pope. Old as she was now, her charm was irresistible. She interested the king in great constructions, in the adornment of Anet. She received enormous sums of money, and the legitimate queen was reduced to a slender portion. We have the accounts of Catherine's expenses, kept with the greatest care. In the year 1558, for instance, the receipts amount to 57,421 livres, the expenses to 59,331; nothing is omitted. Catherine had the expensive tastes of her race, but she could not yet indulge them; she had also the orderly habits of a family of "mercanti."

Henry II. was a good father, if he was not a good husband. Catherine gave him now a child every year, leading the life of a nurse, and her correspondence is full of small medical details about the children. She had no other means for preserving, in a certain degree, the cold affection of the king. She was jealous of her rival, but she shut her eyes. She never acknowledged the Duchess of Valentinois as the mistress of the king. She lived with her in apparent ignorance. "She is wise and prudent," says the Venetian Contarini; "no doubt she is fit to govern." There is no doubt that she hated Diane with a bitter hatred, so much so that afterwards she would not even look at Anet, the place adorned by Diane; but she concealed her

feelings as long as Henry II. lived. Her dissimulation was, so to speak, intense and farseeing. "Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare." If this axiom be true, she was well-prepared to rule when Henry II. fell accidentally in a tournament. What were her sentiments towards Henry? It would be difficult to say. Her manifestations of sorrow when he died were rather too dramatic. She took for her device

"Ardorem extinctâ testantur vivere flammâ,"

with a mountain of chalk, on which drops of water fall. Everywhere she had embroidered trophies, broken glasses, broken chains, and so on. These symbols were the fashion of the time. She never left off her mourning, and she had also for device a broken lance, with these words:

"Lacrymæ hinc, hinc dolor."

We must observe her now as a queen, coming to an almost absolute power after years of dissimulation, of a careful study of men and things; with no profound sentiment except her maternal love, which was ardent; selfish in so far as the rule of her children was her own rule; despotic—sincere at the same time, as maternal love always is. She cared not for France; she cared more for the Catholic religion; she cared chiefly for her race and for the race to which she was allied—for the Medici and the Valois.

Correspondence.

THE MOMMSEN TRIBUTE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I see with interest, in the letter of one of your correspondents, a proposal to start a subscription to be sent to Professor Mommsen in token of the sympathy of some Americans in his great loss. I am one of those who earnestly hope such a scheme may be carried out, and that in doing so modest sums may not be despised, for those are all that many of us can give.

An Admirer of Learning.

August 13, 1880.

[We will undertake to receive and forward any sums which may be sent for the above purpose to this office.—Ed. Nation.]

THE DE GOLYER BUSINESS ONCE MORE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your defence of Garfield's De Golyer transaction you lay stress on the assertions that "the money to pay for this work was not to come from appropriations by Congress," that "it seems impossible that it could have been contemplated . . . that appropriations would be asked from Congress," and that "no appropriation by Congress could have been in contemplation." It is very natural that so much stress should be laid on this point in a defence of Garfield, because, *if true*, it is of momentous importance to his case. But is it true? Is it not the fact that all of the De Golyer pavement laid in front of the public buildings (a very important portion of the whole) had to be paid for by an appropriation from Congress, and that such appropriation was afterwards actually made upon the recommendation of Garfield's Appropriation Committee? If this was the case, it would fully account for the exultation shown in the letters written by the chief agent of the De Golyer paving job when he had secured the influence of Garfield.

Let us suppose, however, that you are right on *this* point, and then see how the case stands for Garfield. The admitted facts are that he accepted a payment of five thousand dollars for advocating a corrupt job. That the job was corrupt is not only admitted by its promoters, but is obvious from the terms on which the contracts were let. As you say, the Board of Works *fixed in advance* the prices (admittedly exorbitant) which they would pay for the different kinds of pavement, and the only question was which kinds should be used at the fixed prices. You seem to think that, because this condition applied equally to all the different kinds of pavement, it shows that the "impression that there was something fraudulent" in the De Golyer contract is "wholly without foundation." This is a most astounding inference. To my mind, the fact that this rotten plan was to be applied to all the contracts does nothing toward relieving the De Golyer contract of the taint of fraud. It merely shows that the entire scheme was so framed as to rob the District of Columbia and the United States Government. It is obvious that in order to avoid what an honest Board would have desired, namely, such competition as would give the best pavements at the lowest price, this Board took the plainly fraudulent course of fixing the prices in advance, and fixing them, too, at figures so high as to allow ample margin for "commissions," "fees," and "divvies." But it is a waste of time and words to argue as to the fraudulent nature of the De Golyer contract, since its corrupt character has been publicly admitted by its promoters.

The De Golyer job, then, was unquestionably corrupt, and Garfield's exertions in its favor were secured by the payment of $5,000. If he could not discover its fraudulent character by a mere inspection of the terms of award, it seems to me that the only conclusion is that nature has wholly unfitted him for the transaction of any administrative business.

Now, I am (for the moment) arguing as if Garfield's position on the Appropriation Committee of Congress had nothing to do with the case. I will therefore confine myself to the enquiry, In what capacity did he advocate the job—as a lawyer, or as a public man of influence? What he *did* in the premises was to write a "brief" (at least, so he swore; but when cross-examined by the Committee he betrayed grave doubts respecting the "brief") and to confer with "Boss Shepherd," asking him "to give those Western men a chance." Now, these were not legal services, for, as you say, the question was *wholly as to the merits of the pavement*, which was not a legal question; and, as there were no professional legal services in the case, it only remains to ask what proper services were there which Garfield rendered, or could render, consistently with an honorable record. The answer seems to me plain. A man in Garfield's position as chairman of the Appropriation Committee of the House of Representatives could not decently accept a fee for advocating *any* paving job before a local board; he could not decently ask Shepherd to "give those Western men a chance"; he could not decently accept a heavy fee for such a service. When the employment was proposed to him he should have said at once that the question of the merits of pavements was a matter to be determined by experts and engineers—not by "briefs" and interviews with bosses; and, as I have previously said, one glance at the terms of award would show him that the question was not to be settled on the usual basis of an open competition to determine who would give the public the best work at the lowest price, but that things were arranged on the unheard-of system of fixing a high price in advance, and leaving it to the conscience of the Board to determine who should be permitted to "pick out the plums." If Garfield did not discover this at first glance (as he should have done, if fit to be a public officer) he must have found out how it was before the time when he asked Shepherd to "give those Western men a chance," and before he took his enormous fee for this discreditable service.

By the bye, what does your article mean by speaking of "the hearing before the Board as to the merits of these various patents," Garfield's being retained "as attorney to argue the merits," and his making "his presentation of the case to the Board"? Such phrases would lead your readers to suppose that Garfield took a regular legal retainer as a lawyer for a lawyer's argument before a board; whereas the service was not a legal one, there was no argument or presentation of the case to the Board, and when Garfield was pressed before the Committee by the enquiry whether there was even a "brief" filed, he replied that he "could not say there was." The only proved service was the conversation with "Boss Shepherd" to which I have referred before. Surely the words I have quoted above in this paragraph, from your article, are calculated to give a very false impression.

I have now been arguing on the supposition that you are right in asserting that "no appropriation from Congress could have been in contemplation"; but the admissions of the promoters of the De Golyer job, in the suit brought against them by Chittenden, prove that they did have in contemplation an appropriation from Congress at the time that they retained the services of Garfield, and that it was with the view to such appropriation that his services to them were secured. Is it not likewise true that Garfield, on his examination before the Committee, *at first* rested on your ground, that there was no appropriation—the job being all paid for by local assessments; but *afterwards*, on cross-examination, was forced to admit that there was a large appropriation? If it be true that he made these two contradictory statements, much light is thrown on this whole business, and also on the conflict of testimony in the Crédit-Mobilier transaction, and I am at a loss to know how he can find a defender in your editorial columns.

Critic.

[Congress appropriated money to pay the assessment imposed on the United States, in common with all other property-holders in the City of Washington, for the cost of the pavement in front of its own buildings. It does this in every city in the Union. In other words, it appropriated the money not as a legislature but as a taxpayer. This was a necessary and legal consequence of its having, by the act of February, 1871, turned over the "legislative power and authority" in the District to the Legislative Assembly of the District. An appropriation to pay the taxes imposed on United States property, in common with other property, was a matter of course. "Garfield's Appropriation Committee," therefore, recommended the appropriation as properly and naturally as it recommended an appropriation to pay for the gas consumed in the Capitol. It could not have avoided doing so without swindling the other taxpayers. Who was to pay for the pavement in front of the public buildings if not the United States? The "exultation of the chief agent in the De Golyer paving job" cannot, then,

have been due to his expectation that Congress would pay its share of the municipal taxes. It must have been due to his expectation that it would pay more than its share some time or other. The only question which concerns us here is whether General Garfield, when he took his fee, knew that the "chief agent" entertained this expectation, and furnished him with any reason for entertaining it. There is not a particle of proof of this.

We have already, in commenting on General Garfield's action in the matter, admitted his great indiscretion in taking the De Golyer fee, and in not perceiving the objections to the De Golyer contract. Our correspondent maintains that even if he was only indiscreet his indiscretion was so great as to show his unfitness for high administrative office. To which we reply that our correspondent judges the Board of Works and its doings by the aid of what somebody has called "hindsight," which is a good thing, but cannot for a moment be compared to foresight. General Garfield doubtless sees his folly to-day as clearly as "Critic" sees it, and has as sound a judgment with regard to all rascalities, like those of the District, which have been fully exposed. As to his taking a large fee for work which was not in his line, we have condemned this too in strong terms. But we are bound to add, in palliation of the offence, that, according to our experience of human nature, lawyers, even the acutest, are not usually alarmed by the offer of a tolerably large fee. We are not now speaking of enormous fees, such as Fisk paid in his railroad litigation. The ordinary effect of a promise of a good fee for services, even in a field in which a man is not an expert, is to tickle his self-love. Instead of being startled by it, and looking on it as an attempt to corrupt him, he is apt to think it a gratifying acknowledgment of his remarkable capacity. Consequently, there is a great deal more perspicacity available for criticism of other people's fees than for that of one's own. The difference between our position and "Critic's" lies mainly in the fact that he thinks that by showing that De Golyer was a bad man and his wickedness very plain, he proves that General Garfield, in advocating the adoption of his contract, became his confederate. We, on the other hand, acknowledge that General Garfield was very indiscreet indeed, but in judging him take into account that he had to rely on foresight while we have the benefit of hindsight, and that the fee was large enough to flatter but not large enough to frighten a man of ordinary self-esteem. But this is not all. Where two explanations of a wrongful act are possible, we hold that we must, in trying to get at the motives of the doer, take his previous character into account. If General Garfield were knowingly corrupt in the De Golyer case, is it likely that this would be the only charge of the kind that could be made against him? As chairman of the Committee on Appropriations he must have been exposed to constant temptation. Hundreds besides the "chief agent" must, during the whole of his Congressional career, have been very eager to secure his favor for scores of doubtful schemes and very willing to secure it by payment of heavy fees. If General Garfield were the kind of man "Critic" would have us believe he is, does any one suppose that the De Golyer charge would possess the value for his enemies that it now possesses; that there would not be a dozen such; that he would not have been known throughout the Union long ago as a purchasable person; that he would not now be rich instead of poor; and that there would not be fifty speculators boasting that they "owned" him? We do not desire to strain a point in his favor because he is a Presidential candidate whom we wish to see elected; but we insist that a Presidential candidate is entitled to the benefit of such rules of probability as we apply to the conduct of men in private life.—Ed. Nation.]

REPUBLICAN THREATS OF REBELLION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Despite the condonement of the fraud of 1877 by the *Nation*, and the attempt to rehabilitate the badly-damaged character of candidate Garfield, there are still some of us—Independent voters now, but steady-going Republicans up to the election of 1868—who are still convinced not only that it is not our duty to vote the Republican ticket in November next, but to vote the Democratic, and that despite the fact that we are cordially in accord with the *Nation* in not hankering after another professional soldier for President. As a slight hint as to the reason why of the determination of very many Independents hereabouts to vote the Democratic ticket next November, I enclose for your candid consideration the following editorial from yesterday's *Evening Bulletin*, and respectfully commend to your notice the concluding paragraph. The editor of the *Nation* knows as well as I do that this fairly represents the temper of a very considerable and very influential portion of the Republican party. The event of 1876-77 furnishes abundant evidence on this point.—Very respectfully,

J. B. S.

Philadelphia, August 11, 1880.

[The following is the paragraph from the *Bulletin* to which our correspondent refers:

"11. Finally, can any intelligent man seriously suppose that the majority of the people of this country, the people of the great Northern communities, who not only have their business interests at stake, but who desire that the liberties of their country shall be preserved for their children, are going to submit quietly and tamely while Southern Democrats secure their hold of power by carrying successive elections through disfranchisement of the whole mass of Republicans in the South? That, after all, is the great question. It will be an amazing manifestation of self-control if the Republicans in the North shall accept the result of the very first election which shall secure a fraudulent victory to the Democratic party through 138 Southern electoral votes. But repetition of such a crime, which will surely come if the first attempt is successful, will probably plunge this nation into a fierce struggle which will differ from the last in this: the South will wield the authority of the Government, and we shall be the rebels."

We agree entirely with our correspondent in condemning these threats of rebellion and armed violence in which a portion of the Republican party occasionally indulge, and have for some time indulged, with regard to the Presidential election. Nothing can be more useful to the Democrats. They were helped greatly by the Republican predictions so freely uttered during the Grant "boom" that General Grant would, if not satisfied with the Congressional count of the votes, revise it himself, and then, if he awarded himself the Presidency, seize it by force. But, on the other hand, we presume that there is no Independent who denies the perpetration of enormous frauds at the Southern elections; and the first question which every real Independent ought to ask himself about them is not, "How shall I best show the disgust with which the nonsense talked about these frauds by Republican organs fills me?" but "How shall I most effectively contribute to their rational and peaceful prevention?" To vote for the Democratic candidate, it seems to us, according to such light as we now have, is to vote for a party which either denies the existence of the frauds altogether or proposes to do nothing about them, and even to live on them, and which, at all events, totally ignores them in its authorized utterances. We are far from liking the spirit in which a great many Republicans treat them, or the means by which they propose to remedy them; but it is quite plain to us that it is in the Republican party only that any sober and rational discussion of them now goes on, or in which there seems to be any chance at present for some legal treatment of them. For instance, we should go to General Garfield with a statement of the horrible dilemma in which we have placed the Southern whites, with strong confidence that we could get him to look at both sides of the question, and make some impression on him as to the necessity of approaching it, not with guns and drums, but with the same instruments of statesmanship by which all the great pacifications of history have been effected. We think it likely that we could get him to laugh over the Stalwart theory that there is no use in trying statesmanship on the Southern malcontents, because they are such bad men. He is probably familiar with the story of the Irish priest who, deploring the wickedness of his flock, and being asked if he had tried the Gospel on them, answered that he wasn't going to "waste good Gospel on the likes of 'em." We feel that this confidence is justified by what we know of his training, experience, and habits of thought. But we have no such confidence with regard to General Hancock. We fear he would meet us with some gaudy generality about "State rights," and "divided powers," and habeas corpus, and trial by jury, and other little rudiments of politics. We should expect to fare still worse with the great lights who do the political thinking of his party. We cannot recall at this moment a single attempt on the Democratic side to provide by legislation for the fact that the negroes are now free, very ignorant, and liable to great oppression. We do not ask that such an attempt should be what we like or could commend, but simply that it should furnish evidence of interest in the subject, and of a desire to

reduce the mischief caused at the South by the presence on the soil of a large population in a state of physical and moral degradation. We can see very well, for instance, why the party should be opposed to negro suffrage; but the failure to suggest or show any concern about other means of furnishing that protection and education which most respectable advocates of negro suffrage expected from it, is a sign of fatal weakness or inadequacy.—ED. NATION.]

MILITARY COMMISSIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The points made by "B. T. J.," on p. 93 of the *Nation* of August 5, will doubtless take more prominence in the pending canvass than their real importance entitles them to. Two or three things may help your readers to make a just estimate of them.

In the matter of General Hancock and Mrs. Surratt, it will be remembered that on the 3d of March, 1863, Congress passed an act in reference to the writ of habeas corpus, which also prescribed the powers and duties of various officers in the premises, intended to protect the rights of subjects in the cases of otherwise arbitrary arrests. The first section authorized the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in any case throughout the United States. The fourth section made his order a sufficient justification in all the courts where an arrest made under it was called in question (12 U. S. Stats. p. 755).

On the 15th of September, 1863, the President issued his proclamation suspending the writ in all cases where military, naval, or civil officers of the United States by the authority of the President held persons in custody as prisoners of war, spies, aiders and abettors of the enemy, or officers, soldiers, or seamen of the United States, or deserters therefrom, or amenable to military law or the rules and articles of war or regulations made by authority of the President, or for resisting a draft, or for any other offence against the military or naval service (13 U. S. Stats. p. 734).

On the morning of the day for the execution of Mrs. Surratt and others Judge Wylie, one of the supreme judges of the District of Columbia, allowed a writ of habeas corpus to issue to General Hancock, commander of the department, including the District of Columbia (with his headquarters at Washington), commanding him to produce the body of Mrs. Surratt, with the cause of her detention, forthwith before him. The writ was served on the general at eight o'clock A.M. His return shows an order (the original) of the President of the United States of that same day suspending the writ of habeas corpus in that case, and having the signature of the President thereto. Those who have examined the handwriting of the body of this order say that it is the same as that of the report to the President of the execution and other papers, thus showing that it was written at the general's headquarters. Passing that by, the time of the service of the writ and the date of the President's order are conclusive that when the general was served with the writ, instead of obeying it he procured a suspension of the writ itself. That the proclamation of September 15, 1863, did not suspend it in this case is obvious, and so it was holden both by the judge who issued it in this case, the general to whom it was issued, and the President and his advisers who suspended it. That the Executive did not make the order till the necessity for it to ensure the execution of the condemned arose, is perfectly apparent.

In reference to General Garfield, it should be remembered also that the second and third sections of the act above referred to required the Secretaries of War and State to furnish lists of the names of all persons held in arrest under their orders and the causes of arrest, so that judicial action could be had in their cases. It may also be recalled that the "old Capitol" and the "Carroll Row" had been turned into prisons and were crowded with inmates arrested and held by the order of the Secretary of War in disregard of these provisions of the law; that during the first term of General Garfield's service in Congress a resolution was by arrangement referred to his committee (the military) authorizing an investigation of the arrests, causes therefor, and the reasons why charges and trials were delayed. Garfield, accompanied by Schenck, the chairman of the committee, made a personal examination of the prisons and prisoners and found ample cause for a searching enquiry, which was entered upon with vigor. This was in January, 1865; a day or two later a similar resolution was referred to the same committee, enlarging its powers. During the day of its reference Thaddeus Stevens moved to rescind it, and a debate arose, pending which Mr. Garfield entered the House and took a decisive part in it. The information secured by his personal interview with the prisoners enabled him to do this. He related in his speech the story of a Union colonel, wounded at the second battle of Bull Run, who had been imprisoned five months on no charge. On his motion the resolution to rescind was tabled. This action of the House, and Garfield's bold condemnation of the course pursued, produced an immediate correction of the abuses. His course also led to his appearance in the Milligan case, for which not even the thanks of the liberated ever reached him, but plenty of Republican denunciation instead.

As to the later military commissions, they were directly authorized by act of Congress, while the former were without color of law, and in violation of its spirit and intent. This, as it seems to me, is an important distinction to be kept in mind. The United States elected, in the interest of humanity, to regard the civil as a public war, governed by the laws and usages of war. The rebels were enemies to be dealt with as such. The war ended with their entire subjugation and conquest. There was no treaty of peace, no party was left to negotiate a treaty. The enemy was subdued, and his territory held by conquest. His laws, institutions, and usages subsisted only at the will of the conqueror. All the points and questions involved in this summary have been decided in the Supreme Court of the United States. Among the numerous cases see the Am. Ins. Case, 1 Peters, 511; Brig *Warwick, et al.*, 2 Black, 635; the *Venice*, 2 Wallace, 258; the *Grapeshot*, 9 *id.*, 129; Miller *v.* The United States, 11 *id.*, 268; Tyler *v.* Defrees, 11 *id.*, 331; M. & T. Bank *v.* U. Bank, 22 *id.*, 276, and many others. In this condition of things Congress, under the Constitution as expounded by Chief-Justice Marshall in the first of the above cases, passed the act of March 2, 1867, establishing the military governments in the conquered territory. The measure was at the time wise and judicious, so far as the thing government was concerned. There did not then exist the factors or conditions for any other so good. The mistake was in not continuing those governments longer. Under them, through the South generally, life and property were better protected than they have been at any time since. This act did authorize military commissions. There were then many portions of the unhappy country placed under these military governments where those tribunals furnished better facilities for obtaining redress than can now be found in them, or than have at any time since then administered what by fiction of law is called justice in some sections of the South. The times and conditions to which reference is made were abnormal; and, while we deplore them, would it not be wise and just to assume that the two distinguished men mentioned by your correspondent dealt with them, each in his sphere, honestly, under the best light he had? I am sure there is elevation and nobleness enough in their characters and conduct to lift this canvass above the ordinary level of our politics. R.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 7.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM AGITATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue for August 5 a correspondent, "F. G. S.," makes a suggestion well worth considering, and which the friends of civil-service reform especially should not let pass unheeded. I mean the idea of a society to agitate the subject, similar to the Loyal Publication Society during the war. I have for some time looked in vain for steps toward organizing such a body, taken by the leaders in the reform movement, and hope for the sake of the cause that something practical may come of the present consideration of the subject.

One needs only to make this topic a subject of general conversation with men of all classes to notice the amazing ignorance, prejudice, and indifference which prevail universally on a question of such vital importance. The state of the public mind on this subject is indeed a curious example of that American conservatism which, as Mr. Dicey has so well pointed out, out-Herods even that of England on the subject of rectifying any error which has once come to be looked upon as part and parcel of our idolized "Constitution." We have so long been taught to look upon that instrument and the ways of the "Fathers" down to the time of the war as the nearest possible approach to perfection that the common people, and, indeed, all but the shrewdest observers and critics, refuse absolutely to believe that we are in our methods of administration to-day cuddling abuses which for nearly a century have been found intolerable in the most enlightened nations of Europe.

The remedy, and the only remedy, for this state of affairs is education and enlightenment. This, again, can only be accomplished by agitation, political, social, and even religious. I verily believe that the abolition of the "spoils" system in politics will be as great a blessing to our country as the abolition of slavery, and I think, moreover, that civil-service reformers can take many valuable hints from the methods of the Abolitionists. Like these, we should put the argument entirely on the question of abstract moral *right;* there should be no considerations of expediency beyond this, that it is expedient *because* it is right that both parties should be compelled to make the introduction of the merit system a part of their programme. The evils of the old system and the benefits of the new have been ably and lucidly set forth by Mr. Dorman B. Eaton, in his recent work on the civil service in Great Britain; this work would itself be a mine of information for the writers of a "Civil-Service Reform Publication Society." Extracts from the reports of the British and American Civil-Service Commissions; statistical statements of the results of the method of competition; the views of our great publicists,

Lieber, Woolsey, Madison, Hamilton, etc.—all these would be available subjects for tracts and pamphlets. Besides this, a society of this sort should have an organ, which need not appear more frequently than once in three months, in which all gazetted appointments should be noted and every violation of sound principles denounced and proclaimed. In this, as in most other cases of official abuse, publicity is a tremendous weapon in the hands of reformers. Like the Abolitionists, civil-service reformers would commit errors, and, like them, they would almost be overwhelmed for a time by the abuse, sarcasm, and resistance of the whole race of politicians. As Mr. Curtis says, in his introduction to Mr. Eaton's book: "There is no more startling sign of political demoralization than the craft which turns the follies of reformers into blows at reform"; and this very phenomenon would be of daily occurrence. Two great difficulties are in the way of the successful working of such a central body for the purpose of agitating this subject, but neither seems to me to be insurmountable: the one is the necessity of having men from both parties in the organization, and the difficulty of accomplishing this purpose; the other is the want of money.

As to the first point, the difficulty is both real and apparent. It is my individual opinion, as it is that of the *Nation*, that in the present Presidential campaign the interests of a thorough, radical, and complete reform will best be subserved by the election of General Garfield. Beyond any doubt there are many honest and zealous reformers who hold an opposite view. How can these two elements be harmonized? It seems to me that there is only one method of accomplishing this. The time before a Presidential election is in some respects the best, in some again the least advantageous, for the establishment of a reform society. The latter will then have most influence, but it must for the time being forego its non-partisan character. Thus, any organization which would be established now would have to take sides in the campaign. It would have to favor either Garfield or Hancock. No doubt it would gain a hearing with great ease. Partisans of both candidates are just now in a receptive state for further reasons why their own party should win. The regular organizations and "Machines"—hostile as they are to the very thought of reform—would nevertheless either offer no resistance, or even aid in the circulation of documents the primary end of which is to gain votes which otherwise might be lost. On the other hand, these very advantages would but serve to discredit the cause in the eyes of the other party, and it would be decried with a shadow of reason as a partisan trick and subterfuge designed to help one candidate. The possibility of overcoming these difficulties would depend entirely upon the tact and evident sincerity of the leaders in the movement. If it be not too late to form a society of the above kind this year, I think the sensible men of both parties will have confidence in Messrs. Curtis, Eaton, Lodge, Woolsey, Sumner, C. F. Adams, Jr., and others whom natural selection would point out as the indispensable leaders, and that their names alone would be a guaranty against a possible perversion of the organization into a partisan "machine." After the election, moreover, large accessions in membership from the Democratic party might be expected.

The second and minor difficulty is the lack of funds. A publication society could not work efficiently with less than $5,000 a year. If the basis of organization, however, be the whole country, with a central committee in New York, and auxiliary organizations in the larger centres of population, it seems to me that there would be little difficulty in acquiring a membership of five thousand or more, whose dues, at the rate of one dollar a year (for which they should be supplied with copies of all publications) would be sufficient for the current expense.

If the above plan be approved, nothing would remain but to organize as soon as possible. If several gentlemen, like those above named, will unite in a call for a preliminary meeting either at New York, Saratoga, or Newport the response would, in my opinion, be hearty and general. Perhaps it might be best, however, to ask all those who are willing to attend such a meeting or to join a society like the one spoken of to send their names and addresses to the Independents' Committee rooms, together with their preference as to locality and time of the preliminary meeting. I will here declare my personal willingness and preference for New York. Trusting many more will respond, I am very truly yours, F. W. H.

Mt. Vernon, N. Y., August 9, 1880.

Notes.

THE Boston Museum of Fine Arts has resolved to assume for that city the function of our New York Academy by holding annual exhibitions of the works of living American artists. The season selected—the autumn—will not interfere with the New York season. This year the exhibition will be opened on Nov. 9 and close on Dec. 20, and will include both oils and water-colors, as well as drawings and statuary. No contributions will be received which have already been publicly exhibited in Boston, or which arrive later than October 30. Circulars will be sent on application to the Museum. ——The eleventh report of the Massachusetts State Board of Health (now merged in the new State Board of Health, Lunacy, and Charity) contains an index to the whole series of volumes by Francis H. Brown, M.D.——From the office of the *American Bookseller* is published the *Monthly Index* to current periodical literature, proceedings of learned societies, and Government publications. Fiction is disregarded. The first number was issued in July. ——Part 3 of vol. iii. of the Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society has just been published, six years after the second and ten years after the first part. It relates largely to the Indians, and contains several obituary notices of deceased missionaries among them.——A tourist's manual of more than ordinary substance is Mr. Franklin B. Hough's 'The Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence' (Syracuse: Davis, Bardeen & Co.) It is divided into an historical and legendary portion, and one consisting of the descriptions of travellers and of historical and statistical writers. In the latter are given the French words and the music of two Canadian boat-songs, but the French is shockingly misprinted, and the author's knowledge of the language is so slight that he denies that the first song has any rhyme. ——Harroun & Bierstadt, 58 Reade Street, send us an artotype, from life, of General Garfield, which is one of the best likenesses of him we have thus far seen. It should help conciliate his opponents.——A handbook of unmistakable utility is Mr. George N. Lamphere's 'United States Government: its Organization and Practical Workings' (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.) Nowhere else can one obtain such a systematic exhibit of the constitution of the several departments of the national administration, with their bureaux and complement of officers and clerks, salaries, etc., etc. As examples of the sort of information to be found in it, we may cite, under the War Department, the list of seventy-nine national cemeteries, the list of military posts, the examination-papers for appointees to the Military Academy, and the requisite personal outfit of a cadet. The work deserves to be kept up by fresh editions in accordance with the latest statistics. The blank space on p. 21 would admit of particulars in regard to the date of passage of the foregoing amendments to the U. S. Constitution.——Trübner & Co. send us 'The Cities and Towns of China,' a gazetteer based on Biot's 'Dictionnaire des Villes Chinoises' (1842). The compiler, Mr. G. M. H. Playfair, of the British Consulate at Foochow, has been obliged to rearrange the original material entirely, in order to make it conform to the orthography he has adopted, which is that of the Pekinese dialect, romanized according to Sir Thomas Wade's system. He has, in order to report the changes of a whole generation, as well as to meet the growing needs of commerce, added a large number of places, and located them as well and as scientifically as he was able—if not by a true latitude and longitude, by such a determination as will guide one who consults a map. Each town has its name given in the Chinese character, together with its different names under the several dynasties, with abundant cross-references from the alphabetical order. Particulars as to population, etc., are, of course, wanting. Under each province is given a list of its administrative cities, and, finally, there is a radical index.——L. W. Schmidt has received Part II. of Stacke's 'Deutsche Geschichte,' which we noticed last week. The history is here brought down to the end of the twelfth century. Our expectations in regard to the sustained interest of the illustrations have not been disappointed. They are of the same general character as those already described, with perhaps a larger admixture of royal effigies, seals, coins, etc., and a decided increase in the number of illuminated plates and of colored initial-letters—the latter of singular beauty and delicacy.

—By an act passed last June the Legislature of this State appropriated twenty thousand dollars annually, for two years, for a State experiment-station, for "the purpose of promoting agriculture in its various branches by scientific investigation and experiment." The question of the location of the station is in the hands of a board of control, which will appoint a director also and oversee his work. It is rumored that a somewhat active scramble both for the place and the position is now in progress. One party wishes to have the establishment at or near Cornell University, and to have a university man chosen director; while another is agitating in favor of Long Island, in the vicinity of this city, and in the interest of one or another free lance. There are withal many opinions as to how the money should be spent; and the present condition of the enterprise is not a little interesting and instructive, as showing the inevitable tendency of "spoils" to incite warfare even in the scientific fold. Such conditions are naturally favorable for the advancement of the least scrupulous lambs, and it is to be expected, if political struggles for scientific precedence are to continue, that something very like a wolf will ultimately be evolved in scientific circles.

—When the Brazilian law of September 28, 1871, establishing in the empire the principle of the *venter liber*, was promulgated it was doubted if it would be honestly enforced. The experience of these nine years proves that the Brazilian authorities not only did not provide the country with the legislation necessary to the carrying out of that law, but have actually deprived

the law of some of its essential features, thus frustrating the gradual emancipation of the one million four hundred thousand slaves still existing in the empire. The principal provisions of that law were: first, that every child born after the date of its promulgation was free; second, that the owners of the slave-mother of such a child would be entitled to the services of the child up to its coming of age, the services to be considered as a compensation for the child's maintenance and education; third, that, instead of thus keeping the child *ingenuus* in that bondage, the master might surrender him to the state, to be educated by it; fourth, that an "emancipation fund" should be created immediately from the product of lotteries (a favorite source of Brazilian income) and of certain imposts, fines, etc., this fund to be divided every year among the provinces for the manumission of slaves, whose names were to be drawn by lot. The Government has never taken effective steps towards bringing up these free-born children of slaves. The fund was indeed formed, but, instead of producing two to three millions of dollars, as was expected, it has yielded only a meagre half a million, and has been divided but once in nine years. Not content with this criminal neglect, the Government has misapplied half a million of dollars of the fund to other purposes, and, as if that were not enough, in 1879 it passed a law authorizing the Treasury to apply to the general budget the fund specially raised and declared to be sacredly held for emancipation purposes. So all there is of the fund now is two millions of dollars. The money that has been diverted from it would be sufficient for the liberation of fourteen hundred slaves, or one-thousandth of the whole slave population of Brazil. Since 1871 only four thousand five hundred slaves have availed themselves of the fund, although four millions and a half have been raised for it, and although the number of private manumissions has exceeded fifty thousand. Considering that that abuse has been going on under the first Liberal Cabinet that Brazil has had for many years, and after two trips, to Europe and the United States, of its Emperor, who has been reputed so liberal and friendly to emancipation, one cannot help questioning the Brazilian progress of which so much was heard here during Dom Pedro's visit. We remark that the new Ministry of Sr. Saraiva promises to make now a second distribution of the fund. This is, indeed, the very least it can do, for there is hardly any difference between wilful reduction of freemen to slavery and the violation of a fund for emancipation of slaves. While the Government has thus shamefully retarded emancipation and misspent the scanty income of half a million of its fund, it has wasted three millions a year on European immigration, which has proved such a failure that it is now trying to import coolies, having already despatched an ambassador to China to treat for that purpose.

—As is natural, the literary losses incurred in the burning of Mommsen's library on the 12th of July cannot be exactly ascertained. Not a book of his own escaped, and his insurance was only 14,000 marks ($3,500). Of the great works upon which he was engaged, vol. viii. (Africa) of the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum' was saved intact, while the 'Instrumentum Domesticum' (Lower Italy, East) of vol. ix., the 'Columnæ Militariæ' (Sicily and Sardinia) of vol. x., the 'Index Auctorum' of vols. ix. and x., and the Helvetic Inscriptions of vol. xiii. were sadly damaged, and the addenda to vol. x., containing Lower Italy, West, were practically destroyed. The critical text of Jordanes prepared for publication in the 'Auctores Antiquissimi' of the 'Monumenta Germaniæ,' was rescued, although the four MSS. on which it was based, and which belonged to the libraries of Heidelberg, Berlin, Vienna, and Breslau, perished in the flames. It is not yet known whether or to what extent their fate was shared by MSS. lent from the Vatican and the Cambridge libraries. Mommsen's 'History of the Empire,' of which nearly three volumes were ready, is among the irreparable losses.

—'Culturbilder aus Griechenland' is a thin volume of one hundred and fifty pages, by Dr. Pervanoglu, formerly librarian of the University of Athens. It is provided with a short preface by Von Rangabé, Grecian minister at Berlin. It is not, as one would suppose at first sight, devoted to classical Greece, but is an attempt by a patriotic Greek to present such a picture, or succession of pictures, of his native land as should aid in winning for it more respect and attention. There are, besides the introduction, nine chapters, upon Land, People, Manners and Customs, Weddings and Burials, Popular Amusements, Athens, Literature and Language, Commerce, etc., and Politics. It is, of course, written in a somewhat apologetic tone, showing that sensitiveness to foreign criticism which we Americans know so well, but it is well worth consulting by all who are interested in this young nation, or who purpose visiting it. Its publication is very timely, now that Greece is being brought so prominently before the eyes of Europe.

—M. Victor Guérin's preface to the second edition of his 'Île de Rhodes' just brought out in Paris by Ernest Leroux—a minute and learned description of that island, first published in 1856, and hardly yet superseded by a similar work in any language, though Berg's 'Die Insel Rhodus" appeared in 1861—contains an interesting statement connecting an explosion of the year 1856 with the struggle of 1522, in which the Knights of St. John succumbed to Sultan Solyman the Magnificent. Contemporary historians ascribe the fall of the Christian power in Rhodes in part to the treachery of D'Amaral, chancellor of the order, who, in the year preceding the fatal contest, had been defeated in the election of a grand-master by Villiers de l'Isle-Adam. Prompted by vindictiveness, it is said, he secretly instigated Solyman to undertake the siege of the great stronghold of the Knights, indicated to him its feeblest points, and buried a portion of the powder needed for its defence. In 1854 M. Guérin, having visited the subterranean vaults of the old ramparts, called the attention of the Pasha to the sudden calamity with which the buried ammunition still menaced the city of Rhodes, and urged him to institute a search. "God alone," the Moslem answered, "can know where the stores are of which you speak; God is great and merciful, and he will care for it." Two years later a terrific explosion shook a part of the city; the former Church of St. John, transformed into a mosque after the Turkish conquest, was blown into ruins, which buried the Moslems who were worshipping there. The ancient palace of the grand-masters and other buildings also suffered by the shock, which, almost as violent as an earthquake, was caused by a large heap of powder previously unknown to the inhabitants. Was not this explosion, M. Guérin asks, a revelation, after more than three centuries, of the infamous treason with which D'Amaral was charged by his contemporaries?

—The formation by the Germans of a vigorous federal government in their new Empire has naturally directed their attention to our Union as the most conspicuous modern example of a federal state, and has called forth an active study of our Constitution and its history. This consideration is presented by Dr. Eugen Schlief as a leading inducement to the preparation of his 'Die Verfassung der Nordamerikanischen Union,' recently published by Brockhaus (New York: L. W. Schmidt). Especial attention is given, therefore, by him to the practical side of our Constitution. One part is devoted to this topic; and the numerous incidental discussions, and the comparison with the institutions or the condition of things in Germany, are a striking feature of the book. The general point of view of the author, developed in chapter iv. (page 54), is that a federal government is, so to speak, in a condition of unstable equilibrium, and tends irresistibly towards either consolidation or dissolution. Our last three amendments, therefore, indispensable enlargements of the national power, and steps in a necessary movement of centralization, he pronounces (p. 452) *begriffswidrig* from the point of view of the States—that is to say, hostile to the constitutional conception of the reserved powers of the States. The book is in three parts. Part I., Introduction, contains, in six chapters, a very inadequate historical introduction, a sketch of the literature, and an excellent discussion of the theoretical principles of government, and of federal government in particular. Part II., the Constitution, is in five divisions: 1, the Factors of Government; 2, the Executive; 3, Impeachment; 4, the Powers of the Government; 5, Amendments—twenty-five chapters in all. Part III., the practical workings of American Constitutional Law, contains four chapters: one general, and one each upon Equality, Freedom, and "Particularismus und Centralization"—that is, the States-rights controversy. There is no index, but a very good table of contents.

DR. BUSHNELL.*

A GENTLEMAN who had known little of the earlier life of Dr. Bushnell, and became acquainted with him only through his later writings, his lectures and addresses, once drew this imaginary portrait of him:

"Physically a strong man, broad-shouldered, deep-chested, in robust health; his early life refined by culture, and his manners and speech made easy by early association with cultured and refined persons; socially, one who if not wealthy has always been in easy circumstances; professionally, one who has always held an assured position whereby he has acquired an unconscious, authoritative tone; liberal and advanced in his views, but a man who has never developed the partisan character of a reformer, and whose public life has been happily free from the embitterments of controversy."

Yet in every substantial particular this life-picture presents the reverse of the life-record.

That a young man whose entire youth has been passed in poverty and ignorance, like that of George Stephenson and Abraham Lincoln, can grow into eminence in the one thing of his business or profession, carrying along with him his unpolished manners, and homely speech, and simple tastes, we can all understand; but that a man thus circumstanced in youth can be so transformed by his own steady application that the last half of his life shall give no indication of the first half in those elements which make and betray the man, is one of the marvels of human nature. The Dr. Bushnell of the last twenty years, applauded, admired, revered; with the surviving fathers of the Congregational Church rendering him confidence and affection; with a crowd of young clergymen around him intent on the polished sentences of his animated talk—of him our readers have a tolerably clear conception. But

* 'Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell.' New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

the Horace Bushnell of sixty years ago, of forty years ago, what manner of man was he?

In two admirable sketches of two admirable women (his grandmother and his mother) Dr. Bushnell has incidentally drawn the portraiture of his earlier life; and, we may add, has given to us a vivid picture of that heroic rural New England which was, and perhaps is, but which all must regretfully concede will soon have passed away:

"She [his mother] was providing and training her six children, clothing her whole family in linens and woollens, spun, every thread, and made up in the house, to a great extent, also, by herself. She had a farm-and-dairy charge to administer, also the farm workmen to board, and for five or six months in a year the workmen, besides, of a homespun cloth-dressing shop."

"There was always something for the smallest to do—errands to run, berries to pick, weeds to pull, earnings all for the common property in which he thus begins to be a stockholder. So for both sexes and all sizes; and how very close up to the gateway of God is every child brought who is trained to the consenting obedience of industry! Indeed, there is nothing in these early days that I remember with more zest than that I did the full work of a man for at least five years before the manly age; this, too, under no eight-hour law of protective delicacy, but holding fast the astronomic ordinance in a service of from thirteen to fourteen hours."

"Her first offer to me of a liberal education [at the age of sixteen] I peremptorily declined; for how could an awkward country boy think of going in among the great folk of a college? But about five years later, when brought under motives of religion, I asked the opportunity for myself. Now it was too late. The homespun was going rapidly out of use, and the business concerned in its production was growing less and less profitable. But my mother, who in this could hardly submit even to necessity, called a congress of the family, where we drew the calculation close and made up our bill—I to wear homespun to the end, use only second-hand books, and pay the bills of my last year myself; the family to institute a closer economy, for my sake, which they somehow found a place to do, though I never could see where."

"I was brought up in a country family, ignorant of any but country society, where cultivated language in conversation was unknown. I entered college late, at twenty-one years of age, when the vernacular type of language is cast, and will not afterwards commonly be much altered. I came to writing with no stock of speech but this. I had no language, and if I chanced to have an idea nothing came to give it expression."

From this rough New England acorn, tardily planted, grew the beautiful tree of a cultivated, refined, and comprehensive mind. But the contrast of the suppositional with the real picture does not stop here. The bronzed young farmer, with well-developed muscles, when he entered the freshman class at the age of twenty-one, appeared to the younger and weaker youth of the college as the very embodiment of sturdy life and health. But in the severe strain of rebuilding the intellectual he unmade the physical, and as he left behind him the homely speech of the farm-neighborhood he unhappily, perhaps unconsciously, dropped with it the wealth of health wherewith the farm had endowed him. In middle life his form seemed slender, if not fragile. At thirty-seven there crops out in the biography the ominous beginning of the series, "out of health," "ill-health," "serious illness," "constant cough," "completely broken down."

About the same time came the first blasts of the theological gale which beat upon him through the best years of his life. First, one of his own deacons—a deacon of the stern, old New-England stuff, courteous, invincibly firm, and with an eye as quick to mark false doctrine in the sermon of his pastor as to detect short measure in the goods which came into his warehouse—writes a kind and respectful letter, in which, nevertheless, he tells his pastor plainly, "You hold many things which affect and subvert long-established and well-established doctrines and principles, and those in which our churches are at rest and in union." Then came charges of heterodoxy, of heretical teaching, an ecclesiastical trial in which Dr. Bushnell was acquitted not unanimously, and the majority which acquitted went upon no better ground than that the errors of his book were not fundamental. Then came renewed attempts by other Congregational churches to bring him again to trial, and these attempts were defeated not on the merits of the controversy, but upon the technical ground of want of jurisdiction. Then, to evade further proceedings, his own church withdrew from the "consociation" of churches of which it was a member. Finally, after ecclesiastical proceedings had ceased, after Dr. Bushnell had secured the only acquittal he ever obtained from constituted authority, the Congregational clergymen of Hartford would not "exchange" with him nor allow him to preach from their pulpits. Thus, through the score of years wherein a strong man is at his best, the very harvest-time of one's manhood, Dr. Bushnell's purposes were being undermined by his breaking health, and a cold blast of suspicion, dissent, and disapproval was beating down upon him which would have congealed the soul of an ordinary man. Nevertheless, between the ages of thirty-seven and fifty-seven he fought out his battle of life, unwavering, unswerving; and then, recognizing the fact that his physical man was but a wreck, he, with characteristic decision, resigned his pastorate, greatly beloved, greatly esteemed, and all but universally regarded as one of the successful men of this world—as a man who had fought his way up to the highest rank in his branch of the service, whose works would survive his own life, and remain an element in the history of his time and church and faith.

The force which Dr. Bushnell exerted during the controversial period of his life, we think, may be defined as influence. He did not command men; he did not lead them, he did not even convince them. He established no sect, he founded no school, he left no accepted system, and from a doctrinal point of view he had no following. The men who stood by him in his season of trial, such men as Dr. Porter, of Farmington, and Dr. Leonard Bacon, and the men who acquitted him of the charge of heretical teaching, did not reach his conclusions nor acquiesce in his views. Here and there men and bodies of men announced that they adopted the controverted opinions of Dr. Bushnell; but it is manifest that they were actuated chiefly by love and sympathy for him, by the belief that he was a great and good man who had been harshly treated, and by the fact that they found nothing heretical in his books. They adopted his creed, but they cared much more for the man than the creed. Nevertheless, the influence of Dr. Bushnell has been a great power, steadily making its own way, constantly, like water, expanding and permeating. If other men have not adopted his enlarged horizon, they have, in consequence of his teaching, enlarged their own. If his arguments did not storm the intrenched camps of the "schools," his influence gradually levelled their fortifications and brought the defenders out into a broader plain of theologic liberality.

Within the Congregational lines and among those worthy persons who clung tenaciously to the formulated belief of "doctrine," it may be said that Dr. Bushnell never went backward and that his opponents never moved forward. At first many persons supposed that he would go over to the Unitarians, and some doubtless thought that it would be a good riddance of his disturbances. But Dr. Bushnell would not go. Soon it became apparent to them that he was not a Unitarian, nor a Methodist, nor a Presbyterian, nor a Baptist, nor an Episcopalian, nor a Romanist, and gradually they settled down in the belief that he must needs be a Congregationalist after all. From this point the transition was easy to that at which they spoke of him as a man of genius, but erratic and visionary. After a time the qualifying clause dropped off, his brilliancy of intellect and goodness of heart were fully recognized, and when he died the general voice of his denomination classified him with the great clergymen of America, and placed his works among the distinguished teachings of the Christian Church.

In his biography Dr. Bushnell is fortunate. The preface designates it as a composite work, but the burden of it has been borne manifestly by the loving hands of his daughters. Ordinarily a man's nearest relations are not discriminating judges of what it is best to publish or omit; but this book evidently had the benefit of able criticism before it went to the publisher. Great care and much labor must have been bestowed in collecting, arranging, and rejecting material, so that letters and extracts form no inconsiderable part of an intelligible narrative. Portions of it will be interesting, doubtless, to only one class of readers, and other portions only to another class; some "long-deferred" letters "hastily written" by an overworked invalid do not do justice to the real man, others will be interesting only to his personal friends; but as a whole the book brings out Dr. Bushnell in his character, in his struggles, in his work, in all those things that made up his life. It also brings out many of those passages and utterances of the man which do not find their way into his formal writings, and it unfolds many of the views of an able mind that pass unnoticed in the volumes of his works. For illustration, in 1840 Dr. Bushnell made this wonderful forecast of our present political condition, which we commend to all conscientious voters who deem civil-service reform a needless and visionary thing.

"This doctrine, which proposes to give the spoils to the victors, has been imputed mostly to one of our political parties, and, as some suppose, has been avowed by that party. Of this I am willing to doubt. We shall see, perhaps, how far the opposing party will abjure this doctrine of the spoils, and whether it is not yet to be the universal doctrine of politics in the land. If so, then shall we have a scene in this land never before exhibited on earth—one which would destroy the integrity and sink the morality of a nation of angels. It will be as if so many offices, worth so much, together with the seamless robe of our glorious Constitution, were held up to be the price of victory, and as if it were said: 'Look, ye people, here is a premium offered to every discontent you can raise, every combination or faction you can mention, every lie you can invent. Cupidity here is every man's right; try for what you can, and as much as you can get you shall have.' Only conceive such a lure held out to this great people, and all the little offices of the Government thus set up for the price of the victory, without regard to merit or anything but party services, and you have a spectacle of baseness and rapacity such as was never seen before. No preaching of the Gospel in our land, no parental discipline, no schools, not all the machinery of virtue together, can long be a match for the corrupting power of our political strifes, actuated by such a law as this."

There are many points of Dr. Bushnell's life to which we cannot even allude, such as his public spirit, his social character, the wonderful industry of his old age, the dauntless spirit which braved theological seminaries and raised him from beds of sickness to battle for health alone among strangers,

and prompted him to climb to the summit of the Giant of the Adirondacks by an unknown route of his own exploring, when men spoke of him as a "retired clergyman," superannuated and broken down. In conclusion, we ought to add that the book contains, what biographers are too apt to omit, a good index and an excellent table of contents. As the exposition of the life of an able man it will well repay the perusal of every intelligent reader.

MR. TROLLOPE'S LAST NOVEL.*

MR. RICHARD GRANT WHITE has recently published a criticism of this novel in which he has been at some pains to show the material difference between the art of novel-writing as managed by Scott and by Trollope. Such a comparison may serve very well to bring out the excellence of Scott, and to exhibit an analysis of the causes which place him at the head of English writers of fiction. Mr. White justly points out that the distinguishing mark separating Scott from all his successors is his masterly management of his plots. But then it must be remembered that his great plots were plots of romances rather than novels properly so called; romances in which there were heroes and heroines, and great passions and profound griefs, and in fact all that a lofty and manly imagination could extract in the way of poetry from that twilight of legend and legendary history which lasted down to the opening of this century, but which modern civilization has since broadened into the full light of garish day. It is safe to say that, although Scott displayed a greater mastery of the art of story-telling than any one who has appeared since, novels like his belong to a bygone day, and, therefore, to compare modern novelists with him is out of place. The romantic school, whether in fiction or poetry, whether in England, America, or France, is as completely dead as if it had never existed, and it is a natural result of this that the art of plot-making should have disappeared. For the construction of a plot, as Scott constructed one, or as Victor Hugo, or even as Dumas *père*, or Lever constructed one, was essentially dependent upon the romantic conception of the world which produced the romantic school of fiction—a world peopled with heroes and heroines, a world of love, adventure, and war, a world of enthusiasm, unselfishness, and all chivalric sentiments standing out in bold and beautiful relief against a dark background of intrigue and crime; such a world is necessarily a world adapted to the production of plots. In 'Guy Mannering,' the 'Talisman,' and 'Quentin Durward' Scott has elaborated the scheme of adventure and love which forms the basis of the story with the most careful attention to details, giving it an internal development and growth of its own; but could he have done anything else? These romances without their elaborate plots would be impossibilities. Excepting the Scotch characters, whom he drew from life, and the historical personages (like Louis the Eleventh, for instance, or Queen Elizabeth), who are rather wonderful historical portraits, animated like characters in *tableaux vivants*, than real persons, Scott's characters as such have not much genuine interest. This has always been acknowledged with regard to his heroes, and we fancy will in the end be admitted even of those lovely creatures who fire his heroes' hearts to deeds of daring and devotion. Scott's heroines are fine proofs of the height to which an idealizing imagination can lift the objects of its admiration; but are they real women? Is there not more reality in Thackeray's caricatures of Rebecca and Rowena than in Rebecca and Rowena themselves? The same thing might be said of many of the other persons in 'Ivanhoe.'

The love of reality having supplanted the love of romance, it is but natural that in novel-writing the plot should yield in importance to character. There is, it must be admitted, an antecedent improbability in all plots, strictly so-called. Things do not happen in real life as they do in the Waverley novels. True love may not run smooth, but neither does it invariably triumph over the obstacles in its path. Nor are there always obstacles in its way. Adventure, if piled upon adventure, has an air of unreality of which even the most carefully-concealed and surprising dénouement does not relieve it. You may go even further than this, and say with the Naturalists—who bear to Realists somewhat the same relation which the latter do to the Romanticists—that in real life events do not develop themselves in any coherent order at all; that there is no beginning or ending to anything, and that the function of the novel-writer is to bring out this great fact. But the difficulty with the naturalistic theory, as a theory, is that fiction based on the idea of photographically representing life itself would be a bald series of statements of facts, like those in the columns of a newspaper. The moment it departs from this type, and adopts order, form, and method, it ceases to be naturalistic. Consequently those naturalists who, like Zola, succeed in writing interesting novels, always do so by violating in a degree the canons of their own creed. Naturalism is fortunately a French product, and has never taken a strong hold of the Anglo-Saxon imagination. In England fiction, though it has long since abandoned the paths of romanticism (for even the author of 'Contarini Fleming' and 'Henrietta Temple' does not any longer write romances), has not gone beyond those of realism, and in realistic novel-writing, *pace* Mr. White, it would be hard to name any one who could be for a moment compared with Trollope. It is said that he holds and has expressed the opinion that novel-writing is a business to which any intelligent man can be brought up, and the ease and rapidity with which he pours forth stories from the press are calculated to produce the impression that the trick could readily be acquired; but, unless we are mistaken, no one ever has written and no one ever will write novels like Trollope, and the art which he possesses could no more be communicated than the art of writing good acting comedies or popular street-songs.

The 'Duke's Children' is, like all Trollope's novels, an extremely simple story. It belongs to the series in which the Duke of Omnium and Phineas Finn and his wife appear, and narrates the fortunes of the duke's eldest son and daughter. Briefly, the duke's eldest son, Lord Silverbridge, is a modern young man who has inherited none of his father's talent or capacity for governing men and particularly the members of the House of Commons, but who is fond of amusing himself, fond of horses and of the society of young ladies. He has adopted, to his father's great regret, Conservative opinions—the Pallisers always having been Liberal—and this, too, merely from having fallen into the society of other young men who hold such opinions. He is amiable, good-looking, and the heir of an immense property. His character is like that of dozens of young Englishmen of the present time, and is really so negative that it is hard to describe. He has two love-affairs, one with Mabel Grex, the fortune-hunting but attractive daughter of a ruined earl, and the second with an American girl, Miss Boncassen, whom he finally marries. Miss Boncassen's father is an American gentleman of good breeding and taste, but her grandfather was a day-laborer, so that in the matter of family there was some reason for the old duke to feel wofully grieved by his son's attachment, particularly as he would have been greatly pleased if Lord Silverbridge had married Mabel. Meanwhile he is disappointed in other things. His daughter, a charming girl, falls in love with Frank Tregear, who, though a gentleman, has no right to dream of such good fortune as marrying the daughter of the Duke of Omnium. This attachment the duke does his best to break up, of course without success. In the end Frank Tregear marries Lady Mary, just as Lord Silverbridge marries Miss Boncassen, and the duke consents. This is the sum and substance of the story, and there could hardly be less. There is besides, however, a full account of the anxiety which the younger son causes the duke by his college escapades, and the trouble caused by Lord Silverbridge's operations on the turf, in the course of which he is swindled by one Major Tifto and made to lose an enormous sum of money, and of Lord Silverbridge's election to the House of Commons and of his public service there, and of a dozen other little episodes in the lives of the duke and his children, which are all natural, all essentially disconnected and incidental, and bear no relation whatever to the main story.

As a whole it is one of Mr. Trollope's most successful novels. It is pitched in the usual quiet key which all readers of his books know so well, and which is maintained with the hand of a master to the end. We have already said that we do not think Mr. Trollope should be found fault with because his plots are faulty when compared with those which made the success of an entirely different school of fiction. If he has not the art of contriving plots he has that of telling stories, and this, after all, is the fundamental and essential thing. What the art of narration is, why some people should have it and others not, why with the same materials one novelist can hold the attention while another cannot, are mysteries of the literary craft which it is difficult or impossible to penetrate. If they could be penetrated it might be possible to teach people to write good novels, and if such teaching were given it is highly probable that the result would be the production of novels like those of Trollope. There is nothing about them which, superficially, it seems difficult to imagine a dozen writers doing equally well. They all seem, as Hawthorne said, like slices cut off the huge English cheese, and presented for our microscopic inspection under a glass case. But the exhibition must be managed by Trollope himself or it is a failure. For bringing a quiet domestic scene before the eye, for ordinary conversation of any kind, for representing the everyday events of life without exaggeration or distortion, we cannot imagine a novelist superior to the author of the 'Duke's Children.' If any one will examine such a chapter as the one which describes the breakfast-table of the duke and his two sons, and ask himself when he has read it how any detail could be altered so as to increase the reality of the scene, he will find that it is almost impossible to change a word without impairing the effect. This is something, too, which can be said of hardly any other novelist, living or dead. Whole pages and chapters might be expunged from Thackeray and Dickens with vast improvement of the general result. George Eliot might in most of her latest novels be greatly improved upon by a sympathetically critical hand. But Trollope cannot be modified any more than he could be successfully parodied. *Punch* is now attempting this feat, and we are willing to abide the result as a test.

We cannot, then, agree with Mr. White in thinking Mr. Trollope a "naturalistic" writer, though in what he has to say about the naturalistic

* 'The Duke's Children: A Novel. By Anthony Trollope.' Harper & Brothers Franklin Square Library).

theory and its tendencies his argument cannot be disputed. It is easily possible to imagine a story-teller who should apply what Zola thinks is his method to English fiction, and who should produce novels in which form should be altogether sacrificed to nature. But the thing has never yet been done, and it is unfair to attempt to fasten such an arrant piece of gallicism upon so English a writer as Mr. Trollope. He is, unless we are greatly mistaken, the last of the realists, and, like a true Englishman, not even that on any theory. He paints the world as he sees it, but he sees it with just that amount of artistic vision which saves his picture from having the dull flatness of every-day life, and yet never makes the light and shade any lighter or any darker than everybody feels to be within the bounds of naturalness. No one ever, we fancy, read a novel of his without wishing that he might soon write another, and it is only born story-tellers who leave us in this frame of mind.

AN AMERICAN WOMAN'S MEMOIRS.*

THIS autobiography was designed, as the preface informs the reader, to correct the idea that the anti-slavery movement "originated in Infidelity, and was a triumph of Scepticism over Christianity"; "to supply one quota of the inside history of the great Abolition war," and to record some characteristic incidents of the Peculiar Institution; "to give an inside history of the hospitals during the war of the rebellion"; to analyze the causes of the woman's rights agitation and of its limited influence; and to trace the author's own growth from shrinking modesty to entire indifference to newspaper notoriety, and freedom from embarrassment in addressing public meetings. These several objects are accomplished in the course of the chronological personal narrative, extending from 1815 to 1865; but the chapters on Mrs. Swisshelm's hospital experience are consecutive, exclude every other topic, and, as they fill the last third of the book, obscure by their more vivid and painful interest the impression produced by the earlier history. They are frank to the verge of self-laudation, and unsparing in their censure of medical neglect and provost-marshal's red tape, of Miss Dix's primness, and of the folly and inefficiency of volunteer nurses in general. Wherever the critic may draw the line, some praise, admiration, and gratitude will remain for this part of the author's career.

It is easier to acquit Mrs. Swisshelm of scepticism than it is to define the present theological status of one who has visions of Christ as "a young man in a grey suit and soft, broad-brimmed hat" (p. 220). She was born of Scotch-Irish Covenanter stock, bearing the grim name of Cannon, and charged to the muzzle with unadulterated Calvinism. She learned to read the Old Testament rapidly before she was three years old, when she was sent to school and showed unusual precocity. She made the great mistake of her life in marrying a rather illiterate Methodist farmer, who wanted her to become a preacher in his church, and whose bigoted mother made her conversion a *sine qua non* of their living comfortably together under the same roof. It does not appear from anything said in the book that her husband has passed away (he married again in 1870), and it would be curious to know whether the world's progress has had such an effect upon him that he can read with complacency, or at least without a blush or without resentment, this account of the causes of their domestic infelicity. The saddest feature of the long struggle which ended in her desertion of him was that her endurance broke down (at the age of forty) just after the birth of the only child that lived to form a bond between them. "He was," she says, perhaps forestalling his epitaph, "not much better than the average man: knew his rights, and knowing sought to maintain them against me." These rights had special reference to her inherited property, and he enforced them with a closeness which made him threaten to file a claim against her mother's executors for wages for the time spent away from him by his wife, without his permission, while nursing that mother in her last illness. This seems shocking enough to-day, but it reflected the spirit of the law quite as much as the character of an individual, and Mrs. Swisshelm, who had previously written articles for the Pittsburgh *Commercial Journal* against the Mexican War, began to publish, after legal study, a series of letters on the subject of a married woman's right to hold property, which led, as she believes—not without help from other quarters—to the passage of a law by the Pennsylvania Legislature, in the session of 1847–48, securing that right. At least, some months afterward, "a young lawyer from Steubenville named Stanton," the future Secretary of War, and henceforth her good friend, sought an introduction to her, and said (p. 104): "I called to congratulate you upon the passage of your bill. It is a change I have long desired to see." Doubtless, Mrs. Swisshelm is prouder of this achievement than of her suggestion of the United States Court of Claims (p. 130), or of the rear red-light signal on railway trains (p. 158).

Mrs. Swisshelm was an abolitionist by virtue of her parentage:

"In the year 1800, the Covenanter church of this country said in her synod: 'Slavery and Christianity are incompatible,' and never relaxed her discipline which forbade fellowship with slaveholders—so I was brought up an abolitionist. I was still a child when I went through Wilkins township collecting names to a petition for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Here, in a strictly orthodox Presbyterian community, I was everywhere met by the objection: 'Niggers have no souls,' 'The Jews held slaves,' 'Noah cursed Canaan,'" etc. (p. 34).

The family pastor, too, Dr. Black, was in full accord with the synod:

"In the communion service is a ceremony called 'fencing the tables,' which consists of an appeal to the consciences of intended communicants. Dr. Black began with the first commandment, and forbade those living in its violation to come to the table, and so proceeded through the decalogue. When he came to the eighth, he straightened himself, placed his hands behind him, and with thrilling emphasis said, 'I debar from this holy table of the Lord all slaveholders and horse-thieves and other dishonest persons,' and without another word passed to the ninth commandment."

Slavery still lingered in Pennsylvania in Mrs. Swisshelm's early childhood. After her marriage she went to live in the midst of "woman-whippers" in Louisville, Kentucky, and still later she fought the system in the Territory of Minnesota on the very eve of the civil war. She tells some harrowing tales of Kentucky cruelty, but perhaps nothing better marks the character of slavery than passages like this:

"Jerry Wade, the Gault House barber, was a mulatto, who had bought himself and family, and acquired considerable real estate. In the back of one of his houses lived his son with a wife and little daughter. We rented the front, and mother sent me furniture. This was highly genteel, for it gave us the appearance of owning slaves; and Olivia, young Wade's wife, represented herself as my slave, to bring her and her child security. As a free negro she labored under many disadvantages, so begged me to claim her" (p. 62).

Or this (of earlier date):

"To a white woman in Louisville work was a dire disgrace, and one Sabbath four of us sat suffering from thirst, with the pump across the street, when I learned that for me to go for a pitcher of water would be so great a disgrace to the house as to demand my instant expulsion" (p. 60).

With this, however, it is wholesome to compare the following reflection upon the usages of her own Northern neighborhood and home:

"Pennsylvania customs made it unmanly for a man or boy to aid any woman, even mother or wife, in any hard work with which farms abounded at that time. Dairy-work, candle and sausage-making were done by women, and any innovation was met with sneers. I stubbornly refused to yield altogether to a time-honored code which required women to perform out-door drudgery, often while men sat in the house."

In 1848 Mrs. Swisshelm started the Pittsburgh *Saturday Visiter*, a Liberty Party paper. She was not the first woman-editor in the country, but in direct participation in politics she perhaps took precedence of all other journalists of her sex. She had a plain and forcible style, sufficient positiveness and impulsiveness, and did her share in fostering the anti-slavery sentiment of the North. In 1850 she became the Washington correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, and maintained relations with that paper till the close of the war. In 1857 she removed to St. Cloud, Minnesota, where she established a new *Visiter*, and speedily got into hot water with a wealthy slaveholder and his dependents and tools. Her printing-office was mobbed at night by a vigilance committee, and part of the contents thrown into the Mississippi, as in Lovejoy's case, twenty years before. At an indignation meeting held on the evening of the next day she made her maiden speech, with a mob at the doors, and at the imminent peril of her life, which had been already threatened by her persecutors. She had made her preparations for death:

"James McKelvey, a lawyer, and nephew of my husband, drew my will, and I executed it, settled my business, and wrote a statement of the *Visiter* trouble, that it might live if I ceased to do so; then went to bed, sent for Miles Brown to come to my room, and saw him alone. He was a Pennsylvanian, who had the reputation of being a dead shot, and had a pair of fine revolvers. He pledged himself solemnly to go with me and keep near me, and shoot me square through the brain if there was no other way of preventing me falling alive into the hands of the mob. My mind was then at ease, and I slept until my mail was brought."

The temporary triumph of free speech did not extinguish the pro-slavery sentiment of the Territory, and few things in this narrative seem more remote, or, being realized as recent, seem more incredible, than the murderous fugitive-slave riot in Minneapolis in 1860.

It remains to say a few words about the Sioux outbreak of 1862, which converted our philanthropist into one of the most unrelenting enemies of the Indians. Singularly enough, her desire to see them exterminated is justified by her abhorrence of their polygamy and the servile condition of their women. It is clear, however, that her nervous system, unstrung by her wretched married life, and still further weakened by her recent conflict in Minnesota, passed altogether out of control in view of the savage atrocities of the Sioux. While these haunt her imagination she finds the Northern sentiment of pity

* 'Half a Century. By Jane Grey Swisshelm.' Chicago: J. G. Swisshelm. 1880.

for the aborigines abominable, and writes as wildly about it as any member of an Indian ring might do. "No one pretends," she shrieks rather than exclaims, "that Western settlers have injured Indians; but Eastern philanthropists, through the Government they control, have, according to their own showing, been guilty of no end of frauds; and as they do not and cannot stop the stealing, they pay their debts to the noble red man by licensing him to outrage women, torture infants, and burn homes." She scouts the idea that the Indians had any title to the lands they were occupying when the country was first colonized. Penn's treaty was "one of the greatest swindles on record since that by which Jacob won the birthright of his starving brother"; and apparently the "woman-whippers" of Georgia in their dealings with the Cherokees set a shining example of theory and practice. It is enough, by way of comment upon such incoherency, to remark that one must not turn to this volume for any light on the causes of the Sioux outbreak, on the extent of the massacre, or on the justice of the multiple hangings which succeeded it; nor, either, for an explanation of the failure of our Indian policy, or for one humane or practicable suggestion how to redeem it.

Mountain and Prairie. A Journey from Victoria to Winnipeg. By the Rev. D. M. Gordon, B.D. (Montreal: Dawson Bros. 1880.)—On the 20th of July, 1871, British Columbia joined the Dominion of Canada, one of the articles of confederation stipulating that the Government of the Dominion should begin the construction of a Pacific railway in two years and complete it in ten. The ten years have nearly expired, and at present there are 226 miles of the road in operation near Lake Superior, 505 miles under contract, and 1,225 miles on which nothing has been done except to locate the line. Nearly $4,000,000 have been expended in the surveys, and different routes have been examined which aggregate 46,000 miles in length. The numerous parties which have made these surveys from time to time have rendered their official reports and statistics to the Dominion Parliament, while nearly always there has appeared a narrative in a more popular form from the pen of some one who accompanied the expedition as a volunteer or an amateur. The book before us belongs to the latter class. The writer was one of a party sent out in May, 1879, for the purpose of examining a route from Port Simpson, near the Alaska boundary, through the Peace River and Pine River passes to the plains. He hopes that "the record of his journey across mountain and prairie may be of use in acquainting some of his fellow-countrymen, in a slight degree, with the character and resources of that half of the Dominion that lies between Winnipeg and the Western Sea."

The Peace River and Pine River passes were found to possess but slight obstacles to the construction of a railway, their elevation being less than three thousand feet above the sea, but the Dominion Government has since decided definitively in favor of the southern route by the Fraser River, in order that the trade of the lower portion of British Columbia may not seek its way East by California and the United States road. The resources of the country he traversed are sketched by the author with no hesitating touch. British Columbia is rich in lumber, coal, and mines of precious metals; its climate is mild, its harbors never freeze, and they are connected by an inside route, between the islands and the main shore, whose waters are not disturbed by ocean storms. The plains east of the mountains are still more valuable; here are coal-fields 80,000 to 100,000 miles in extent, future provinces, "larger than Scotland," where the wheat yield is "from 50 to 100 per cent. greater than that of the best wheat-lands of the United States," great rivers navigable for hundreds of miles, peaceful Indians, and all the elements of prosperity except a population—which will come as soon as the railroad is built. As an ardent loyalist the author scouts the idea of Canada ever being anything but a British colony, and he considers that these lands "offer special attractions to immigrants from the mother country, for there the shield of the Empire will still be around them"; and he states that the increasing knowledge of the country tends to confirm rather than to refute the contention that "four-fifths of the wheat-producing belt of North America will be found north of the international boundary." In short, the book is a type with which we were very familiar ten years ago, when the lands of the Northern Pacific Railroad were described in such glowing terms, or compared with the less-favored section through which a road had already been built and proved a success. The little incidents of travel, the character of the Indians and half-breeds met on the route, the life at the Hudson Bay posts, and the success of the missions alternate with descriptions of the latent wealth of the country and predictions of its future prosperity. Many of the predictions about our own Northwest have already proved illusory, not a few of them have been fully verified, and the greater part still remain uncertain. It will probably be the same with the lands across the boundary line. Meanwhile, the importance of the Pacific Railroad to the development of Canada cannot be overlooked, and whatever throws any light on its probable success as a commercial enterprise must be of interest to Canadians, and incidentally to our own Northwestern States also.

A Treatise on the Measure of Damages; or, an Enquiry into the Principles which govern the Amount of Pecuniary Compensation awarded by Courts of Justice. By Theodore Sedgwick. Seventh Edition. By Arthur G. Sedgwick and G. Willett Van Nest. (New York: Baker, Voorhis & Co. 1880.)—'Sedgwick on Damages' needs no introduction to professional readers; it is not merely the best book on the subject, but almost the only book; and the fact that it has thus kept the field to itself for more than thirty years is no small testimony to its merits, for had there been any chance of superseding it, many writers would have been glad to try their hands on a subject so interesting and so abounding in material for a treatise. The rapid increase of this material, indeed, has compelled the present editors to bring out the book in two portly volumes, instead of the single volume of former editions.

It is perhaps surprising that this branch of the law should be so recent in its growth, since in every lawsuit that ever existed, in which the defendant was found liable, the question must have arisen, "To what extent is he liable?" The answer was usually left to the discretion of the jury in each case, and their finding was seldom interfered with by the court; or, again, a measure of damages was already fixed by agreement of the parties, as in case of a promise to pay money, so that there were but few judicial decisions which established any precedent in this class of cases. It is the vast modern increase in the number and variety of contracts, and in the magnitude of the interests involved in them, which has added so many cases to the law of damages, and has given rise to so many attempts to reduce them to a system. It seems not unlikely that this tendency to the establishment of fixed rules of compensation will become less marked in proportion as the trial of facts in civil cases by a jury falls into disuse, and a trial by a judge takes its place. That this latter change is now going on, to a very considerable extent, is certain; and it is certain also that wherever it may stop, it will make a great impression in many ways on our legal system, which is based on the idea that all matters of fact are to be determined by a jury according to rules of law laid down to them by a judge. A system under which the judge not only determines what the law is in the abstract but applies it to the facts proved, must tend to make him lose sight of abstract rules in the endeavor to attain justice in the particular case, and to consider rather what the defendant before him ought to pay than what would be a suitable measure of damages in such cases generally.

However this may be, it will be always a matter of interest to would-be plaintiffs to know what are the chances of getting enough by their suits to pay expenses; and to possible defendants, to learn the extent of the liabilities they have incurred; and on these points, so far as the courts have passed upon them, sufficient advice may be given by the aid of this book, and not otherwise. This legal classic has the great advantage over some others of having had successive editors worthy of the author. New notes to standard law-books are apt to consist of vast conglomerations of cases bearing more or less remotely on the subject of the text to which they are appended, without any but the rudest attempt to classify or distinguish them, or to point out the development of the law. The present editors have done their work with intelligence as well as industry; and some of the longer notes contain useful discussions of the present state of the authorities. The fact that they have extended to a length quite disproportionate to the original text is no fault of the editors. The complaint of the growth of law-books is as old as Lord Coke; and the same answer explains it now as then—"Crescit in orbe dolus." When the time comes, as it must come, for the book to be re-written as a whole, not the least valuable part of it will be the result of the patient and thoughtful labor which has evidently been bestowed on these notes. We wish it had seemed practicable to avoid the double system of reference; the pages of the former editions, noted in the margin, being uniformly referred to in the notes, while the paging of the new edition is used in the index and table of cases.

Dramatic Life as I Found It: A record of personal experience; with an account of the rise and progress of the drama in the West and South, with anecdotes and biographical sketches of the principal actors and actresses who have at times appeared upon the stage of the Mississippi Valley. By N. M. Ludlow, Actor and Manager for Thirty-five Years. (St. Louis: G. I. Jones & Co. 1880. Pp. xix.–733.)—This is a running tale of histrionic adventure for thirty-eight years, mostly in the then only half-settled Mississippi Valley. Born in 1795, in New York, Mr. Ludlow went on the stage in 1813, and four years later he became a manager. He was in the first regular company of comedians which appeared in Louisville (1817), and he was the manager of the first English-speaking company which performed in New Orleans (1817), Nashville (1817), St. Louis (1819), and Mobile (1824). For eighteen years he was the partner of Sol Smith in managing theatres in New Orleans, St. Louis, and Mobile; with the termination of this partnership in May, 1853, Mr. Ludlow left the stage as manager and actor. Parts of this period have been recorded before, with more or less accuracy, by Sol Smith, by Wemyss, and by Joseph Cowell; but Mr. Ludlow's knowledge was earlier and wider than theirs, and he corrects their errors unsparingly. Indeed, it seems as though the desire to

dwell on their failings was the exciting cause of his own book. To balance, it may be, these strictures, he praises the writings of W. B. Wood, of Mr. Vandenhoff, and of Mr. Ireland, carrying his admiration of the latter gentleman's 'History of the New York Stage' to the extent of openly borrowing from it something like fifty of his own broad pages. So prone is Mr. Ludlow to censure, that after sprinkling his own work with commonplace Latin quotations, he remarks upon the pedantry of Macready in using French and Latin phrases in his 'Reminiscences.' But these are minor failings. The book makes no pretence to literary merit. It is simply a personal narrative, containing a welcome mass of material for the histrionic biographer, and the future annalist of the local stages of the South and West. Careful editing would have excised the frequent repetitions, together with the many quotations from Mr. Ireland, thus reducing the undue bulk of the book. What the work chiefly needs is an index; the table of contents is full but altogether inadequate.

Mr. Ludlow tells fewer anecdotes than most of his fellow-actor-authors; but some of those he does tell are amusing, particularly the one (p. 169) of the first appearance in a low-comedy part of Sam Houston, then a lieutenant. The manager of the amateur club with which he performed was General John H. Eaton, afterwards the husband of Mrs. Eaton, of Kitchen Cabinet notoriety. It is a tradition that Junius Brutus Booth once acted *Oreste* in "Andromaque" in New Orleans in French, a tradition hitherto received without question. Mr. Ludlow shatters it (p. 231). At the request of the French citizens of New Orleans, in 1822, that Booth would act in some play more familiar to them than any of Shakspere's, he appeared as *Orestes* in Ambrose Phillips's "Distressed Mother"—an English version of Racine's tragedy. In the acting of this the French could follow him, although he spoke his own tongue, and his success was as great in Racine as it had been in Shakspere. Among other things to be noted (p. 503) in Mr. Ludlow's pages is the first performance in the United States of the "Lady of Lyons" at St. Louis in June, 1838, with Josephine Clifton as *Pauline* and an English actor named Barton as *Claude*. Hitherto the claim of the late "Count Joannes" to have been the original *Claude* in this country has generally been allowed. Mr. Ludlow also records the first production, in Louisville in 1831, of the earliest dramatization of Irving's "Rip Van Winkle," in which the chief part was played by Charles B. Parsons, an actor who afterwards, perhaps imposed upon by his name, gave up the stage for the pulpit, as Spencer Cone had done before him.

Historical Notes on Shipping. By Percy L. Isaac, Member of the Institution of Naval Architects. (London: J. D. Potter; Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1879.)—This little book of one hundred pages embodies a great many facts connected with the history of shipping, from the time of Noah's ark to the present day, rather loosely put together. The matter was, the author informs us, originally prepared as a lecture, delivered at the Jewish Workingmen's Club and Institute, and in the first few chapters an attempt is made to show that the Hebrews had a more direct connection with shipping in ancient times than writers seem inclined to give them credit for. The succeeding chapters bring the progress of shipping up to the present time, at least half the book being occupied with a very cursory view of modern systems and improvements in shipping and shipbuilding. Almost every subject connected either directly or remotely with shipping which occurs to the author's mind receives some attention. There are some very noticeable blunders. For instance, we are told that Hipparchus made a map on Mercator's projection, and that compound engines came into general use about the year 1856. A complete index ends the volume, and with more frequent reference to the authorities from which the information is derived the book would not be without some value as a very brief compendium of knowledge on a very comprehensive subject.

Little Comedies. By Julian Sturgis. New Handy-Volume Series, No. 59. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.)—At first glance it is somewhat hard to know where to place these 'Little Comedies.' Dramatic in form, and in form only, they wholly lack the action which is the life of the drama. They are but dialogues, almost without movement, and they are not always even so far dramatic, for in "Half-way to Arcady" the dialogue dies away, and in his proper person the poet himself sums up in the regular rhyming tag. Obviously, these are comedies not meant for the use of comedians—even in a parlor. Fortunately the author steps in to help us out; they appeared originally in *Blackwood's*, and in a later number of that magazine is another little comedy, "A Lay Confessional," evidently from the same hand, and this is preceded by a brief letter, in which the writer calls his work a sketch "thrown into a dramatic form." "Do not be deceived by its form into supposing this to be a play," he adds. "It is only a series of scenes, without beginning, middle, or end, . . . making no pretence to completeness." And this fairly enough characterizes the book before us. Only two of the six pieces are in verse, but in two others the characters drop into fragments of pretty and dainty song. In "Half-way to Arcady" and in "Fireflies" there is a commingling of wit and of fantasy not remotely recalling De Musset; and, as in many of De Musset's plays, the action seems to pass in that Bohemia which is a desert country by the sea. "Apples" we like less; we have heard of its being acted—by main force doubtless, for it is not bright enough for the stage. Indeed, "Picking up the Pieces" is the only play likely to reward the player; this is accidentally dramatic enough to act; it has sufficient story, sufficient climax to hold an audience, and its very clever wit is more robust than the jesting in its more delicate companions.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

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Hinsdale (B. A.), Republican Text-book for 1880, swd.	(D. Appleton & Co.)	
Hirsh (H.), Practical Treatise on Juries	(George S. Diossy)	
Oncken (W.), Allgemeine Geschichte, Parts 17, 18, swd.	(B. Westermann & Co.)	
Riddle (A. G.), Life of James A. Garfield	(James J. Chapman)	
Savage (Rev. M. J.), Talks about Jesus	(Geo. H. Ellis)	1 00
Sigsbee (Lt.-Com. C. D.), Deep-Sea Sounding and Dredging	(Washington)	
Stieler (A.), Hand-Atlas, Parts 16, 17, swd.	(B. Westermann & Co.)	
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Continued from page iii.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 26, 1880.

The Week.

THE great Republican "find" of the week has been a passage in a speech of Wade Hampton's at Staunton, Va. He is reported by two of the local papers to have requested his hearers to think how Lee and Jackson would have voted at the coming election, and "to remember that the principles they died for are again on trial to-day." On this getting abroad he supplied to the press his own version of his remarks, in which the only allusion to Lee and Jackson is contained in the question, "Will the men who followed Lee and Jackson sacrifice the Democratic party, sacrifice the South, etc.?" Usually a man's own version of what he said is accepted as either a correct report of what he did say, or as a correct account of what he intended to say. In either case it destroys the effect of what he is reported to have said, by showing that he did not think it a true or wise thing to say. It is, however, just now so important that Hampton should have said what he is reported to have said, as supporting the "Solid South" and "secession" cries, that he finds he cannot escape by any correction, and the original report is published daily by the *Tribune* in leaded type. He very probably did speak as first reported; the evidence on this point seems strong. What he said, too, was in part true: Lee and Jackson if alive to-day would, everybody feels sure, vote for Hancock; and "the principles they died for," so far as known, were the principles that a man's first allegiance is due to his State and that his State has a right to secede from the Union. These principles, however, have been considerably modified by the war, as everybody knows; so far modified that Lee and Jackson would hardly recognize them if they saw them now, and would never think of dying for them. So that when an orator says they "are on trial again" he says a somewhat empty and very rhetorical thing, which political opponents who had a strong case of their own would be very willing to let him withdraw or change as much as he pleased. The frantic eagerness to hold on to it displayed by some of our Republican contemporaries, like the exposure of the English mortgages, has a painful appearance of poverty which cannot but be injurious to their own party. The Hampton speech is a good little thing in its way; but it's a poor thing to go round with as your dearest earthly possession.

There seems to be no limit to the things out of which "political capital" may be made. Some negro voters in this city announced their intention to vote against Garfield because Governor Cornell refused to pardon Cox, while the Italians resolved to avenge the execution of Balbo in the same way. Under an act of the Connecticut Legislature, passed last year, the State Board of Health has ordered an examination of the employees of the State railroads in regard to color-blindness and visual power—a most necessary measure, considering the enormous increase of traffic on all the lines and the extent to which the safety of passengers is dependent on the capacity of the officials to see distinctly and distinguish colors clearly. An examination was accordingly begun last week on the New York and New Haven line by experts of the highest order, and two men, an engineer and conductor, were found defective. Two more were found defective on the Shore line, and then came the mass-meeting, and the petition, and the "intense excitement," and "the pressure," and then an order from the Board of Health to the doctors to stop the examination. The Democrats have now taken the matter up, and declare that as the law was passed by a Republican legislature it must needs help the Democrats this fall, and, in fact, has ensured them the State at the Presidential election. They maintain that the tests applied by the experts are European and monarchical tests devised by rich men, and that they cannot and ought not to be applied to the eyes of poor men in a democratic country. The examination will probably not be resumed until after the election, as otherwise the color-blind vote would all go to Hancock. We think it would in any case. Whittaker's case, which is now before the Secretary of War, has been indefinitely postponed, probably for a similar reason. His friend, Professor Greener, has asked for a court-martial for him, which he certainly ought to have if he wants it, but it would hardly do to have him found guilty either in September or October.

The old story about the payment for the slaves emancipated by the war, and of the man in Georgia and several men in other States who have filed lists of the slaves so emancipated at the county clerk's office, with a view to claiming the value when the Democrats come into power, has come up again this week. This is probably the oldest campaign story now in use, and, considering the service it has rendered, it looks remarkably bright and fresh. The estimated value of the slaves, at an average of $300 a head, is $1,200,000,000, which is to be raised, in case of Hancock's election, either by loan or taxation. The best we can hope for is that the Democrats will not raise it all by taxation in one year. Common humanity suggests that they should borrow a part of it. We ought to add that Democrats will pay none of it themselves. It will be raised exclusively from Republicans, and only in the Northern States. This fact, which has not as yet been mentioned, is important. It accounts for the eagerness to pay for the slaves which Democratic voters now try in vain to conceal. Their own share, if they were honest and decent, would be $600,000,000, and if they had to meet it the ex-slaveholders might whistle for the money; but the plan of putting all on to the Republicans makes them quite restless.

General Butler has at last caused it to be announced that he is going to return to the Democratic party, and the touching ceremony is to take place publicly at Faneuil Hall, in Boston, on Saturday next. In order, however, that he may not be suspected of unworthy motives he has also caused it to be announced that this year he does not seek the nomination for the governorship. and will fill the place of an humble worker in the great cause by taking the stump for Hancock. There appears to be some doubt whether his advocacy will be beneficial or not, but he is said to be going to quiet the committee on that score by paying his own expenses. His oratory must surely be worth something if it costs nothing. His departure will be a considerable relief to the Republicans, as his former high standing in the party and his retention of a certain Republican following, including Simmons, the Grant Collector of the Port, made even his nominal adhesion a source of considerable embarrassment. That a man of mature age, who was at one time so well grounded in Stalwart principles, and had made himself so terrible to rebels and ex-rebels, should deliberately quit the true church, is, however, no matter from what point of view we look at it, a most distressing circumstance. He must be as honest and patriotic now as he was when Senator Dawes was stumping for him on the theory that his election to Congress was necessary to put a stop to the wholesale murder of negroes, which, according to him, was constantly going on at the South. He will, however, be a very amusing Democrat, and thus meet one great want of the Democratic party—that of "a funny man."

The Republican State Committee of Alabama have put forth an address to the country on the subject of frauds at the late election. It is in the main a well-considered document, and its specifications call for categorical disproof by the victorious party. It opens with a statement of the Democratic modifications of the election law made with a view to the greatest laxity in voting and counting, and then passes to details. The law still provides that the board of inspectors shall contain representatives of both parties, but the Republican nominations were disregarded at pleasure, and a colored inspector was generally chosen for his stupidity and the consequent greater ease of cheating. Some of the tricks described, such as putting out the candle and then stuffing the ballot-box, read like a parlor amusement for children, and in this light the whites evidently regarded the colored assistants and voters. When the poll was overwhelmingly against the Democrats, sometimes the majority would be announced to the expectant crowd and then sup-

pressed in the counting; sometimes a white militia company would be sent for to disperse an alleged mob, before the count was undertaken; and again, a trumped-up charge of disorder would be made by the Democratic inspectors, the polls closed, and the election declared invalid. In short, neither conscience nor bodily fear characterized the behavior of the whites, and the report says, no doubt with perfect truth, that "the people are as much opposed to negro suffrage now as they ever were, and, while professedly accepting the Constitutional Amendment, do not regard it as an offence morally to take advantage of the timidity and ignorance of the negro to nullify his vote." A table embodied in the report shows how the Republican majority in Montgomery County is regularly sustained at Federal and reversed at State elections—an argument, as far as it goes, in favor of Federal supervision at the former, but perhaps not a fair measure of fraud and intimidation, considering the fluctuations of "off years."

The arrival of Mr. Thomas Hughes, in company with a number of English gentlemen and ladies, with and without titles, who are interested in a colonization scheme in Tennessee, has recalled the circumstances which led to the Boston "Board of Aid to Land Ownership" being formed in 1877, and to its afterwards passing into the hands of Mr. Hughes and his associates, for quite a different object. The Boston notion was a philanthropic device for relieving the prevailing hard times by facilitating the transfer of population from cities back to the country, in order to earn a subsistence by agriculture. Naturally, this contemplated the improvement of the poorer classes. The Board went so far as to make a thorough examination of all parts of the West and South with reference especially to a New England immigration, and concluded that the high table-land of Eastern Tennessee offered the most healthy and fertile and minerally rich location for the proposed colony. Beyond this nothing was done, and the necessity diminished with the disappearance of the hard times. The Board's English successors have actually secured a large acreage on the Kentucky border, and have begun to lay out, not far from the Cincinnati Southern Railroad, a settlement which is designed to attract struggling English tenant-farmers, and the sons of the gentry and of the well-to-do mercantile and manufacturing class, who find a home career difficult on account of competition. The colony starts, then, under excellent patronage, with a high grade of population, sufficiently homogeneous, and isolated from the social and political influences of the vicinity without being remote from its markets. Its value will clearly be as a nucleus for opening up a much wider region, and drawing thither not only an humbler class from England, but certainly at no distant day as good Northern stock as is to be found in New England. Meantime, the State's casting its vote in favor of honest payment of its debts will do much to encourage the present enterprise and to hasten future similar ones.

We expressed the opinion last week that the *Times's* Indiana correspondent would, if he were not interfered with, get at the bottom of the Indiana conspiracy. He has done it in less time than we thought he would, and communicates the result in a letter published in the *Times* last Monday. Some of his inferences we think are erroneous, but the strength of his imagination is a guarantee for the accuracy of his facts. The letter contains a good deal of denunciation of the *Nation* and of all "ignorant journalists," and asserts that our suggestion of a corrupt combination between the Republicans and Democrats with regard to the Constitutional Amendments is unsound. It gives the history of the litigation as follows: The "test case," it seems, was made up in New Albany. Whether this is of itself a suspicious circumstance or not we do not know, but presume that making up a test case in such a place must be almost a badge of fraud in itself. It was made up as a suit against the Inspector of Elections (a Democrat) by one James V. Kelso (a Democratic lawyer). Kelso "gave the case in charge" to one John H. Stotzenberg (a leading Democratic attorney). In short, as the *Times* correspondent shows, "it was a Democratic affair throughout." Even before the case was tried a Democratic sheet announced that the amendments would be declared not adopted by the Supreme Court. The lower court, "of course," held the amendments to have been validly adopted, this being "necessary" to allow the other side to appeal—a new fact in the case, showing that political corruption has tainted the lower as well as the higher tribunals in Indiana. This, however, might have been anticipated; it is impossible to keep the lower courts pure if the courts of appeal are once tainted. The case came to the Supreme Court, "and here for the first time the Republican attorneys appear." Why they appeared the correspondent does not state, but he adds a fact which, to our mind, throws a flood of light upon the case: Mr. Stotzenberg "was given the preparation of the appeal papers."

It is almost needless to add that "when the Republican attorneys came to look at the record" it was discovered that Mr. Stotzenberg had submitted to the court as one of the "agreed facts" that at the April election the township trustee vote had been considerably larger than the amendment vote. We cannot agree with the correspondent that this "was a very singular thing for Mr. Stotzenberg to have done," because Mr. Stotzenberg has been shown to be a Democrat, and consequently a bad man. But it was certainly a very strange thing for the Republican counsel to allow their opponent to draw up an agreed statement of facts for them unless there was a corrupt understanding. The motive for such an understanding may be difficult to get at, but the correspondent has laid bare the facts, and they cannot be explained away. Of the petition for the rehearing the correspondent repeats his previous account. In conclusion he calls attention to the fact that "this whole matter has been cooked up and managed in New Albany for some reason"—one of the majority judges even goes so far as to live in New Albany. He points out, too, that the Albany *Law Journal's* article does not settle the law. We trust he will not allow impatience with our ignorance of the case to prevent his continuing his good work. He is on the spot, and can find out what Stotzenberg is doing if anybody can. All we can do is to draw inferences from the facts as he establishes them, and it occurs to us that the case, as he states it, tends to show a conspiracy between the leaders of the two parties in Indiana—for what purpose, of course, we do not know; otherwise why was Stotzenberg allowed to admit facts which enabled the judges to render their infamous decision? We hope the *Times* will ultimately make known its correspondent's name; perhaps it would interfere with his usefulness to do so at present. We need not say that meanwhile we shall trust that the unseemly license given to Stotzenberg may be explained away.

Nearly one million and a half dollars of foreign gold arrived here from Europe during the week, and a great deal more is on the way. This has happened, too, when the rates of foreign exchange were not low enough to show a clear profit in buying gold at the ruling price in the foreign markets and selling it at current prices here as a commodity. Foreign exchange has so ruled, however, that there was no loss in using gold rather than bills, and the result is an important present and prospective acquisition of gold by this country. At the close of the week foreign exchange was so "heavy" that a further decline in rates seemed imminent. Notwithstanding the gain of foreign gold, the New York banks continue to lose in reserve. The surplus has gone down to $7,300,000, and in view of the large demands for money incident to the great business activity several schemes have been canvassed for relieving the autumn money market. The most important of these is one by which the Treasury shall substitute "coin" for the $34,000,000 fund of legal-tender notes held in the Treasury for one account and another of the banks. At the Stock Exchange the week has been dull and uneventful, although at the close a ripple of activity was caused in the stock market by the announcement, on good but not official authority, that a new trunk-line is to be created, in the interest of the Wabash system of roads, by extending the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western road from Binghamton to Buffalo. This would make a route from thirty to fifty miles shorter than the Erie and the New York Central, and would practically make the docks at Hoboken the eastern terminus of the Wabash system of roads. The Bank of England did not advance its discount rate (2½ per cent.), but the Imperial Bank of Germany did put its rate up 1 per cent. Silver bullion in London declined to 52½*d.* per ounce; and the bullion value of the silver dollar here fell to 87¾ cents ($0.8778). The scarcity of currency is having the

effect of driving these dollars into circulation, and the demand on the Treasury for them has been larger during the last week than for a long time before.

The news from Ireland does not change in character. There are still reports of Fenian drilling and of the landing and distribution of arms, in which there is apparently more or less truth; but some of the stories, such as the placing of gunpowder in a tunnel under the Cork barracks, are clearly sensational, and intended to frighten the authorities. The Government has been asked what it intends to do in any case, owing to the defeat of the Compensation Bill, if landlords in the distressed districts attempt to evict for non-payment of rent. Mr. Forster has answered unhesitatingly that they mean to enforce the law. The constabulary has accordingly been reinforced by a strong regiment of marines. In fact, any hesitation on the part of the Ministry on this point would lead to a general refusal of rent everywhere, and the practical spoliation of the whole landlord class. But strong appeals are being made by the press to the landlords not to insist on their full rights, in the interest of their own class, as well as in that of public peace. Many of them, in fact most, are between the devil and the deep sea, as most estates are saddled with liabilities under wills and marriage settlements which must be met, rent or no rent.

A weighty and most valuable contribution to the literature of the Irish land question has been made in the *Fortnightly Review* by Judge Longfield, who was for many years, if he is not still, judge of the Encumbered Estates Courts, established after 1847, and whose practical acquaintance with the subject probably surpasses that of any man now living. He acknowledges that the position of the Irish landlords is at present very precarious. They have property without political power to defend it, and that property is an object of envy to electors who in case of spoliation will know exactly what share of the spoils will fall to themselves. He therefore proposes, as a concession to justice, the extension over the whole island of what he calls a "parliamentary tenant-right"—that is, the legal recognition of the interest of the tenant in the land, equivalent to seven years' rent; the rent to be adjusted every ten years by the parties themselves. If at the period of adjustment they could not agree—that is, if the landlord asked a higher rent than the tenant was willing to pay—the landlord could take possession of the land on paying the tenant seven times the amount of the rent *demanded*. If, on the other hand, the tenant offered a lower rent than the landlord was willing to receive, the tenant on surrendering the farm would only receive seven times the amount *he offered*. It can be easily seen how this arrangement would work to prevent any wide divergence of views about the rent. Into the other details of the scheme we have not space to enter here, but that it or something like it will be embodied in legislation during the coming winter there can hardly be a doubt.

The state of Mr. Gladstone's health has, of course, a depressing effect on all Ministerial action, and is a serious loss in the matter of the Indian finance, in which a confusion reigns which nobody but himself seems competent to put to rights. But in another way it has helped the Cabinet by the evidence of his immense popularity which it has evoked. This popularity is so great that it has cowed his bitterest enemies into an appearance of concern and even of anxiety. No English statesman since Pitt has been honored and trusted by the mass of the English people as he now is. The recognition of his real greatness is so general that the London feeling about him during the Beaconsfield tenure of office has an almost comic aspect as one looks back on it. There is an aspect of it, however, which is not comic: it seems to indicate a separation in feeling and mental outlook between the wealthy and professional classes in London and the rest of the nation of the most extraordinary and grave kind, considering how much the Government for the time being, as Mr. Gladstone in one of his magazine articles has pointed out, is influenced by the former.

General Roberts, with his ten thousand—exclusive of camp-followers, almost equally numerous—has by this time perhaps ceased to be "in the air": according to a letter from the commander at Kelat-i-Ghilzai he was expected to reach that place on August 24. Amir Abdurrahman, on the 19th, reported favorably concerning the same army's advance in the first ten days. No resistance had been met with in the Logar Valley or at the gates of Ghazni, but the statement is suspicious that the "Sirdar of Ghazni, who was hostile, had fled," and still more so is another report, according to which Mohammed Jan and Hashim Khan, the leaders of the Yakub Khan party in that central region, were hovering around General Roberts's flanks. These chiefs had been acting ostensibly in the interest of the captive ex-Amir's young son Musa, but they and Ayub Khan, Musa's uncle, may easily make common cause or act in concert for the moment, and if Ayub is strong and energetic enough to check Roberts's march in front, a movement in the rear might still become exceedingly perilous to the latter. But it is more probable that Ayub will fritter away his time and forces by simultaneous or successive attempts, without vigor, at reducing Kandahar and attacking both Roberts and Phayre, who advance from different sides against him. At least the meagre and fragmentary accounts which reach Simla from the theatre of the war, chiefly *via* Quettah, seem to indicate a decidedly desultory course of action on the part of the victor of Kushk-i-Nakhud. The natural difficulties in the way of the relieving enterprises, however, are, as will be seen in our correspondence on another page, great, and Kandahar—blockaded, cannonaded, and poorly provisioned—needs speedy succor. This is best proved by the desperate sortie made on the 16th against a village on the east face of the city, which, though successful, cost the besieged about two hundred men in killed alone, including several officers of high rank. Phayre's movements are as yet more tentative than real, owing to lack of strength and transportation, as well as to the active hostility of the neighboring tribes; but Roberts, having no base, cannot afford to be slow, and the fate of the isolated garrisons—which involves that of his own army—must soon be decided.

The question raised in this country as to the claims of the insurance companies on the money received for the *Alabama* damages has come before the English courts in the case of Bernard *agt.* Rodocanachi. The defendant had some tobacco insured which was captured by the *Alabama*, and he recovered from the United States the amount of the difference between his insurance and the value of his tobacco. For this sum he has been sued by the underwriter, and has been ordered to pay over. We presume he had technically "abandoned" the tobacco when he was paid his insurance, but the English Court of Equity did not, before granting his claim, require the underwriter to show whether he had not on the whole made money by taking war risks, and did not recognize the doctrine that the money paid by the United States was a pure sovereign benevolence, to which the principles of maritime insurance did not apply.

Gambetta has been making another of the speeches which produce a little sensation throughout Europe, not unlike that wrought by the late Emperor's chance sayings to ambassadors at the Imperial Court. He went down to Cherbourg to the local fête, on the 9th inst., in company with M. Grévy, who, though President of the Republic, found himself in the awkward position of being only the second lion of the occasion. Gambetta's utterances were somewhat obscure, but the audience apparently found no difficulty in interpreting such phrases as "There are times in the history of peoples when right undergoes eclipses"; at such times "they should wait in calmness with their hands and arms free at home as abroad. Grand reformation may issue from right. We or our children may hope for it, for the future is forbidden to none." "It is no warlike spirit which inspires this worship [of the army]. It is that we may reckon on the future, and know whether there be in things here below an inevitable justice which comes at its due time." The *North German Gazette*, while treating these sentiments as those of M. Gambetta himself, and not those of the country, says they have given rise to "a feeling of astonishment and sincere regret" in Germany, as showing that "the war party in France has numerous adherents in the ranks of the Republicans," and adds that if this talk means that France, under the leadership of Gambetta, is going to continue the traditions of the Bourbons and the Bonapartes, the Germans will be obliged to familiarize themselves with the idea that their western frontier remains insecure.

HOW TO ENSURE THE ROTATION OF PARTIES.

THE only fresh contribution to the political thought of the day made either by the Democratic platform or by the letters of the Democratic candidates is Mr. English's proposition that no party ought to remain in power longer than twenty years. We presume that if he had expounded it more fully he would have maintained that even twenty years are too many, and that a still shorter term would be desirable in the interests of that purity of administration to which he says long possession of the Government by one party is fatal. It is a great pity that we are not to hear more from him before the election on this theme, because it is a much more fruitful one than his short discussion of it would lead us to infer. If a party remains in power so long as twenty years, it must be due either to the fact that people like it and think it a good party, or to the fact that although they are convinced of its badness, they have no ready means of turning it out of office. So that Mr. English would have greatly increased the value of his letter if he had explained more fully why it is the Republicans have remained so long in possession of the Government. It cannot be, on his own showing, because they have commended themselves to the country by good administration. According to his account no more dangerous or corrupt organization ever managed the affairs of a free country. He would be the last man, too, to tell his constituents that the Republicans stayed in office because the people could not see their badness. No such explanation would find acceptance for one moment among Democrats. The Republican party must then have been enabled to retain its long hold on power by the absence of any effective means of ousting it, or, in other words, by the difficulty of bringing public opinion into action against it. Now, he was bound to tell us in what this difficulty consists. Why is it that the American people, of all peoples on earth, cannot change its rulers, when it ceases to trust them, inside a quarter of a century? If we took him unawares with this question he would undoubtedly answer that it was owing to the enormous electioneering force exerted in its favor by a huge army of officials who are compelled to "work" for it, not simply as a duty they owe to their superiors, but as a means of keeping their places and earning their bread. Having gone as far as this, he would have to go further, and tell us what he, as a reformer, proposed in order to put a stop, at once and for ever, to an abuse which removed the American Government further away from the operation of popular disapproval than any constitutional government now in existence. But on this point he has not offered a single suggestion.

Nor does he tell us how the Democratic party, if it gets into power next year, is to be got out before 1901. That the Democratic party will become corrupt by that time, at the furthest, he virtually admits. He says long tenure of office corrupts *all* parties. He ought, therefore, to have given some hint, at least, as to the means by which we are to expel the Democrats from office when we find their virtue giving way. But his letter contains nothing of the kind. What it proposes is simply that we should put in power another set of men, of essentially the same character and antecedents as the Republicans, to run the same course, encounter the same temptations, and yield to them in the same fashion at the end of the same period. If corruption is sure at the end of twenty years, we ought to be supplied with the means of cutting the term down to ten or eight years. The stock of virtue the Democrats now have on hand would probably last for two Presidential terms, but, as they are human, Mr. English will hardly maintain that it will last much longer, under the conditions which have led the Republicans into iniquity.

Now, if the Democratic Convention had produced Mr. English's theory, and proved their sincerity by a bold offer to legislate in support of it by proposing to do away with all laws or usages or practices which prevent the voter from getting directly at the Government, and making his vote tell on it promptly, they would undoubtedly have produced a profound impression. In the presence of such declarations the vagueness and windiness of General Hancock's letter would have done them no harm. If, for instance, after acknowledging and deploring the difficulty of making a clean sweep of the Administration when it has lost the confidence of the country, the Convention had promised to make newly-elected Congresses meet promptly after election instead of a half year or a year after it; had promised to deprive the party in power of the means of corrupting public opinion or foiling its action which lies in the employment of eighty thousand Government officers as electioneering agents; to forbid the taxation of Government employees for the maintenance of a fund to be used in preventing any change, and of the disposition of which no public account is ever rendered; to raise the Government officials above intimidation or corruption by giving them reasonable fixity of tenure; to forbid the restriction of the subordinate Government offices, for whose maintenance all citizens pay, to the members of any one party by the use of any political test or through the influence of the Congressmen of one party exclusively—if it had done all this it would have made a genuine, and we have no doubt exciting, demand at least on the confidence of the 2,000,000 young men who this year will for the first time vote the Presidential ticket. They would have freshened the political stream with new waters, which hundreds of thousands would have drunk and felt cured of the unutterable weariness which party warfare during the last ten years has been breeding. They might in this way have induced people to believe that "a change" was really within their reach; for Mr. English is right in saying that people would like a change. Everybody likes a change now and then, and in no sphere of human activity would a change at this moment be more welcome than in politics. But the misfortune is that our Democratic friends talk of change but offer none. Their platform was a mass of the old verbiage slightly altered in arrangement; General Hancock's letter reads like the opening chapter in a child's political primer; and Mr. English proposes that we shall allow the Democrats to perform before us for twenty years some of the old Republican tricks, which he naïvely admits will at the end of that time convert the Democrats into great rascals and leave the voters in much the same state in which they are now.

The same thing may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of the currency question. The Republicans have not made a very remarkable display of statesmanship on that subject. If they had let the silver coinage alone until they had ascertained the drift of opinion and policy with regard to the double standard in other countries, and had withdrawn the greenbacks as fast as they were redeemed, leaving a really elastic currency of gold and national-bank notes to take their place, there would be now no currency question to trouble us at all. As it is we are threatened with a crisis of some kind, no one yet knows exactly what, by the immense accumulation of silver coin, and by the assumption by the Government, in a hap-hazard way, of the functions of a bank of issue. Had the Republican party come to the resumption of specie payments as part of a well-considered financial policy, the act which provided for resumption would have left none of these subsidiary problems to vex us. But the fact is the party had no well-considered financial policy. It drifted into resumption rather than deliberately resumed. An opposition, therefore, which offered the country, instead of this shifting, happy-go-lucky mode of dealing with the public finances, a clean-cut, comprehensible body of financial doctrine, expressed in the language in use among business men, would undoubtedly offer "a change" which, to a large number of voters, would be very attractive. But there is not, either in the Democratic platform or in the letters of acceptance, a trace of anything of the kind. Every knotty question of finance now before the country is successfully evaded by the use of such vague, and, in fact, meaningless, phrases as "honest money" and "sound currency," and Mr. English so far stultifies himself as to pretend that gold and silver are of equal value, and that you can issue paper which will equally well represent both together.

In short, what the Democratic party promises us is, at best, in this field also, not change but a continuance of the lazy confidence in the good luck of the American people and the abundance of the crops, which has done so much to mar the financial administration of the party now in possession of the offices, but most probably without that sense of responsibility for the public credit which the Republican party, as the creator of the national debt, has always shown. We have no doubt whatever that the party which first promises a real change will get possession of the Government and keep it for many years. The Republican party obtained power in this way, by offering to the imagination of the generation then coming on the stage the promise of something new. This promise it has undoubtedly fulfilled. The party which is to succeed it will have to win in the same way.

Its platforms and letters will, like those of the Republican party in its early days, have no juggles, or *doubles ententes*, or sonorous evasions in them. They will be simple and sincere and plain. They will use about finance and the currency and the tariff the speech of business men. If we do not greatly mistake, they will acknowledge with the utmost boldness that the theory which makes Government employees the servants of the party in power only, and the henchmen of senators and representatives, is neither more nor less than a new form of political dry rot, which threatens the ruin of democratic institutions. We venture to say that Dr. Bushnell's prophecy, uttered now forty years ago, will find a prominent place in its campaign documents, and will furnish the moral enthusiasm without which no party in these days of vast constituencies can hope to triumph. We quoted it last week, but it will bear quoting every week, and here it is again:

"This doctrine, which proposes to give the spoils to the victors, has been imputed mostly to one of our political parties, and, as some suppose, has been avowed by that party. Of this I am willing to doubt. We shall see, perhaps, how far the opposing party will abjure this doctrine of the spoils, and whether it is not yet to be the universal doctrine of politics in the land. If so, then shall we have a scene in this land never before exhibited on earth—one which would destroy the integrity and sink the morality of a nation of angels. It will be as if so many offices, worth so much, together with the seamless robe of our glorious Constitution, were held up to be the price of victory, and as if it were said: 'Look, ye people, here is a premium offered to every discontent you can raise, every combination or faction you can mention, every lie you can invent. Cupidity here is every man's right; try for what you can, and as much as you can get you shall have.' Only conceive such a lure held out to this great people, and all the little offices of the Government thus set up for the price of the victory, without regard to merit or anything but party services, and you have a spectacle of baseness and rapacity such as was never seen before. No preaching of the Gospel in our land, no parental discipline, no schools, not all the machinery of virtue together, can long be a match for the corrupting power of our political strifes, actuated by such a law as this."

DIFFICULTIES OF THE EUROPEAN CONCERT.

THE most serious result of the disaster to the British arms in Afghanistan is probably its effect on the efforts which the Gladstone Ministry is making to secure concert of action between the European Powers for the coercion of Turkey. It is the more serious because the signs are rapidly multiplying that, in default either of united coercion or coercion by some one Power, there will be an outbreak in Turkey itself, which would inevitably bring on a general conflagration. Accordingly, the "Eastern Question" is overshadowing European politics to-day to a degree which has not been witnessed since the Greek Revolution. It is now an undisputed fact that while the Powers are arguing with Turkey the Montenegrins, the Bulgarians, the Macedonians, and the Eastern Rumelians are getting ready to fight, and that in their preparations they have not only the secret sympathy of Russia, but substantial help in the way of officers and arms. It is not likely, and certainly not probable, that any such help is coming from the Russian Government directly; but what happened in Servia in 1876 shows what can be done in this line by enthusiastic individual Russian sympathizers and volunteers. Neither the Bulgarians nor the Rumelians have ever accepted the division imposed on them by the Treaty of Berlin, or have ever concealed their intention of getting rid of it as soon as they were able. It is now openly acknowledged that they think the opportunity for getting rid of it is near at hand, and that the new state they mean to found will consist not simply of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia, but of the whole or a large part of Macedonia. This opportunity they evidently expect to be offered them by the attempt of Greece, in case the Powers do not compel Turkey to accept the decision of the late Conference, to seize the territory assigned her with her own forces. This would be the signal for a rising all over European Turkey. It might, and even may, be brought on sooner by a precautionary attempt on the part of the Turks, which they seem quite mad enough to make, to exercise the right given them by the Treaty of Berlin to occupy the passes of the Balkans. Should they make it, as they now threaten, it would undoubtedly be resisted furiously by the people both of Rumelia and Bulgaria, and Servia would probably back them up.

Turkey appears likely to hand Dulcigno over to the Montenegrins. She is bound peremptorily by the Treaty of Berlin to do this, and the Powers would, if necessary, join in a "demonstration" of some kind to compel her to do it. But the Treaty does not bind her to change the Greek frontier line. It only recommends her to do so, and she denies the right of the late Supplementary Conference to convert this recommendation into a command, and is still confident apparently that the Powers will not agree in enforcing it as if it were a command. There are now some good reasons for believing that this confidence is not without foundation. Mr. Gladstone has been working hard ever since he came into office to bring about the necessary concert, and he has achieved a certain measure of success as regards Montenegro, but it is pretty plain that he has reached the limits of his powers. There seems to be no doubt of the French refusal to join in any military action on behalf of the Greeks, although France was *par excellence* the champion of the Greeks at the Berlin Conference. There is more than one reason for this. The French representative at the first Berlin Conference was much hurt by the opposition of Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury to his proposal to make the extension of Greek territory obligatory on the Porte. The mild recommendation which was substituted for it is reported, and not without appearance of truth, to have been contemptuously agreed to by Bismarck as an act of kindness to "poor M. Waddington." If Bismarck felt this it would be characteristic of him to say it, and laugh over it. But this was not all nor the worst. The secret convention concluded by Great Britain with Turkey during the Conference, for the transfer of Cyprus and the protectorate of Asia Minor, gave real offence to the French Government as, in some sense, an act of perfidy, or, at all events, as fatal to a cordial mutual understanding. M. Waddington expressed this feeling in strong terms to the Beaconsfield Ministry, but they concealed the despatch, and, in fact, denied in general terms in the House of Commons that any such sentiments as it contained existed, until they had endeavored to soothe French wounded susceptibilities by a correspondence. It is only within a week or two that this fresh piece of their duplicity has been exposed. They did not succeed, however, in satisfying France, although they apparently got her to accept an apology. If it were not that France is now bent on not taking offence the consequences might have been more serious. Anyhow, enough sting has remained behind to make the French Ministry unwilling to follow or appear to follow England's lead in the East, and they probably chuckle a little over the difficulties which Lord Beaconsfield's great triumph at Berlin has created or left behind. The most powerful motive of all, however, for the French dislike of military intervention in Turkish affairs is the nervousness, some call it, though perhaps timidity would not be too strong a term, about all military adventures, which the late war has caused. Any one who was familiar with the French press before the war, and remembers how constantly it preached the duty, and even necessity, of French intervention and French influence to keep the world in order, and reads now the prosaic and commercial view it takes of the national mission, can hardly believe that it still addresses itself to the same people. There could scarcely be a better evidence of the depth of the impression made by the German invasion on the national imagination, and, we might also add, on the national conscience. In spite of the great size of the army, and the flourishing state of the finances and of trade, there is evidently a deep shrinking from any military enterprise, however trifling, and a deep dread of being led into some sort of serious conflict. The sneers at Mr. Gladstone as an idealist and enthusiast, too, who is carried away by his feelings, with which the Paris newspapers abound, are, to any one who remembers the old French editor who used to claim for France "the glorious privilege of astonishing the world," as curious as anything to be found in recent political literature.

Lord Granville appears to have tried to get France to join him in drawing up another collective note in reply to the answer of the Turks, but France has refused to put herself forward in the matter, and England has had to undertake the task herself. How far Austria, Germany, and Italy will go with her is still uncertain. The latest rumors point to the probability that they also will shrink from coercion. What England will do in that case is an interesting subject of speculation. The present Ministry are virtually pledged to act alone, and were the state of things in Afghanistan more satisfactory, there would be but little doubt that she would do so. That Irish affairs will exercise any real influence on the problem is not at all likely. No Irish disturbance is to

be looked for, judging from all recent experience, with which the police cannot deal, and the evident desire and intention of the Government to attempt some radical treatment of the land question must confine any attempt at disturbance to the Fenians, or, in other words, the least formidable body of agitators by which any Government was ever threatened, inasmuch as they do not seem to possess pluck enough for an ordinary street-riot. But the Afghan disaster is really a large cloud on the horizon. It greatly increases the proverbial uncertainty of Afghan affairs, and the effect of it in India, in case it were followed by another check, might be, if not serious, very troublesome. It would not be surprising, therefore, if the Government should hesitate a good deal about laying hold of the Eastern Question in a way likely to make heavy drafts on its military resources, as long as the Afghan trouble is not over. It could hardly undertake to see Greece through her quarrel with the Porte without putting fifteen thousand or twenty thousand men ashore in Thessaly or Epirus; and the difficulty of providing and keeping up such a force in the field when there is any demand for troops elsewhere, in the existing state of the British military organization, has been only too clearly revealed during the last two years of Lord Beaconsfield's mischievous activity. Foreign powers see this, and undoubtedly reckon on it as a reason for thinking that the present show of British enterprise in dealing with Turkey will not result in anything serious, and, therefore, show little readiness to follow England's lead.

That Mr. Gladstone's health has something to do with the suspense of the situation is also very probable. His colleagues would feel reluctant to force on a crisis in the East as long as he was not well enough to take an active part in directing English action in it, and to bear his share in its labors and anxieties. But they are bound by numerous pledges to persist in trying to bring about concerted coercion of the Turk as long as there is the least hope of success—that is, until they have received a categorical denial from every one of the Powers, and that they would not receive one from Russia is very certain. An article in the last *Fortnightly*, recalling the history of previous attempts at concerted military execution of their joint decisions by the European Powers, is instructive and suggestive as to the future course of events, in showing that in no case in which such coercion has been proposed and exercised have all the Powers concerned agreed to take part in it. In all cases, when the moment came for action, one or more—in some cases all but one—refused to go on. Austria and Prussia refused in this way to join in the coercion of Turkey at the close of the Greek Revolution, and France, England, and Russia acted to put a stop to hostilities. After the fighting had ceased, the Turkish recognition of Greek independence was extracted by Russia alone. The coercion of Holland, on behalf of Belgium, was undertaken by France alone, but with English consent, Austria and Prussia refusing to resort to force. The coercion of Mehemet Ali in like manner, in 1840, was undertaken by England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia; France refusing to join. In 1853, again, the coercion of Russia was participated in at the outset only by France and England, Austria and Prussia first standing aloof, but Austria finally in the second year of the war agreeing to deliver the stroke which compelled Russia to evacuate the Danubian principalities, and transferred the war to the Crimea. What all these cases suggest as now likely to occur is, that the majority of the Powers will hang back from the responsibility of initiating any movement against Turkey; but if one undertakes it alone, others, if not all the others, will speedily join, in order to have a proper share in settling the result. Should England move, and the Turks resist, so as to bring the Sultan's continuance at Constantinople into question, there would undoubtedly be a general and rapid appearance of all the Powers on the scene.

ENGLISH JOURNALISM.—IV.

THE MORNING ADVERTISER—THE STANDARD.

LONDON, July, 1880.

NEXT in antiquity to the *Morning Post* is the *Morning Advertiser*. It shares with it and with the *Times* the dignity of being a threepenny newspaper. It can hardly be said to appeal to the public in one sense, although it does so very distinctly in the slang meaning which is attached to that term. In other words, the *Morning Advertiser* is the organ—the barrel-organ, it may be said—of the Licensed Victuallers. It has been so since its first establishment in 1794, and its success depends upon the fact that every member of the Licensed Victuallers' Society—that is to say, nearly every keeper of a hotel or public-house in England—is obliged to subscribe to it. Its career singularly illustrates that combination of beer and Bible, of piety, pugilism, and publicanism, which has been displayed at many general elections. The gentleman whose name has within the past generation been most prominently associated with the *Morning Advertiser* is the late Mr. James Grant, well known in connection, it cannot be precisely said with literature, but with book-making, as the author of 'Random Recollections' of the House of Commons and of the House of Lords, and of many other things connected with London life; of a work entitled 'The Great Metropolis'; and of two volumes dealing with the history of the newspaper press. The late Mr. Grant's career illustrated the perseverance of Scotchmen, if not the perfervid genius which is sometimes attributed to them. It showed that the determination to succeed is often enough to bring about success without any reference to the intellectual qualities which are usually supposed essential to it. Mr. Grant, before he was editor of the *Morning Advertiser*, had been assistant editor to *Bell's Life in London*—a journal of the prize-ring. He was remarkable for his stern Evangelicism in religious opinion, and in this way illustrated that connection of pugilism, publicanism, and piety which has always been the characteristic of the *Morning Advertiser*. Mr. Grant had such knowledge of politics as is implied in a familiarity with the Reporters' Gallery, but his ignorance of all that lay outside the range of the lobby of the House of Commons and the vestry of the Presbyterian Church was large and comprehensive. In his day the *Morning Advertiser* was the selected dupe of the tribe of hoaxers. Indecent and profane inscriptions in Greek, purporting to have been found on newly-discovered tablets and monuments, were a form of ribald academic jesting of which Mr. Grant was the victim. He usually excused himself when the "bite," as it would have been called in Addison's time, was exposed by pleading that he was not well acquainted with "the Lawten," as Mr. Grant called the language of the Romans. Mr. James Grant did not succeed in permanently maintaining his difficult relations with the Committee of Licensed Victuallers who edited the paper over his head, and whose ignorance of men and things made Mr. Grant appear by comparison an accomplished scholar and a well-informed man of the world. On his retiring from the editorship he was succeeded by a gentleman of some note in literature and of a certain bustling power of achieving notoriety, Mr. Alfred Bate Richards. Mr. Richards, who for some reason or other preferred to call himself Colonel Richards, having held a position probably in the reserve forces which entitled him by indulgence to that designation, claimed in competition with some score of others to be the author of the Volunteer movement. He was always nearly succeeding in various enterprises, but never quite succeeded. He wrote a play called "Cromwell," which approached poetry if not closely, yet, as Mr. Gladstone would say, at a measurable distance, and which had some qualifications, but not, as proved on experience, sufficient qualifications for success on the stage. It was probably superior to Lord John Russell's "Don Carlos," a tragedy, and to Mr. Disraeli's "Don Alarcos," and if Mr. Richards had resembled either of those eminent statesmen in their political success his dramatic attempt would have preserved that sort of interest which attaches to the poems of Frederic the Great and to Goethe's speculations on color. The failures in other departments of men who have succeeded in one order of thought or action are always secularly interesting. Mr. Bate Richards wrote letters upon contemporary politics which suggested to you the idea of a man who had an ambition to be a Burke or a Junius, but who unfortunately had only the ambition. The *Morning Advertiser* in his hands was the organ of a certain premature Jingoism which in its way illustrates the connection of publicanism and pugnacity—in this case taking the form not of pugilism but of an aggressive and alarmed patriotism. On Mr. Richards's death he was succeeded by the present editor of the *Morning Advertiser*, Captain Hamber, who was formerly editor of the *Standard*. Captain Hamber is an experienced and able journalist, but political journalism in any legitimate sense of the term is scarcely possible in a newspaper whose motto of necessity must be the Licensed Victuallers first and everything else afterwards. The principal leader-writer of the *Morning Advertiser* is understood to be Mr. Charles Williams, who unites with this office that of the editor of the *Examiner*.

The mention of Captain Hamber's name suggests that of the journal which he formerly conducted. The *Standard* is the oldest of the morning penny papers now in existence. It was established in 1827 as an evening journal in the Protestant interest, then alarmed by the impending removal of Roman Catholic disabilities. It was, in fact, the evening edition of the *Morning Herald*, a journal which it has survived, and, like it, was the property of Mr. Baldwin. Its first editor was Dr. Gifford, an Irishman, and a Protestant as only Irishmen and Scotchmen can be Protestants. That is to say, he was a man whose whole creed, political and religious, consisted in vehement and passionate negation of everything that the Church of Rome asserted. The *Standard* under his management was simply a protest and a defiance addressed to every Liberal measure and statesman. Of course it was easy to find literary instruments for any sort of work that had to

be done, and Dr. Maginn, who was not troubled with any very strong convictions of his own, had no objection to defending as fiercely as might be the convictions of Dr. Gifford, or whoever his paymaster of the day might be. The Captain Shandon of Thackeray's sketch recalls the conditions of debt, drink, and imprisonment under which the highly moral and conservative articles of Dr. Maginn were composed. The minor poet, who by a sort of mental irony bore the incongruous Christian names and surname of Alaric Attila Watts, was Dr. Gifford's sub-editor. What there was in common between the bard of the Dissenting conventicles who sang "Let dogs delight," etc., and the barbarous marauders whose names were prefixed to his, is a question which it is interesting momentarily to entertain, but which it is not necessary to solve: it suggests pleasant speculations as to the mental characteristics of the humorous and slightly cynical paternal and maternal Watts. Up to the year 1846 the *Standard*, under Dr. Gifford's editorship, was steady in its support of the successive Conservative administrations of Sir Robert Peel, but when the potato disease in Ireland converted that statesman to free-trade (such are the methods of persuasion which act in England upon what are called practical minds) the *Standard* refused to follow him. It became the organ of Lord Derby and the Protectionists, and it shared their political decline. Mr. Edwin Baldwin, who had succeeded his father as proprietor of the *Standard* and of the *Morning Herald*, found his way into the bankruptcy court, and the *Standard* was purchased in these favorable circumstances by the late Mr. James Johnson, then one of the officers of the court, in whose family the proprietorship of it still remains. It was presently converted into a morning paper. Published in the first instance at fourpence, the price was reduced by successive stages to twopence and to a penny—this latest, and it may be supposed the final, point having been reached in 1858. Under the editorship of Captain Hamber the paper achieved a considerable political and commercial success, which it has more than maintained under its present editor, Mr. Mudford. It is now one of the great newspaper properties and political powers of England. Mr. Mudford, whose father was a clergyman known to the readers of *Blackwood's Magazine* a generation ago as a pleasant poet and agreeable essayist, holds upon his paper a position almost unique in journalism. By the will of the late Mr. Johnson the absolute control of it without liability to dismissal was placed in Mr. Mudford's hands on terms which, compared with ordinary newspaper arrangements, may be described as munificent. Mr. Mudford is at liberty without other restraints than his own sense of duty and his perception of the interests of the paper to do what he likes with it, and to spend what he wills upon it. His position being perfectly secure, he can cease to be editor only by his own voluntary act of resignation. It is pleasant to admit that hitherto Mr. Mudford's conduct of the *Standard* has abundantly justified the confidence placed in him. As the only distinctly and professedly Conservative journal among the morning newspapers of London, Mr. Mudford has had a large field open to him, and he has cultivated that field with success.

The *Standard* has always been honorably characterized by a certain independence with regard to its own party, and by much fairness of mind in relation to its opponents. This healthy political attitude has been, no doubt, stimulated and preserved by a standing quarrel between it and the leaders of successive Conservative governments. They have always shown a disposition somewhat to underestimate its services to them, and to seek by preference their means of communication with the public through the *Times*. Those coveted scraps of information as to impending measures, appointments to office, and ministerial changes and resignations, in the possession of which every journal is anxious to forestall its contemporaries, were systematically withheld from Shoe-Lane during Mr. Disraeli's leadership of the Conservative party and despatched to Printing-House Square. The *Standard* and its readers were reckoned upon as certain. The *Times* and that large neutral public which it addressed were worth winning over, and information, and hints sometimes more valuable than specific information, were the price at which occasional discriminating and ostensibly candid support was supposed to be purchased. When Mr. Mudford succeeded to the editorship of the *Standard* it is believed that he brought the leaders of the Conservative party somewhat sharply to book on this subject. His election to the Carlton Club in anticipation of the ordinary and long delay of the regular ballot, and in priority to many notable persons whose names had been down for years, was a recognition of his power and of his determination to exercise it. A similar fight was fought out with not quite equal success for the time being between the *Standard* and Lord Salisbury when he was special ambassador at the Constantinople Conference. Unfavorable criticism or hesitating support was met by a denial of information, or of facilities for the acquisition of information afforded to journals either more accommodating or more honestly friendly to the foreign policy of which Lord Salisbury was then the representative. When the present Government came into office the *Standard*, during some weeks, showed a favorable leaning to it which looked like a desertion to the majority, and was interpreted in that sense by the leaders and managers of the Conservative party. There was talk of establishing a new and more thoroughly Tory organ, and the relations of Mr. Mudford and the Carlton Club, of which he had become a member in a manner involving a special compliment to himself, were freely discussed. It is not probable that Mr. Mudford ever deliberately meditated apostasy to Liberalism. He probably wished to try the experiment of converting the *Standard* into a sort of penny *Times*, reflecting the changes of political and parliamentary opinion and giving a support more or less qualified to each successive ministry. The attempt was not long persisted in. Either the remonstrances of the old friends and supporters of the *Standard*, or Mr. Mudford's personal disapproval of the measures by which Mr. Gladstone committed his government to an active and innovating Liberalism, changed his purpose. The *Standard* is now as thoroughly Conservative as Lord Beaconsfield or Sir William Hart Dyke can desire. Mr. Mudford belongs, it is understood, to the class of managing rather than writing editors, but he is ably seconded in the political and literary departments of his paper by contributors. Among these, Mr. Escott, the author of the work entitled 'England: Its People, Polity, and Pursuits'; Mr. Alfred Austen, the poet and critic; Mr. Robert Williams, an eminent Oxford scholar and crammer, who has transferred himself from academic shades to London newspaper offices and law-courts; Mr. Frederick Boyle, whose agreeable and sketchy books on travel are well known; Mr. Percy Greg, the philosophic and political essayist, and Mr. Kebbel are, perhaps, most conspicuous. The musical and dramatic critic is Mr. Watson, the editor of the *Sporting and Dramatic Times*. Mr. Mudford is himself practically manager as well as editor, but in the latter capacity he is assisted by Mr. Walter Woods. The most remarkable foreign correspondent is Dr. Abel, who now represents it, as he formerly represented the *Times*, at Berlin. Mr. Matthew Macfae is the city editor. The *Standard*, perhaps more than any of its penny contemporaries, has adhered to the traditions of the old threepenny days of newspaper management. Its articles are grave and well-informed, but perhaps they somewhat lack in sprightliness and variety of topic. It continues to report the Parliamentary debates with greater fulness than any of its contemporaries of the same price; and its arrangements for obtaining news and accurate information, foreign and domestic, are very complete. It is, perhaps, rather a newspaper for the newspaper man, for the evening and weekly journalist, than for the general reader, but that it suits the general reader, too, is a fact which its large circulation and commercial success abundantly prove.

IS THE FRENCH REVOLUTION DRAWING TO A CLOSE?

LONDON, July 30, 1880.

"I HAVE," wrote Burke to a French correspondent, "told you candidly my sentiments. I think they are not likely to alter yours. I do not know that they ought. You are young; you cannot guide but must follow the fortune of your country. But hereafter they may be of some use to you in some future form which your commonwealth may take. In the present it can hardly remain; but before its final settlement it may be obliged to pass, as one of our poets says, 'through great varieties of untried being,' and in all its transmigrations to be purified by fire and blood."

These words were written in 1790. No prophecy was ever more fully justified. Sixty years later, 1850, De Tocqueville could speak as follows:

"Those who, like the Duc de Broglie, have firmly believed the Revolution to be finished give themselves up to despair, and join to the evil from which we are already suffering a thousand others still more terrible—the fruits of their disordered minds and terrified imaginations. As for me, who have long been convinced that the *social soil* of France cannot at present offer a solid and permanent foundation for any government, I suffer from the same depression, but not from the same terrors and despair. I do not believe that all is over (*tout soit fini*), nor, on the other hand, that all is lost (*tout soit perdu*). I consider my country as a sick man whom we cannot, it is true, hope to cure at once, but whose malady one may greatly alleviate, whose existence may be rendered extremely prosperous, and whose very sufferings may be productive of great results both for himself and for the whole human race."

Thirty years have passed since De Tocqueville uttered the language recorded by Senior. Once again the belief gains ground that the French commonwealth is approaching a final settlement. Most Englishmen hold this belief ungrounded, and sceptics, who think that France may still pass "through great varieties of untried being," have much to urge in support of their opinion. During a period of ninety-one years there have existed, it is said, fifteen different French constitutions; and if this computation be correct, the average life of political institutions in France does not much exceed six years. The present republic, again, exhibits alarming signs of instability. The republic of Thiers differs from the republic of MacMahon; the republic of MacMahon differs from that of Grévy, which in its turn is certain to be superseded by a very different kind of republic presided over by Gambetta. All the old revolutionary symptoms are making their reappearance. Though the country is moderate, men of moderation cannot hold their own. Gaol-birds of yesterday are to-day amnestied and admired, and to-morrow will be triumphant and in power. We know, indeed, that their triumph will not be long. Rochefort, and fanatics prepared to turn on Rochefort as a conservative and a traitor, will never be the rulers of a great country. The old game will, it is whispered, be soon played out again. Weakness will beget

violence. The threatening triumphs of bloodthirsty scoundrels will produce terror, and panic in its turn will produce that cry for order which in France is always the knell of liberty. Add to these reflections, which, as far as they go, are obvious and true, the further consideration that the French nation have not yet shown the capacity for dispensing with the ominous services of a hero, who must be the guide and is apt to be the master of the whole people. I admire Gambetta, but there are few things which seem to me of worse augury than his personal influence. One wonders whether the Republic could stand if fever or apoplexy were to strike down the great Republican leader. Still, in spite of all which may justly enough be urged by those who think that France is still far from attaining anything like that sort of settlement which in England followed the Revolution of 1688, there are valid reasons which I am anxious to state, as simply and shortly as may be, why calm observers may hold, not, indeed, that the Revolution is finished, or even that France may not go through a considerable number of further constitutional changes, but that the era of revolution is visibly, though it may be gradually, approaching its close.

1. Whoever will impartially compare the France of 1789 or 1790 with the France of 1880 must, whatever his political views, admit that the vehemence of the revolutionary spirit has declined. Rochefort and his clique are, it may be admitted, no bad imitation of the men who perorated to excited mobs ninety years ago; the ruffians who murdered the hostages are the worthy descendants of the ruffians who perpetrated the massacres of December. The difference is that ninety years ago the violence of the Parisian mob was tolerated, even when not applauded, by the middle classes of France, whilst the misdeeds of the Commune were punished with stern if not excessive severity by the statesman who more than any other man shared and represented the average sentiment of the French nation.

2. Experience has at last dispersed the mysterious reverence with which a natural misinterpretation of the traditions of the first Revolution had invested all displays of popular violence. Whoever wishes to see how strong was the imaginative effect of the supposed power and authority to be found in the action of a mob, should study the writings of Victor Hugo. This great writer displays under all his rhetoric and exaggeration a keen insight into facts and character, but one can hardly read a few pages of 'Les Misérables' without perceiving that its author is constantly swayed by the idea that there is something sacred in popular violence, and that to repress the action of a mob is in some sense to fight against God. It is, further, pretty clear to any one who studies the history either of 1830 or of 1848 that conservative statesmen themselves immensely overrated the power of the people when rising, as the expression goes, "in their might." It is possible that Charles the Tenth, it is probable that Louis Philippe, and it is certain that other monarchs who, like the King of Prussia, trembled in 1848 at the sound of a street row, might have easily suppressed insurrection by the use of military force. They were victims to the delusion that the people when aroused are irresistible. All mistake on this matter is now at an end. In June, 1848, and again in 1871, the populace of Paris were pitted with every advantage against the army. The fight was fairly fought out, and it was decisively proved that soldiers even of an inferior quality must, if true to their colors, inevitably defeat a mob, even when fighting with all the spirit of which Parisians have again and again made a display. It has further been demonstrated (and this for my present point is of great consequence) that France is, when she chooses, strong enough to curb Paris. In June, 1848, in 1851, in 1871, the country districts fought the capital and won. To say this is not to assert that in France the country is always right and Paris always wrong. The provincial conservatism which on the whole supported the President against the Republic of 1848, has nothing in it to excite keen admiration. What is of importance, in considering whether the Revolution is drawing to a close, is to note the vigor with which the sentiment of the provinces has during the last thirty-two years asserted itself against the feeling of the capital.

3. The great Revolution was in France a social no less than a political movement. There is a general impression that social reform is invariably harder to achieve than political reform. But the fact, whatever be its explanation, is undoubted that the social objects at which Frenchmen consciously or unconsciously aimed in 1789 were in great measure attained, whilst the political efforts of at least two, one might say three, generations have been hitherto marked by conspicuous failure. The social revolutionists were, it must be remarked, nothing like the men known in modern times as Socialists or Communists. The objects sought for by the nation, as by the nation's guides, were the total abolition of class privileges and, what would seem far more difficult of attainment, the transfer of the ownership in land to the cultivators. The first aim was gained almost at a stroke. The second was the result, as has been established by Doniol, of a lengthy process, the details of which must be traced out not only in the debates of assemblies but also in the decisions of the law-courts. The completeness, however, with which the desired end was by one way or another attained is shown by the fact that before 1848 the French country folk had also become the owners of the land, and, as a consequence of this, had also become the most conservative element in French life. In 1848 all the old watchwords of the Revolution, and many cries, such as the "right to labor," unknown to the men of 1790, were again trumpeted forth by democratic leaders and applauded by famished workmen; but to the surprise of Conservatives no less than of Republicans it was found that in the country the revolutionary formulas had lost their spell. Universal suffrage sent up to Paris an assembly whose one mission was to maintain order. The social revolution was, in the country districts at any rate, over. The one desire of a generation descended from the revolutionists of 1790 was to retain the possessions which had been gained for them by their fathers. They did not, it would appear, lament the Constitutional Monarchy; they did not either hate or love the Republic; what they did care for was order. They thought that the Republic menaced property, and they rallied round the President who undertook to make property secure. These notorious facts point to two conclusions: the first is that the social revolution is probably ended; the second, that if the peasantry feel that the existing Republic does not menace their rights as landlords, the mere love of order—*i. e.*, of things as they are—is likely to make them support the Republic.

4. Though every one feels that the efforts of France to secure a political settlement have hitherto failed, the exact nature of the failure has, I think, not been sufficiently considered. It is not true, as Englishmen often think, that the French have shown themselves desirous of change. Compared with England, America, or, one might probably say, Italy or Switzerland, France is a country which very rarely demands or sanctions legislative changes. The most conservative ministry which within the last fifty years has held power in Great Britain has, I will undertake to say, carried measures the very proposal of which would at the present moment drive France mad with the dread of innovation. The real weakness of French political institutions has been the want of any one point so fixed as to be beyond the possibility of change. In England, in America, in Switzerland, in all countries which politically have passed entirely out of the revolutionary stage, there are certain settled foundations to the existing institutions which no man dreams of altering. That President Hayes should not be succeeded by another President, that the Democrats would, in case of success, turn the Republic into a monarchy, are matters, I presume, which enter as little into the dreams of American radicals as does the subversion of the English monarchy into the ideas of the Right Hon. John Bright. In America, again, as in England, no human being dreams that the decisions of the electorate should not, within their sphere, be accepted as final. In France, as we all know, this is otherwise. No one is sure that a fundamental change of institutions is beyond the range of possibility. As a republic has succeeded an empire, so in its turn, think the Bonapartists, an imperial system may succeed the commonwealth. At first sight, therefore, it would certainly seem that the troubled sea of French politics is not settling down into a calm. Yet a closer view gives a different impression. One political institution has now stood unchanged for more than a generation. Ledru-Rollin was, even in his lifetime, a democrat whose name had no weight in England. Even in France he was forgotten long before his death. But the irony of fate has ordered that he should be the author of the one permanent achievement accomplished by the men of 1848. He decreed, or induced his colleagues to decree, the establishment of universal suffrage. His work has stood firm. The Assembly of 1849 attempted to undo it, and the Assembly perished by the *Coup d'état* made in the name of universal suffrage. The Empire was forced to acknowledge, in name at least, the authority to which it owed such legitimacy as it could claim. The reactionary Assembly of 1870 dared not lay its hands on a power which, after all, was its own source of strength. The mere suspicion that the conspirators of May might tamper with the suffrage threw the whole of France into the arms of the Republic. Universal suffrage, therefore, is the corner-stone of French institutions. It will, one can hardly doubt, remain so; but if this be the fact, France has at last obtained one fixed point in her political arrangements which is beyond change. Of the system which gives every citizen, wise or ignorant, rich or poor, an equal vote, much evil may justly be said. Such a scheme of government has, however, when once firmly adopted, two advantages which, in a country like France, needing above all things to terminate the period of political change, outweigh every defect: it enlists the sympathies of the mass of the people with things as they are; it also corresponds with the prevailing ideas or sentiment of the age. The notion that ultimately the majority of the people ought to be the sovereign power in each state may be erroneous, but it is one which undoubtedly commends itself to general feeling. The loyalty which used to be felt towards kings is dead, or on the way to die. The same feeling, in a somewhat different form, now attaches itself to the sovereignty of the people. To ask the reason for either sentiment from those whom it influences is almost irrational. In the Middle Ages a man was loyal to his king or his emperor just because it was natural to him to be so, and his feeling did not seem to need a reason for its justification. In modern days democrats are loyal to universal suffrage just because such loyalty harmonizes with all their feelings or beliefs, and needs no appeal to reason for its vindication. Neither kind of loyalty is, in times when it is

natural, without a ground; but each owes its force to its being natural. The French Republic is now based on an institution commanding the natural loyalty of Frenchmen. In one respect, therefore, it is based on a rock.

My conclusions may be thus summed up: France may probably go through further political transformations. The vehemence, however, of the revolutionary spirit has declined; the influence of the country as compared with Paris has increased; the social movement has been satisfied by the establishment of perfect legal equality and the creation of a body of small landed proprietors, whilst the political movement has at last led to the establishment of at least one permanent institution. France is, I infer, approaching what, to use an expression of the last century, may be called the Revolution settlement. Whether the process of "fire and blood" through which she has gone has ended in her "purification," is a problem left for the solution of a future age.

A. V. Dicey.

THE CLOUD IN THE EAST.

Paris, August 6, 1880.

I DO not remember a time when, under the pacific surface of things, the situation of Europe was in reality more confused. The partition of Poland was prepared by a century of dissensions and troubles, but it was planned in secret and executed with much rapidity. The partition of European Turkey is being prepared every day by the bad government of the Turks, by the financial and political difficulties with which the Porte is no longer able to cope; but it will not be an easy work, and for fifty years perhaps to come the Eastern question will remain a thorn in the flesh of Europe. The "sick man" is on his death-bed, but his heirs are not quietly waiting till his will is read: they are quarreling under his eyes. A dozen little nationalities have sprung up, all ready to devour a portion of the heritage.

We have been for the past few days on the eve of a great demonstration by the Western Powers against Turkey. The demonstration, to be sure, was to be merely naval; a fleet was to sail for the Eastern seas, with vessels of England, France, Italy, Austria, Germany, and Russia, with the object of coercing Turkey into obedience to the wishes expressed at the Conference of Berlin on the subject, first, of Montenegro, and, secondly, of Greece. The demonstration was to be the end of the diplomatic period of the new Eastern Question, and the beginning of a new period which was not quite military, but which was evidently, if Turkey proved too obstinate, to be followed by a common military action. The Porte could not accept the new frontier of Greece which had been proposed at Berlin by France and England, and accepted by all the Powers. This frontier may be discussed theoretically, but practically it is difficult for Greece to claim two provinces without having drawn the sword in the late war between Russia and Turkey. It has always been the habit of diplomacy to shape treaties according to the accomplished facts, to the efforts made in some sort of positive action. The Montenegrins fought, and they have been rewarded by the cession of some few towns. But it is quite a new fashion, and it would be a very dangerous fashion, for diplomats to make themselves geographers from the mere love of art, and to alter frontiers because it would suit some ethnographical views. It is almost inconceivable how much harm would be done if it was possible at any time to unite the representatives of Europe, and to give them some nice problems of redistribution of land to settle. Greece has been what she is for forty years; she has a bad frontier, to be sure, and one not adequate to the pretensions of the Hellenic world; but why has its inadequacy been discovered just now?

The extraordinary character of the Berlin Conference has led many thinking minds to imagine that there was something hidden behind the action of the Powers. Their unanimity was, of course, a mere veil. It is impossible that Russia and Germany should look with the same eyes on the development of the Eastern Question. The alliance of Prussia and of Austria is now so close that it may be said that the unification of Germany is achieved—not in the same form as the unification of Italy was accomplished, but nobody doubts that in case of a general war the two armies of Prussia and of Austria would have the same objective. The unification of Germany has been made without any revolution; the Emperor of Austria has kept his crown and his provinces, but, morally speaking, he has recognized the German Emperor as his over-lord. On what condition? On condition that there should be no return to the narrow views of the old Gotha school, of what was called Klein-Deutschland, but that the new Gross-Deutschland should accept in the East the mission which Austria has always considered as devolved upon her; Germany is bound to take under her patronage, under her hegemony, the various races of the valley of the Danube and of the peninsula of the Balkans. She must dispute Constantinople with Russia, and not allow the Dardanelles to fall into the hands of a race which is adverse to the German race. The old policy of Austria, which you will find so well embodied in the state papers and the memoirs of Metternich and in the letters of Gentz, has now become the policy of Gross-Deutschland. I have been very much struck lately by the depth and sincerity of the fear with which Russia inspires Germany; the cultured German speaks with a sort of horror of this huge, unfathomable, uncontrollable Muscovy, only rising from barbarism, unacquainted with all the Western notions of parliamentary government, and even with civil law. Under the shining surface of a servile aristocracy and a corrupt bureaucracy he will represent to you the great masses of the Russian people as a fearful instrument of invasion and conquest, as a new horde of barbarians threatening the civilization of Europe. There is, on the other side, even among the most intellectual Russians, a curious state of mind with regard to Germany: the Russians consider the German very much in the same light as the Romans used to consider the cunning and learned Greek, who came to Rome to seek for a fortune. The patriots are led to believe that all the corruption of the Russian administration is due to its German elements. You will find this idea in Pushkin, in Ivan Turgeneff. The Russian writer is inclined to look upon the Russian peasant as a model of rough purity and candor, an uncut stone, only waiting for the chisel of civilization.

The personal relations of the two Emperors, of Germany and of Russia, and the convenience of what was called the triple alliance of the Emperors have long prevented the deep-seated sentiments of the two nations from finding expression; lately a great change has taken place, and the reasons of it still remain a secret. Time will show why the German Chancellor turned round on Russia after having used the Russian alliance during so many years as a powerful weapon first against Austria and then against France; the apparent reason given by the official press has been the discovery of some intrigues between Chancellor Gortchakoff and the Duc Decazes. The Russian Chancellor is accused of having coquetted too much with France. I believe firmly that these are only reasons of convenience—apparent reasons; that there has never been any serious design of an effective alliance between Russia and France directed against Germany. Russia may at times have found the friendship of Germany too heavy—"ma funeste amitié pèse à tous mes amis"—but it was impossible for any minister in France in the state of public opinion here to enter into any binding arrangements with any other Power.

The motive-power in the mind of the German Chancellor has not been some *bon mot* of the Russian Chancellor, some hint thrown out in conversation between French and Russian diplomats or journalists; it has been a studied effort to achieve the unification of Germany under the forms best suited to the historical traditions and the feelings of the various parts of the Fatherland. This unity was, so to speak, completed when Prince Bismarck made his visit to Vienna; his presence there guaranteed at the same time the union of the north and the south of Germany, and the preservation of the curious historical aggregation of states and nationalities which goes now under the name of Austria-Hungary. The question which is now really at issue in the East is this: Which will be the controlling power, the guide of the people and the races so long subjected to the rule of the Turks—will it be Germany, will it be Russia? Will Russia be allowed to work at a great Panslavia, while she draws towards her sphere of influence the Rumanians, the Bulgarians, the Servians, the Montenegrins, the Albanians? Will she finally possess Constantinople, and in that case will she allow Austria to extend herself along the Adriatic, and as far as the Ægean Sea to Salonica? The issue is a momentous one, as the rivalry between Austria and Russia, which is of old standing, assumes new proportions from the moment when Prussia, standing behind Austria, is ready to preserve and defend her, and to impose neutrality on France, in case France should be thinking of offering a helping hand to Russia. The issue is so momentous that already there is a vague feeling that the Polish question may be soon revived. Poland is always debatable land; the Poles can hardly hope now to conquer their old independence and to form again a country, but, having three masters, they can choose one master in preference. There was a time when they were willing to throw themselves on the side of Russia, but their hopes on that side have been sadly disappointed. The heart of Poland is still in Warsaw, and Warsaw might have attracted to itself Posen and Lemberg; now things seem to be reversed: Austria has become a constitutional country. The Emperor Francis Joseph is popular, and a great Polish nobleman is said to have told him some time ago: "Sire, la Pologne est à vos pieds."

The Emperor of Austria is going to Lemberg, the capital of Galicia, a province which he has not seen for several years. Great importance is attached to this demonstration. Even the surviving officers of the insurrection of 1831, who live in Paris, have been invited to go to Lemberg. The visit to Galicia will probably not be without results. The hegemony of Germany will be extended not only to the Slavic provinces of Turkey, but to the old kingdom of Poland and to Cracow. What will Russia do in presence of these dispositions? It is said that even now Loris-Melikoff, who is an intelligent dictator, has approached the chiefs of the Panslavist party; that he has become convinced that Nihilism is only a sort of domestic Panslavism, and that its excesses were partly due to the great discontent caused by the bad results of the last war and the timidity of the Russian diplomacy. Bulgaria is in a state of fermentation; Panslavic emissaries are travelling in all the provinces where Russia means to keep some influence. A great storm is slowly but surely preparing in the East, and the Montenegrin and Greek questions are

merely like those little clouds which you see forming in the sky when the heat has become oppressive and the air is charged with electricity.

THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN.

LONDON, August 10, 1880.

SOME months have elapsed since I wrote to you regarding this seemingly interminable war. For the third time now it may be said to have recommenced in a more disastrous manner than ever, just as the Government fondly hoped that they were about to get into blue water and safe harborage. The defeat of General Burrows at Kushk-i-Nakhud is the direct consequence of the policy of the late Government to set up Kandahar as a (so-called) independent state ruled by a British nominee. This precious scheme was floated just before the late general election expelled Lord Beaconsfield and his sagacious colleagues from office. Like all the foreign policy of the late Government, it is impossible to account for this attempt to dismember Afghanistan except upon the incredible hypothesis that it was entered upon in order to do as much injury as possible to India and Great Britain before being dismissed to impotence and obscurity. A heavy portion, however, of the responsibility for this disaster rests upon Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues. It might have been averted if the policy they have pursued in Afghanistan had not been so vacillating, so feeble, and, to speak plainly, so absurd. There is not a single member of the existing Government who is not pledged, as deeply as words can commit a man, to a policy of absolute withdrawal from Afghanistan. It cannot be questioned that a frank avowal that such was the policy which, now they were in power, they intended to carry out, would have received the enthusiastic support of all Liberals throughout the United Kingdom. Nay, secretly, it would have won the approval of no inconsiderable portion of the Conservatives. The blindest partisan can hardly fail to see, after the events of the past eighteen months, that this war was begun upon calculations which have proved to be entirely erroneous, and was justified by an appeal to fears which are now seen to be groundless. The inability of the Russians to overcome the resistance of the Tekke Turkomans is an evidence impossible to question of their inability to invade, or even so much as to threaten, India. The 60,000 troops we have been compelled to throw into Afghanistan, without either subduing the hostility of the people or obtaining security for ourselves, shows how mistaken were those who declared that we had but a military promenade before us.

Afghanistan itself had been broken up by our operations into three tolerably well defined states. The northern part of the country had accepted the rule of Abdurrahman Khan; all the southern parts, including Kandahar, the country of the Duranis, and Herat, acknowledged the supremacy of Ayub Khan; while central Afghanistan—the country of the Ghilzais, with Kabul as its capital, and where the bulk of our armies was collected—remained true to the deposed Amir, Yakub Khan, and in his absence to his infant son, Musa Jan. The obvious policy for the incoming Government was to recognize this tripartite division of Afghanistan as an accomplished fact, and act accordingly. Abdurrahman had established himself in northern Afghanistan without coming in any way into opposition to us; with him, therefore, we had nothing to do. Instead of setting up a powerless puppet to rule in Kandahar, and thereby converting Ayub Khan into an active enemy, the obvious policy of the Government ought to have been to make Ayub Khan into a firm friend by making Kandahar over to him. In like manner, in central Afghanistan they should have recognized Musa Jan as the Amir elect of the Ghilzais, and all negotiations for peace and withdrawal ought to have been conducted with the great chiefs who had remained true to him from the beginning. Had this been done, every British soldier in Afghanistan would long ere this have been withdrawn within the frontier of our Indian Empire, and Afghanistan itself would have been at peace; for the three sovereigns I have enumerated, though strong enough in all probability successfully to maintain each his own possessions against attacks from the others, are not strong enough to act aggressively. In a strange, haphazard fashion a "balance of power" had in fact been brought about in Afghanistan at the time when the Liberal Government assumed office, and, in order to effect a speedy and dignified evacuation of the country, all that was needed was that the Government should make over those districts occupied by our troops to the men who had the power to rule and maintain them. The elementary sagacity to perceive this was lacking to the new Government, and the consequence is that affairs in Afghanistan are at this moment in greater perplexity and confusion than at any previous moment since we entered the country. They spent months hunting about for that impossible combination, an Amir capable of maintaining order and also a *stanch friend of the British*—as if any Afghan could be "a stanch friend of the British" who was not also a base and incapable traitor, so far as his own people were concerned. And so, instead of recognizing Musa Jan as the Amir of central Afghanistan, we have conferred that title upon Abdurrahman, who has neither party nor power among the Ghilzais. And instead of negotiating with Ayub Khan in southern Afghanistan, the Government clung to Lord Beaconsfield's puppet Wali of Kandahar, and the result is that twelve hundred British soldiers have fallen in a rout as complete and disastrous as ever overtook a British force.

There are at present two British garrisons in positions of considerable danger. About a thousand men are shut up in Kelat-i-Ghilzai, and between three and four thousand in the citadel of Kandahar. The latter are in the most pressing danger. The citadel, indeed, is too strong to be taken by assault; but it is too small to afford adequate accommodation to three thousand men, and at this season of the year the sick and wounded will suffer severely from the great heat and the innumerable flies. It requires that a man should have been in Kandahar to understand what is meant by a "plague of flies." Worse than these, however, is the scantiness and quality of the water. There is poison in the sparkling rivulets which circulate within and around Kandahar. For centuries the inhabitants have been accustomed to bury their dead immediately beyond the walls of the city, so that all around Kandahar the country is one huge cemetery, and this accumulation of human remains has made the water very impure and dangerous to drink. General Primrose, who commands at Kandahar, has already written, expressing his apprehension lest the supply of water should fail him if he be not promptly relieved. Forces from two different quarters are being hurried up to his relief, and it is to be hoped that they will be far on their way before this letter has appeared in your columns. Nevertheless, from both quarters the operation is a hazardous one, and can hardly be effected without some heavy fighting. One relieving force, under command of General Phayre, is to advance from Quettah; the other, under General Roberts, to march from Kabul. It will, perhaps, be of interest to your readers to have a description of the route which these columns will have to take.

General Phayre is at present calling in his detachments and collecting carriage at Quettah, and does not expect to be able to commence a forward movement until the 20th of this month. The troops holding the line between Kandahar and Sukkur on the Indus number upon paper eleven thousand three hundred and fifty-three men of all arms. But of these one thousand two hundred have fallen at Kushk-i-Nakhud; between four and five thousand are shut up in Kelat-i-Ghilzai and Kandahar; another seven or eight hundred men are besieged in the fort of Chaman; so that if General Phayre strips the entire line of communication he will not have many more than four thousand men with whom to march on Kandahar—a very insufficient force, unless supported by General Roberts, to meet the army of Ayub Khan, which, since the battle of Kushk-i-Nakhud, has certainly swelled to double its original strength. Quettah is not itself in Afghanistan, but stands at the head of the Bolan Pass in the territories of the Khan of Kelat. It is a march of twenty-five miles to the Afghan boundary. Kelat is divided from Afghanistan by a range of barren stony hills, and the actual gateway between the two countries is a narrow, tortuous defile winding through these hills, and affording positions where a handful of resolute men could greatly impede the march of an army. It is not here, however, that General Phayre will encounter resistance. Emerging from these hills his force will debouch on the Pishin Valley. The tribes that dwell in the mountains bordering this valley are already up, and our convoys have been attacked. But General Phayre is not likely to meet with any formidable opposition in traversing the valley. Three marches across the valley will bring his troops to the Khojak Pass, and it is at this point that his difficulties will commence. The ascent from the valley to the summit of the Khojak Hills is at first very gradual, but as the summit is approached the road becomes increasingly precipitous. The road winding in and out among the hills is almost the only part of southern Afghanistan that is not entirely hideous. The hillsides are clothed in verdure and dotted with fruit-trees, while a bright mountain rivulet intersects every grassy valley which on either side of the road runs up between the ridges of the hills.

The Khojak Pass is seven thousand feet above the sea—the highest point in southern Afghanistan. Standing on the summit of these hills the traveller looks down upon the broad plain which stretches away almost to the walls of Kandahar, a vast wilderness of red sand, which the action of the wind has piled into huge ridges. Immediately below him, at a distance of four or five miles, is the British post of Chaman, the great dépôt for supplies for the garrisons at Kandahar and Kelat-i-Ghilzai. The Khojak Pass and Chaman are connected together by a zigzag road cut out of the sides of the hills, the work of British engineers since the commencement of the present war. It is in forcing the Khojak Pass, and in the descent to Chaman, that General Phayre is likely to encounter his chief difficulties. The Khojak Hills are the habitation of the Atchikzais, an Afghan tribe who, in the war of 1838, showed themselves both daring and skilful in the practice of guerilla warfare. Hitherto we have purchased their quiet behavior; but the telegraph informs us that the news of the British defeat has summoned them to arms, and if they can concentrate on the Khojak in any force there will be heavy fighting before they can be dislodged. The descent from the Khojak is likely to prove a still more hazardous operation. The British posts in rear of Kandahar were some days ago driven back to Chaman; that post is besieged, and was yesterday reported to have been taken. Such an event would mean not only that we had lost a large quantity of supplies, but that a force of seven

hundred men had been added to the heavy list of casualties sustained at Kushk-i-Nakhud. The report, however, requires confirmation. The Afghans have not yet had time to collect a sufficient force at this point to carry so important a post. But though the fort at Chaman may escape capture, there can be no doubt that long before General Phayre has reached the Khojak Pass a multitude of Afghans will be collected in the plains below to attack him as he descends. Assuming him to have been victorious here, there remains a march of eighty or ninety miles across an open country, where, at any moment, he might find himself confronted by Ayub Khan's victorious army.

General Roberts, meanwhile, at the head of 8,000 picked troops, is hurrying down from Kabul. The distance between that city and Kandahar is 315 miles, and this General Roberts hopes to traverse in 25 days. He may possibly do so if he encounters no opposition. But it is not supposed that he will cross the country between Ghazni and Kelat-i-Ghilzai without having to fight at least one considerable action. The Kelat-i-Ghilzai garrison he will relieve and carry on along with him, and his object, I imagine, will be to unite every available British soldier into a single force before seeking out and attacking Ayub Khan. Supposing him to be successful in this, he would be able to bring about 16,000 men in line. The Afghan army would not be less than 30,000, which, with the recollection of Kushk-i-Nakhud still fresh, would be certain to fight with courage and obstinacy. What, however, the plans of Ayub Khan may be we are entirely ignorant. My own impression is that he will remain in the vicinity of Kandahar until Phayre has passed Chaman and Roberts has relieved Kelat-i-Ghilzai, when he will withdraw in the direction of Herat; and if overtaken it is not improbable that a second action may be fought not far from the scene of our defeat. It is to be hoped that when such a battle has been fought and won, the British Government will recognize the necessity of withdrawing from the country and relinquishing the benevolent intention set forth in the Queen's speech at the opening of Parliament—to bestow "institutions" upon Afghanistan.

Correspondence.

A CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I agree with your correspondent "F. W. H.," in your issue of August 19, that the abolition of the spoils system is second only in importance to the abolition of slavery, and that there is an amazing popular ignorance and indifference on the subject. The formation of a publication society, as he suggests, seems the most feasible and the first step to take. I have always had a liking for the Quaker who "pitied the poor man five dollars," and I venture to follow his example. I shall be glad to be one of five thousand to give one dollar a year, or one of one thousand to give five dollars, or one of one hundred to give fifty dollars to raise the five thousand dollars which "F. W. H." estimates as the annual cost of a publication society.

Yours truly, J. B. M.

New York, August 20, 1880.

[We have received several letters on this subject, for which we hope to find room in our next issue.—Ed. Nation.]

Notes.

S. C. GRIGGS & CO., Chicago, have in press 'British Thought and Thinkers—Critical, Biographical, and Philosophical,' by Prof. Geo. S. Morris, of Johns Hopkins University; and 'A Manual of Classical Literature,' by Charles Morris.——Harper & Bros. will shortly publish 'Historical Studies of Church Building in the Middle Ages,' by Prof. Charles Eliot Norton; 'Four Centuries of English Letters,' epistolary selections by W. Baptiste Scoones; and the last volume of Green's 'History of the English People.'——'The Political History of Recent Times,' 1816–1875, is the title of a work by Prof. William Müller, of Tübingen, to be issued by Little, Brown & Co.——J. R. Osgood & Co. announce 'New and Old,' a volume of verse by John Addington Symonds.——Mr. Aldrich's 'Stillwater Tragedy' will be brought out next week by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.——The twenty-eighth annual report of the Boston Public Library is chiefly noticeable for its account of the first step taken to connect the use of the Library with instruction in the public schools. We do not feel sure that it is a step in the right direction.——Punctually on the eve of the Boston meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science appears the plump volume of the Proceedings of 1879 at Saratoga. Prof. R. H. Thurston's paper on the strength of American timber, Mr. Warren Upham's on the succession of glacial deposits in New England, and Col. Garrick Mallery's on the sign-language of the North American Indians, are among the more interesting.——Dr. Janeway, of the New York City Board of Health, and Dr. Hunt, Secretary of the New Jersey State Board, have united in pronouncing Princeton College to be "in a thorough sanitary condition," in consequence of the complete overhauling of the drainage system and the introduction of an additional water-supply. There is, therefore, happily no fear of another such outbreak of fever as that near the close of last term, with its well-known fatal results.——In recent numbers of the Newport *Mercury* (Aug. 7 and 14) Mr. Jas. E. Mauran gives some random jottings on the early importation of China-ware into America. For the most part the old invoices and advertisements he has consulted refer to the trade of Newport. Thus, the first use of the term *China* occurs in connection with an importation of sixty pieces into that town in July, 1722.——In the August number of the *American Art Review* Mr. Linton gets upon debatable ground with his "History of Wood-Engraving in America"—namely, the *Harper* and *Scribner* competition. But his qualifications, for feelings' sake, are profuse and altogether creditable as well as prudent. Mr. R. Swain Gifford and his works form the subject of the leading article, and the etchings of Mr. John Henry Hill are catalogued and discussed by the editor, with the help of illustrations in both cases. Mr. W. R. Hodges, describing the private collection of Mr. S. A. Coale, Jr., of St. Louis, tells of an Alvarez which "represents an incident in the life of Rousseau, as related in his 'Confessions.' Two bewitching women are standing upon ladders gathering oranges, which they toss to him below." This is an illustration of the cherry-tree incident with a vengeance.——The seventh number of Vapereau's 'Dictionnaire des Contemporains' (New York: F. W. Christern) reaches and breaks off with Napoleon III., and as six and three-quarters pages are already devoted to him, without including the war of 1870, it is clear that the notice he obtains will greatly exceed that bestowed upon any of his contemporaries. MacMahon is allowed four pages; Mazzini a page and a half; Moltke three-quarters of a page. Among Americans, Gen. McClellan figures at greatest length. ——Part 17 of Oncken's 'Allgemeine Geschichte' (New York: B. Westermann & Co.) concludes Dr. Philippson's "Age of Louis XIV." and A. Brückner's "Peter the Great"; while in Part 18 Dr. Hertzberg's "Ancient Rome" advances to within one stage of its conclusion, ending here at the battle of Philippi. The illustrations are of the usual high quality—portraits of the Grand Monarch, of Emperor Joseph I., Emperor Charles VI., Frederic I. and Frederic William of Prussia, etc.; the Tivoli temples, Pyramid of Cestius, Tomb of Cæcilia Metella, busts of Cicero, the young Octavian, Junius Brutus, etc. Most interesting, however, is an authentic view of the Acropolis of Pergamos, showing the site of the great altar of which Berlin now boasts the spoils. In subsequent issues, the publishers announce, will be given cuts of some of the groups of the gigantomachy. Till they appear, the binding of vol. ii. should be postponed.——Seven parts of M. Sarcey's second series of 'Comédiens et Comédiennes' have now appeared, and we have portraits by pen and pencil of MM. Worms, Barré, Coquelin *cadet*, and Mlle. Samary of the Comédie-Française, of M. Lafontaine, a former associate, and of Mlles. Blanche Pierson and Jane Essler. Encouraged by the success of M. Sarcey's sketches of the stage celebrities of the present time, M. Jouaust has planned a series of the histrionic notabilities of the past. 'Acteurs et Actrices du temps passé,' written by M. Ch. Gueullette and illustrated by the needle of M. Lalauze, is appearing in parts similar to those of M. Sarcey's invaluable volume. The first two on Baron, Molière's pupil, and Mlle. de Champmeslé, Racine's mistress, are ready and will be followed by a third on Armande Béjart.——G. Barbèra, Florence, announces the publication early next year of a volume of 500 pp. 16mo, entitled *Annuario della Letteratura italiana*, to be edited by Drs. Guido Biagi and Guido Mazzoni. It is intended to make this annual a "useful repertory of biographical, bibliographical, and statistical data, and of whatever best represents the Italian intellectual movement, whether manifested in books or literary periodicals, or in the theatre, the universities, and the academies."——We have received the circular programme of the third International Salvage or Safety (*Salvataggio*) Congress, to be held in Florence on September 23–29. Accidents by rail, by ordinary conveyance, on rivers and on the high seas, by flood and fire, by wounds and poison—their prevention and cure—are the chief topics announced for discussion.

—A correspondent writes us from Washington:

"Perhaps some of your readers who were interested in reading Mr. Davidson's notice of the Abbé Rosmini, and have never read or heard of Dr. Brownson's profound and exceedingly interesting critical notices of the works and philosophical systems of Gioberti and Rosmini, would be glad to have references to some of his articles, which I have hunted up. See *Brownson's Review* for April and July, 1864, for two articles on Gioberti. The article in the July number, at pages 304, 309, 310, and 311, incidentally notices Rosmini, and points out what Brownson considers a weak point in his system. See also the number for January, 1874, page 27, and for April, 1874, page 154. One of Brownson's most interesting articles is that on 'The Problem of Causality' in the October number for 1874; and on pages 496 502, and 503 are notices of Rosmini."

—Our readers will have seen in the daily press, since our last issue, Prof. Mommsen's letter to Prof. Nettleship, of Oxford, gratefully declining external offers of assistance, as he had already put aside similar propositions coming from his own countrymen. His personal loss in books he thinks overrated, and that it can nearly be made good by his insurance. He adds:

"I am thankful for the preservation of the materials prepared for our great epigraphical work. They have been heavily damaged, and the restitution will cost much labor already got over and now to be repeated; but I hope and trust still to be able to finish that part of the 'Corpus' which has been confided to my care, and of which I thought to have written the last page the very night of the disaster."

—Mr. E. B. Washburne's paper on "Thomas Paine and the French Revolution" in the September *Scribner's* is, the continued articles apart, the most substantial contribution to the number. It is but an ordinary performance, from a literary point of view, and marked by a good deal of chronological disorder. This is heightened by an evident misprint of 1793 for 1792 in the date of the *Moniteur* given on p. 776, and by the writer's assumption on p. 774 that because Paine was elected before the expiration of the Legislative Assembly, he was chosen a delegate to that body and not to the Convention which immediately succeeded it. Generally speaking, however, Mr. Washburne was right in supposing that the story of Paine's career in France would be a novelty to Americans. He supplies, besides a narrative of events, a letter of Hérault de Séchelles' and other inedited documents of interest. Lieut. Greene's "Over the Balkans with Gourko" is supplementary to this writer's elaborate report on the Russo-Turkish war already published in book-form. It is slightly disappointing in its graphic quality, but the imagination may well be left to complete the picture which he draws of Bulgarian and Mohammedan atrocities in the present Rumelia, as the contending armies swayed back and forth over the same territory, and of the awful hegira of the Turkish population from the interior to Constantinople and the seaboard. A beginning is made of a translation of Alfred Sensier's life of Jean François Millet, with fac-simile illustrations; it is of good promise. The Dickens series is continued by tracing pictorially and otherwise the scenes associated with 'Pickwick' and 'Nicholas Nickleby'; Mr. A. R. Macdonough offers a warm and sympathetic estimate of Mr. Richard Henry Stoddard; and, to conclude without exhausting the varied table of contents, Dr. H. C. Wood makes an effective rejoinder to Dr. Leffingwell on the value of vivisection. Perhaps we should mention, among the curious illustrations to Mr. Schuyler's "Peter the Great," two representing a revolver cannon and a circular mitrailleuse of Peter's time.

—Mr. W. H. Bishop's second and apparently last paper, in the September *Harper's*, on "Fish and Men in the Maine Islands" perhaps surpasses the former in lightness of touch and in a certain poetical felicity of description. But we feel inclined to question the correctness of the "local color" of "the fleet at night, with its numerous lanterns (*green to port, and red to starboard*)." The illustrations are again of notable excellence. More striking, and in a different way interesting, is the long array of fac-simile portraits of the family of George III. accompanying a sketch of its several characters and fortunes. The subject is difficult to handle within narrow limits, but the writer, K. M. Rowland, has been fairly successful in avoiding confusion and dulness. A cognate theme is treated by Mr. Eugene L. Didier, when tracing the transatlantic career of three Baltimore belles, granddaughters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who became Lady Stafford, Marchioness of Wellesley, and Duchess of Leeds, respectively. Mrs. Rebecca Harding Davis, besides winding up her "By-Paths in the Mountains" with a love-match, actually uses this last instalment as an apology for the moonshiner. The good-natured North-Carolinian who resorts to illicit stilling in order to earn a little cash for his pretty wife, and something better than a wolfskin covering for his babe, is surprised by "a grim, ill-conditioned fellow" and two assistant revenue officers, and kills one of them. Imprisoned, his wife brings him liberty in the shape of a saw, and nobody in the neighborhood seems surprised or displeased. Mrs. Davis's heroine tartly rebukes an officious admirer who "was outraged at this lax condition of morals," by telling him there is "a great deal to be said on the other side of the question"; and so there is, but whether more is not to be said on the side of law and order is what Mrs. Davis omits to explain. Mr. M. D. Conway, writing of the "Seven Sleepers' Paradise beside the Loire," has something novel to relate of the actual cave-dwellers of the vicinity of Tours, and pokes his usual fun at Catholic saints and miracles. Mr. Curtis, in the Easy Chair, pays an affectionate tribute to the memory of the late George Ripley.

—Mr. Aldrich brings his "Stillwater Tragedy" to a close in the September *Atlantic* in some not very tragic chapters, and with the good nature which it has all along been plain would not fail him in the crisis. A rather long "short story" by Miss Olney is the only other contribution in fiction, a department in which, by the way, the *Atlantic* has come to depend too exclusively upon its editor's own work to maintain its old place easily. Mr. Trowbridge has a poem celebrating the fact that he is "Twoscore and Ten," with a simple and wholesome plaintiveness and an excellence of execution equally agreeable and rare in magazine verse; the average character of this is better illustrated by the other poems of the number. Kate Gannett Wells writes of "Women in Organizations," and her article is perhaps the more suggestive for being chiefly statistical. The sixth instalment of "Reminiscences of Washington" gossips about the Harrison Administration, 1841. Of two political articles, an anonymous one on "The Progress of the Presidential Canvass" and Mr. Bowker's on "The Political Responsibility of the Individual," the latter is much the better, and, indeed, deserves higher praise than saying this implies; the other has been written too often in the daily press to render apt its appearance here. The reviews are in no way remarkable, though that on Mr. Richard Grant White's works is worth reading. Mr. White's own paper on "Oxford and Cambridge" and a first article describing the "Intimate Life of a Noble German Family" are perhaps the best prose contributions to the number, measured by the magazine standard of excellence which involves the admixture of interest and value in such proportions as to secure agreeableness first of all. A reference of Mr. Perry's to 'The Bride of Lammermoor' in his article on Scott, too, is worth the reader's attention.

—*Lippincott's* for September is rather monotonous, a defect not altogether atoned for by the quality of the different papers. Excepting the short stories, which are of the average merit (for some time this has been greater than that of the magazine's rivals, it should be said), and the poetry, there are five articles on allied subjects out of a possible seven. These are the concluding paper on A. H. Siegfried's "Canoeing on the High Mississippi," and "Ekoniah Scrub: Among Florida Lakes," by Louise Seymour Houghton, which lead the number, and are sprightly memoranda of ordinary incidents of travel in the less-explored regions of America; "Short Studies in the Picturesque," by William Sloane Kennedy, which draws attention to the artistic possibilities of New England, the hemlock forests of the Alleghanies, and the canals of Pennsylvania; "Newport a Hundred Years Ago," by Frances Pierrepont North, a historical picture which suggests that the present charms of the watering-place do not rival the past glories of the old sea-port; and fifth and best, "A Villeggiatura in Assisi," a charming description of Assisi and its cathedral by the clever author of 'Signor Monaldini's Niece.' The fifth chapter of Miss Campbell's "Studies in the Slums" is one of the best; the first of two papers by L. Lejeune on "Horse-racing in France" is excellent in its way. The "Monthly Gossip" notices the last *Salon*, giving the names and addresses of American exhibitors; and the reviews are good enough to induce the wish that there were more of them.

—From the last London *Bookseller* we glean the following announcements of forthcoming English publications. In biography: 'Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde,' by Lieut.-Gen. Shadwell; 'Early Life of Charles James Fox,' by George Otto Trevelyan; 'Madame de Staël,' by A. Stevens; 'Public Life of the Right Hon. John Charles Herries during the Reigns of George III., George IV., William IV., and Victoria'; 'Life and Letters of John, Lord Campbell,' edited by his daughter, Mrs. Hardcastle; 'Mrs. Grote,' a sketch, by Lady Eastlake; 'Memoir of the Personal Life of David Livingstone,' by Dr. Wm. G. Blaikie; and 'Life and Letters of John T. Delane, late Editor of the *Times*,' by Sir George W. Dasent. In travels: 'Voyage of the *Vega*,' by A. E. Nordenskiöld; 'Siberia in Europe,' by Henry Seebohm; 'Eastward Ho!'—a naturalist's journey in Borneo and the Sooloo Archipelago—by F. W. Burbridge; 'Japan: its History, Traditions, and Religions,' by E. J. Reed; 'A Visit to Wazan, the Sacred City of Morocco,' by Robert Spence Watson; 'The Land of Gilead,' by Lawrence Oliphant; and 'A Trip to Manitoba,' by Mary Fitzgibbon. To these we may add 'India in 1880,' by Sir Richard Temple; 'American Food and Farming,' by a *Times* correspondent; and Mr. E. A. Freeman's 'Historical Geography of Europe.' In science Mr. Darwin leads the list with a work on 'The Power of Movement in Plants,' in which he has been assisted by his son, Mr. Francis Darwin. We also notice Mr. St. George Mivart's 'The Cat: an Introduction to the Study of Backboned Animals, especially Mammals'; a 'Dictionary of Medicine,' edited by Richard Quain; a 'Popular Account of the Introduction of Peruvian Bark from South America into British India and Ceylon,' by Clements R. Markham; and another of Mr. Richard Jefferies's delightful out-door excursions in natural history, 'Round About a Great Estate.' Samuel Smiles continues his well-known series with a volume on 'Duty'; the author of 'Ecce Homo' now writes of 'Natural Religion'; the Rev. John Julian furnishes a 'Dictionary of Hymnology.' We conclude with mention of 'A Popular Introduction to the History of Greek and Roman Sculpture,' by Walter Copland Perry; and 'Lectures on Architecture,' delivered before the Royal Academy by the late Edward Barry.

—Prof. A. Bartoli's important work, 'The First Two Centuries of Italian Literature,' which has been appearing in parts for the last ten years, has just been completed. It forms part of the great encyclopædia entitled, 'L'Italia sotto l'aspetto fisico, storico, artistico, etc.,' published at Milan by Dr. Fran-

cesco Vallardi, and noticed in the *Nation*, No. 464. Bartoli's book forms a volume of about six hundred pages 8vo, and is very unequal in its execution. The earlier part, on the formation of the language, the dialect literature, etc., is excellent, but that referring to Dante is worthless, consisting of a voluminous analysis of the 'Divine Comedy,' which might as well have been printed in full. The concluding portion, devoted to Boccaccio, is also unsatisfactory, being limited exclusively to an examination of the 'Filocopo' and the sources of the 'Decameron,' the author naïvely remarking that "the same study which we have made of the 'Filocopo' should be made of all the other minor works of Boccaccio. But that not being possible in this work, we pass to a rapid examination of the 'Decameron.'" In spite of these faults we have here the first critical history of Italian literature. The later period will be treated by Prof. Bartoli in his 'History of Italian Literature,' the first three volumes of which, covering the same ground as the above-mentioned work but in a more popular manner, have already been published (Florence, 1878–80), and the first volume noticed in the *Nation*, No. 730.

INGLIS'S AUSTRALIA.*

UNLIKE Mr. Crawford, whose travels we recently had occasion to review (*Nation*, No. 784), Mr. Inglis is entirely contemporaneous in his accounts. His narrative begins in February, '77, and comes down so late as to be able to be illustrated in passages of peculiar point with quotations from "Pinafore." He has little to tell of wild adventure with aborigines or "bush-rangers," or of the manners and customs of these before they had been reduced to their present comparatively unimportant position. He prefers to deal with manners in the great towns, and problems of the now vigorously developed young civilization, and his work should be to the liking of those who desire a certain amount of information and matter for reflection in their reading together with entertainment. Nor do the two authors conflict even in the actual territory covered, since Mr. Inglis treats mainly of the colony of New South Wales with its capital, Sydney, while Mr. Crawford devotes himself, besides New Zealand, to Victoria and Melbourne.

The occasion of Mr. Inglis's volume was an acute rheumatism, contracted by him while a planter's agent in a malarious district of India. He was obliged to abandon his labors and take steps for the recovery of his health. For this purpose he had recourse to Australia, and in "a few short months of its wonder-working air" found himself for the most part restored. He carries his rheumatism through the volume with him, and we come perforce to take a somewhat intimate interest in it. We are received, too, into his confidence in other ways. He is not the usual traveller who, when not scientific, as a rule is the prosperous and elegant person voyaging for pleasure or philosophical observation. He was obliged to make his own living even during his period of illness. He did so in such a number of ways as show that it is by no means the typical Yankee alone who can be esteemed the "Jack-of-all-trades," the master of ingenious resource in time of need. This writer has been in turn "cadet on a sheep run," manager of estates, gold-digger, travelling agent, newspaper correspondent, and editor. When we take leave of him he is the secretary of a Sydney insurance company. Once he goes by steerage a long journey up the coast. He pronounces this kind of accommodation "unutterably vile," as indeed it must everywhere seem, to one accustomed to a certain scale of consideration. But again he journeys to the Blue Mountains—where there is to be seen a notable piece of railway engineering called the Zigzag, presumably, from the description, somewhat like the great "Horseshoe Bend" in Pennsylvania—on a free pass; and in this case we are not surprised to hear that the road is "splendidly ballasted and the employees civility itself." These hardships should give the book a value of a practical sort to such as may be meditating removal to Australia, since the author looks at life from the point of view of a struggler for subsistence, and can give hints from his actual encounter with obstacles of the minor sort which the mere theorist might pass over. He furnishes details of wages—including the pay of the newspaper profession, which he laments as insufficient and not alluring to first-class talent—prices of food, house-rent, land, and the like. The figures given correspond fairly well to those ruling at the present time in America.

Mr. Inglis is not a profound observer, but he is an intelligent and rather sprightly one, and has grace enough to take an interest in a wide range of topics, so that there are chapters for all tastes. We read of the physical beauty and self-reliance of the women (one would think that it might be a matter of regretful melancholy at times in the mother country to see itself so invariably surpassed in this particular by the first upstart colony named), the architecture of Sydney streets, the prevailing taste for athletic exercises, and the fatally defective character of the land laws. He is in particular a great sportsman. Whoever shares his passion should have in the end a pretty comprehensive idea of whatever game—fish, flesh, or fowl—Australia affords. The kangaroo and wallaby-driving would seem to the uninitiated the most promising in entertainment of the various forms presented. There is in this, too, the virtue of resisting the encroachments of a form of animal life which increases with such rapidity as to threaten in some districts to overwhelm both pastoral pursuits and agriculture. A cordon of whooping drivers is formed, in "the bush," about a wide tract; the dismayed marsupials are urged on to the encounter of a line of marksmen, who bring them down as fast as they can discharge their pieces; and the thing is said to have almost the excitement of a battle, with all its onsets and repulses.

The principal entertainment and profit afforded by the book are in the line of speculation and comparison forcibly suggested with the condition of affairs in the United States. The parallelism is often quite startling. It appears that certain things can only be done, under the domination of Anglo-Saxon blood, in one way; or at any rate that certain phenomena are incidental to its elementary stages of development the world around, irrespective of climate. There are passages, both of description and comment, which make the work half seem no more than one of those ingenious forms of periphrasis, as the 'History of the Kingdom of Lao,' and the like, in which, under the thin disguise of a foreign nomenclature, writers have discoursed of the actual events and appearances about them. The traveller finds the log-cabin, the post-and-rail fence, the self-sufficient and unterrified bearing, and the invitation to the "bar" to partake of alcoholic drinks, as the indigenous form of hospitality in Australia, as in the American West. The servant question is a crying evil. Man and maid pay their employers little deference, and walk off and leave them in critical situations with entire unconcern. Socialistic agitation has begun among the workingmen; and though neither the face of the country nor the varied industries of which it is capable have been developed to any noticeable extent, local Kearneys have arisen, who not only oppose the Chinese but even the coming of further immigrants from the mother country, declaring that the labor market is already overstocked. The claim is supported by strikes against the reduction of wages below a certain nominal high figure, regardless of the fact that, owing to the prohibition of cheap labor, the necessities of life command prices which make the nominally high remuneration actually but very moderate. It is useful to know that the Chinese, who are the market-gardeners and florists of the country, where not interfered with, have made steady and good citizens, become Europeanized in dress, and attained to a considerable prosperity.

In Australia as in America there are "rings." By a "job" of corrupt aldermen the city of Sydney paid something near two millions of dollars for sewers which were planked only with boards, speedily fell to pieces, and emit still, occasionally, effluvia turning jewellers' metal-work blue. The hands employed on this job drank champagne, and the head contractor cleared a round quarter of a million. In Australia, as in America, "the best men" do not get into politics. There remains a tradition of a time when they did, but it is not now. Blatant fellows, mere adventurers, making politics a profession, who can "outswear a bullock-driver and out-drink a distiller's drayman," it is said, secure elections to Parliament, and find the readiest and most serviceable weapons there to be abuse and calumny. The vast dimensions to which the civil service has attained, as a source of danger to free institutions, is an Australian as well as an American complaint. This is the more singular, since there the English system of tenure during good behavior, ostensibly at least, prevails, and the schoolmaster in politics may be called to remark that there may be other evils in a civil service than rotation in office. It would seem that the difficulty of "rotating" has led to the putting in of supernumeraries by interested friends to such an extent that "nearly every tenth man you meet is in some degree or other the recipient of money from the public funds. If not checked, this threatens to menace the very foundations of stable government, and reduce the country to the condition of a vast lucky bag into which every hand shall be dipped to fish up as much as his grasp can hold."

In social life the surly, purse-proud ignoramus, arbiter of his own fortunes, assumes an exceedingly prominent place. The youth are wanting in respect to their elders. Young Australia, in his turn, is pert, impudent, confident in his own superior information—as well he may be in the matter of book-learning at least, since he has good public schools at which to acquire it, whereas it was much if his hard-working immigrant progenitors could read and write. He is perhaps to be the successor in the same field of the typical Young America of the comic cartoonists. At a later stage, when he takes to evil courses, which he does to an extent that "threatens dire consequences," he develops into a social scourge, "devoid of respect for age, sex, or rank, and up to every villany and outrage." As San Francisco has originated the "hoodlum," Sydney gives us the "larrikin," new names for that very old, old product, the mongrel corner-loafer. The suffrage is the freest in the known world, being enjoyed by all of the male sex after a residence of six months, and this "manhood suffrage" is not at all exercised with discretion. Religion of the regular sort is slightingly treated. The sturdy parvenus thanking only themselves for their success, and feeling little need of a Providence, "make a religion of mammon-worship," or, if of another sort, turn to the spiritists, false

* 'Our Australian Cousins. By James Inglis, author of 'Sport and Work on the Nepaul Frontier,' etc.' London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

prophets, and sensation-mongers of all sorts, who abound as plentifully as with ourselves.

Australian society, our informant assures us, is cursed, as with a dry rot, with commercial dishonesty and corrupt government. He does not mince matters, and is not backward in calling things by what he deems their true names. But we are not, after all, hurried along with him at exactly the same pace. His forebodings seem extreme. He has the air of being too close to his subject, and suffering too much from the irritation of actual friction with what are undoubtedly disagreeable circumstances, to make allowances with a sufficiently calm judgment. He finds it hard to realize, perhaps, that everything else is not as permanent as his solidly built city of Sydney, in which there are residences of freestone, for the prosperous of the community, costing one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. At the distance of twelve thousand miles, however, the transitional state of the country, the probably ephemeral character of most of the phenomena now apparent, stand out with a greater distinctness. We see the manners of a period of turmoil and eager effervescence of heterogeneous elements. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that we are looking at a finality, at a civilization rotten ere it yet be in any manner ripe. Nothing seems clearer than that the society which, sprung from the penal colony of Botany Bay as its starting point, and recruited since from the paupers and incapables of all the earth, has attained to such marvellous heights of prosperity, is not going to be wrecked by the obstacles named, nor wrecked at all till it has reached a certain logical completeness of development. This seems so indisputably the thing to be expected for Australia that a certain retrospective comfort may be taken. It tends to lighten considerably the prospect in our own case to find conditions, which have often been asserted to be peculiarly American and the product of our institutions, springing up at the antipodes under such diverse auspices. The evils reviewed seem those of a rude, exuberant youth, lacking in the kind of prudence that foresees at the start the remote consequences of actions, and too eager in new achievements to guard properly the fruits of the old. And since so definite a progress in refinement and the abatement of these conditions may be noted, in the older portions of the United States at least, an entire victory over them in time may not be so wild an inference. The vast preponderance of the constructive and conservative over the disintegrating forces, even in the rudest society, stands out in this contemplation of our Australian cousins with a decidedly cheerful effect.

FROM GOSHEN TO THE ARNON.*

THE anonymous book before us is a bold attempt to revolutionize the legends and geography of the Exodus and erect a slender structure of facts out of almost pulverized materials. The character of those national legends, according to the author, was this: The Hebrews, on forcing their way into Palestine, carried with them traditions betraying a common origin, but differing, sometimes in the names of individuals or places, and sometimes in the periods to which events were assigned. This confusion was intensified by the amalgamation of Canaanitish traditions, and by the tendency of a later race of story-tellers, among a semi-barbarous people, to associate the old legends with the new abodes of the tribes. Original distinctions were lost, and a heterogeneous mass of apparently disconnected records was collected. For "after the story-teller came the embryo historian," and "there were such men both in Israel and Judah, on the right bank of the Jordan and on the left bank, in Edom and in Canaan." In a still later age the stories of different tribes were welded together, glaring inconsistencies pared down, additions and emendations made, and the whole was shaped to pass for consecutive history. And then, long before the final redaction took place, a variety of causes—such as sectional antagonisms, dynastic requirements, and the necessities of a religious scheme—conspired to distort even these early records. The earliest history was loaded with miracles, for the greater glorification of God and his people, and thus arose the "travesty" of ancient story which we possess in the books of Exodus and Numbers, and "the superstructure of pious romance of which nearly half the Book of Joshua is composed." To disentangle the manifold threads of tradition thus twisted together and woven into tissues "of the grotesque, the repulsive, and the impossible," and to separate the genuine from the false, is the task of the author; and no small task, indeed. Let us hear some of the results of his investigation.

That a Semitic tribe of nomadic habits exchanged a state of servitude in Egypt for the freedom of the wilderness some time between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries B.C. "may be regarded as an historical fact"; the memory of the occurrence, so generally preserved in the traditions of the people of Israel, must have rested "on a substratum of fact." How did that tribe come to Egypt? The story of Joseph, including his bargains with the Egyptians during the famine—"if we read between the lines"—presents the original form of the tradition: famine forced the nomads to seek food in Egypt; they gave their money and flocks for bread, and bartered their freedom for the privilege of settling in Goshen. The Egyptian governor who received and settled them became in time an ancestral hero of their own—Joseph. How long they sojourned in Goshen cannot be ascertained. Excessive oppression finally made them prefer starvation in the wilderness to life under the taskmaster. They left Goshen, a district adjoining Tanis, to go towards the land of Edom, where kindred tribes of Terahites dwelled. That land was, in fact, the Canaan of the patriarchs: the migration of the earliest Terahites from the East did *not* take place from the north to the south, through Palestine, as the narratives of Abraham represent. The leadership of Moses may be historical, and it may not. The delivered, runaway, or thrust-out slaves took the direct road towards their objective point. They marched east through the desert plateau of Tih, the Biblical wilderness of Shur. The story of the crossing of the Red Sea is not only a preposterous tradition, but a tradition of very late origin, unknown to the Israelites of the time of the judges, or of the earlier monarchy; it owes its origin to the misunderstanding of a poetical line. The Gulf of Suez was not even touched by the Hebrews; its name was *not Yam Suph;* these words do *not* signify Sea of Reeds (or Weeds); the Yam Suph of the Scriptures is the Gulf of Akaba, and the meaning of the name is, *sea of storms* (*suph* being = *supha*). The barren Tih was traversed, as the necessity of the case required, in a number of days, not of years. Marah and Elim were *not* stations in the direction of what is now known, and falsely known, as the Sinaitic Peninsula. The Amalekites, whose abode was in the Idumæan Mountains, east of the barren valley of Arabah or Ghor, did *not* proceed to the shores of the Gulf of Suez to fight the Hebrews at Rephidim; they encountered them near their own border. Elim is identical with Elath or Eloth, that is, the classical Ælana, at the head of the Gulf of Akaba. Mount Sinai, where the covenant with Jehovah was concluded, was neither Jebel Serbal nor Jebel Musa, nor any mount or peak in the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula—for the freed people and their leaders could not, without being insane, have ventured to toil in their flight through the rugged intricacies west and south of the Jebel et Tih—but the mountain overhanging the ancient city of Petra on the west, the mountain generally identified with Mount Hor. Hor, Sinai, Horeb, and Paran were names of the same mountain in different legends. And so was the wilderness of Sinai variously called the wilderness of Sin, of Zin, of Kadesh, of Paran—this last name never having designated the Mount Feiran of the peninsula. Kadesh, where the Israelites dwelt so long, is another name for Petra (Sela) itself, which was known also as Rekem. The Ain Musa, which flows through the great cleft of that famous rock-city of the Horites (or Troglodytes), is the stream to which was attached the Mosaic miracle of cleaving the rock for supplying water to the thirsty people. This miracle, like many others, is variously told. To Hor-Sinai the Israelites proceeded from Ælana (Akaba), marching through the inhospitable region of the Southern Araba. It was there that Jethro, a sheikh of a kindred people, the Midianites, received them—on the confines of his own land—and became their guide and ally. Midian is wrongly extended by expositors to the west of the Ælanitic Gulf, to meet the exigencies of misinterpreted traditions. The Zered, which the Hebrews reached after turning the lands of kindred tribes, is not the Wady el Ahsy which formed the southern boundary of Moab, but the Mojeb—that is, the Arnon of other traditions—which separated Moab, on the north, from the land of the Amorites. With the crossing of the Arnon and the conquest of the Amorite territories the "wanderings" of the "Beni Israel" were at an end. When the Jordan was crossed, at a later period, new legends extended the wanderings to the latter river. Judah, a Hebrew but not properly an Israelitish tribe—according to the early usage of the names—effected its settlement in Palestine separately. Each portion of the Hebrew people absorbed considerable non-Hebrew elements. The amalgamation began early, and lasted long.

Most of these, and many other similarly bold and apparently venturesome readjustments of the Biblical traditions concerning the Hebrew migration are closely entwined with each other, and must necessarily stand or fall together. The author propounds them with much force and unusual clearness, and supports them with a great deal of learning, ingenuity, and sound argument; and yet he fails to convince us. It is the negative part of his arguments of which we fully acknowledge the force as against current notions, whether founded on a blind belief in the words of the Hebrew Scriptures or on quasi-critical adaptations of ancient tales to modern historical views: his positive combinations are strongly exposed to attack in his own manner and with similar weapons. It is true, the objections which can be made to these new views do not possess the keenness with which he exposes the incongruities and absurdities of the old, but these are incongruities and absurdities of legends—of legends wild-grown and carelessly woven together—while the weak sides of his critical constructions are those of tradition rectified into plausible history. Were we forced to choose between the narratives of the books of Exodus, Numbers, etc., considered *as history*—even leaving out all the miracles—and the schemes of the book before us, we should readily incline toward the latter; but no such choice is incumbent upon us. The legends of Scripture betray differences of origin: why should

* 'The Hebrew Migration from Egypt.' London: Trübner & Co. 8vo, pp. 440. 1879.

they not? They abound in incongruities as they do in miracles; they are full of discrepancies. Why was the "Mount of God" placed so far out of any natural route which the Hebrews, coming up from Egypt, would have chosen? Probably because the Hebrews only *heard* of such a mountain; hence also the vagueness in names and locations—none of the poets and narrators had seen Sinai. How did the strange story of a great people wandering for forty years aimlessly through a small desert, and all the time living on manna, arise and gain credence? In the same way as the stories of the crossing of the people through the parted Red Sea, or through the parted Jordan. The false interpretation of a poetical stanza may as naturally have created a wonderfully strange belief in the earlier ages of Israel's history as in the times of the "ignorant scribes."

On the other hand, if, in order to reduce the ancient traditions to sound proportions, we discard the crossing of the Red Sea as a very late amplification of the old stories, reject the march south of the Tih as too preposterous even for a tale, make the Hebrews cross the wilderness in a week or two, and identify the Mount of God with a mountain of western Idumæa—how is it that this Sinai, situated so near the border of Palestine, so completely vanished out of sight, in the history of the Hebrews, after the act of the covenant on which their national existence was believed to rest? According to our author, Saul fought the Amalekites in that very region, and held it with the sword, and David roamed in it—in the wilderness of Paran—while the first husband of his Abigail lived in the adjoining Maon (which he identifies with Maan, east of Petra); David and Solomon—this is not dependent upon new identifications—reigned over Idumæa, Jehoshaphat passed through it with the prophet Elisha, Amaziah captured Petra itself, the Hasmonæans subdued the Idumæans, Herod was himself an Idumæan—all this being so, how is it that Mount Sinai is not once mentioned in connection with one of those reigns, not once mentioned in the history of Judah or of the restored realm? that the prophets are all silent about it—unless Habakkuk's "Mount Paran" implies it? that the rabbis of the Mishnah knew it only, like a myth, from Scriptural accounts? that "all that Paul and Josephus knew about the mountain was that it was somewhere in Arabia"? that "Eusebius was unable to give more specific information"? The only instance in which the Mount of God reappears in the Biblical narratives of the post-Mosaic times is the account of the prophet Elijah's visit to it—"a transparent parable drawn on the lines of the narrative of Moses"—and according to that account the mountain was reached from the Wilderness only after a walk of forty days and forty nights. Our author meets a part of these objections, but with arguments, historico-philosophical and linguistic, which only an *à priori* conviction that Sinai *must* be sought near Petra, can possibly find satisfactory. That the Hebrew poets believed Sinai to be somewhere in Seir, or Edom, is clear, but where were to them the southern boundaries of that land? how far stretched its Teman? might not this have extended to the south extremity of the Gulf of Akaba, both west and east? Did the Hebrew poets use their geographical terms with more strictness than modern historians have used the names Savoy, Piedmont or Sardinia, Brandenburg or Prussia, Thuringia, Saxony, and the like?

Although unable to subscribe to the critical reconstructions of the book before us, we cannot refrain from acknowledging that it will prove very useful by clearly exhibiting the yoke under which the strict upholders of the authenticity of the Pentateuch narratives must pass and repass. It does it in a very forcible and at the same time very pleasant way. Its strictures are sharp, but not rude; its sarcasm is pungent, but not offensive. It is to be regretted that the author has entered upon so vast a field of enquiry without an adequate knowledge of Hebrew. This lack many a time betrays him into propping up his arguments with supports worse than flimsy. There can hardly be anything more primitive in philological criticism than to say that the name Etham "seems to have been formed in an early dialect from *Eth*, near, and would signify the 'near places'" (p. 99); that Jaakan, in Bene-Jaakan, may be "a corruption of Isaac, the *Tzade* having been transcribed *Ain*" (p. 336—as if this alone could explain the error); or that it is "at least as likely" that the name of Mount Horeb is derived from *'hōr*, a hole or cavern, whence *'hōrī*, a Horite or cave-dweller, as that it is identical with *'hōreb*, "dry" [*sic*], as Gesenius has it (p. 193—which is like saying that our *herb* can at least as well be derived from Ger. *Aehre* as from Fr. *herbe*, Lat. *herba*). The book teems with misprints in Hebrew words; *midbar* is *always* spelled *midbhar*. On the other hand, fine critical remarks of the lighter kind are also abundant, and scholars will not fail to avail themselves of those which may be new to them.

An Essay on the Life and Genius of Calderon. With Translations from his 'Life's a Dream' and 'Great Theatre of the World.' By the Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor of the Order of St. Patrick. Second edition, revised and improved. (London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.)—In noticing Miss Hasell's work on Calderon in the *Nation* (No. 762) we mentioned Archbishop Trench's admirable monograph, which was republished in this country over twenty years ago, and which has long been out of print both here and in England. Although the book is still asked for, the writer apologizes for its republication on the ground that the interest in the poet is exceedingly faint. We think, however, that the Archbishop is too modest: his little work will not only preserve what interest there is, but will surely increase it, besides forming an admirable supplement to Miss Hasell's pleasant sketch. The present edition has been brought up to the present time by the mention of recent articles in periodicals, etc., and we can heartily commend the volume for its sound literary judgment and the finished translations which it contains.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1880.

The Week.

THERE is nothing particularly new to be said about the Presidential canvass, except that on the Republican side it drifts every day more and more rapidly into denunciation of the South, and predictions of the dreadful things the South will do in case the Democrats come into power. Most of these predictions were used freely in 1872 and 1876, and are very familiar. The only new addition to the old list we have remarked is that the South will divide Texas into five States, and with their aid rule the North with a rod of iron. Few if any outrages have as yet made their appearance, but they will probably be produced during the coming month. There are some signs of them, however, already. A private letter from "a correspondent" says that in Jackson Parish, Louisiana, "the white people whip the colored people just as they did in the days of slavery." It has been brought out, too, that there are seventy-three ex-Confederate officers in Congress—to which, however, the *Times* says there would be no objection if they would "accept the results of the war, throw their influence on the side of reason and justice," etc.—or, in other words, if they voted with the Republicans. It is a great pity that the South does not send up a solid Republican delegation; but as all its men of any value were in the rebel army, it would have to waive representation if it sent no ex-Confederates. It ought perhaps to do this, too, and confide its interests to Messrs. Blaine and Logan; but then human nature is so queer, even at the South.

"A Republican of South Carolina," who requests that his name may not be mentioned, has written a long letter to the National Committee, informing them that "the war is not ended," and expressing his "firm belief" that unless the Republicans win an overwhelming victory in November "the result will be settled by bloodshed," and that "the South is in a better condition for a fight than ever before." We may be sure this gentleman will be heard from again before November, and that the future will look darker and darker to him as the weeks roll on; but we have no doubt that he is privately perfectly calm and cheerful, and is counting on a good business year in 1881, no matter which party wins. The amount of public alarm and woe which one sees nowadays in combination with private confidence and jollity, is very diverting.

On the Democratic side there is a curious lack of activity, though there may be a change during the coming month. Butler's speech in Boston probably marks the real opening of their canvass, which will apparently consist principally of an "arraignment" of the Republicans for great but undescribed corruption. The existence of this corruption—the details of which have not hitherto been given—is deduced *à priori* from the length of time the party has been in power. The Democrats are evidently bothered a good deal by the prevailing material prosperity, and their references to it are very pious, and show more recognition of the beneficence of Providence than they have generally received credit for. They take, evidently, a good deal of comfort in the Crédit Mobilier and De Golyer transactions. They suffer greatly, however, from the want of good material for harrowing prophecy, which is the great stand-by of the Republicans, and is far more effective than any exposure of past transgressions can be. In using an opponent's "record" against him you are tied down by the facts, which are mostly very familiar to the audience, and have therefore lost much of their horror; while in predicting what he will do in the future you can draw on your imagination with perfect freedom. Democratic prophecy has, however, thus far been very tame, and frightens very few people, while the Republicans are able to predict bloody fighting and the most frightful load of taxation ever inflicted on any community. If it be made plain that to vote for Hancock is to agree to pay the rebel debt—State and Confederate—rebel claims for war damages, and full compensation for the emancipated slaves, to pension all the rebel officers and soldiers, and besides this make all Southern rivers navigable, no sane man will, of course, think of voting for that officer. The Republicans, also, are "assessing" the officeholders, with the utmost rigor and resolution, for campaign expenses, which excites the mingled horror and envy of the Democrats. They hate to see such things done to secure the retention of power by so corrupt a party, and wish they could get more money themselves—somehow.

General Butler delivered his recantation speech at Faneuil Hall, in Boston, on Saturday night, to an immense and enthusiastic meeting, and is now back in his old party. He showed the tendency of long possession of power to breed corruption, and called for "change" and reform; compared the Republican and Democratic candidates and platforms, to the great advantage of the latter; expressed his deep disappointment with Mr. Hayes, and twitted him, not without force, on his admission that he acted on the Southern question, when he took office, under the advice of Dr. Woolsey, maintaining that this showed that it was Dr. Woolsey who ought to have been made President; vindicated Oakes Ames, and castigated General Garfield; ascribed the present prosperity of the country to bountiful crops and the labor of the murdered negro in raising six million bales of cotton, and castigated the Republican party; pronounced the execution of Mrs. Surratt a judicial murder, and eulogized General Hancock; pronounced himself "a friend of the negro," and gave his love for him and anxiety about him as his chief reason for leaving the Republican party. Whether he will be of any use to the Democrats it is as yet hard to say. The only certain conclusion which can be drawn from his conversion is, that he thinks the Democrats are going to win this time. We ought to add, that while he concedes that the greenbacks ought, perhaps, to be redeemable in gold and silver, he would not keep any coin in the Treasury for that purpose, but thinks "the bullion might quite as well remain in the mines, where it would give less trouble and be a great deal more safe." He is a more amusing and interesting old fellow, and we have no doubt will prove far more useful to his country, than when he was posturing as a Republican strategist and philanthropist.

It already seems clear that one of the most substantial grounds for hoping to carry New York for General Garfield, namely, the discord among the Democrats, will have to be abandoned, as the different factions are evidently "getting together," as they say. The regular State Committee has issued a call for a State Convention to nominate a candidate for Associate Justice of the Court of Appeals, after long deliberation, and upon the assurance that the Kelly party would rescind theirs, issued some time ago. The latter agreed to do this, on the understanding that they should receive as substantial recognition in the regular convention as the Anti-Tammany men got in 1876, when they in turn, though irregular, were well treated for harmony's sake. Moreover, a conference has been reached upon the subject of Assembly and Congressional nominations, and if it results favorably there will be less chance for Republican legislative and congressional candidates than there usually is. So far, Tammany appears to have got all it asked, though no more than it had reason to expect, as such things go, after its show of "strength" last fall. However, it affords the Republican papers a good deal of comfort to point out the fact that the so-called respectable wing of the party has had to come to the terms of the likes of John Kelly. This is as it should be. The better class of New York Democrats have never been able to dispense with the aid of the Canal Ring on one side and Tammany on the other, and they ought to be constantly reminded of it. Of course if they had any moral principle they would refuse to fraternize with the baser sort, and let the Republicans have all the State and local offices as well as the State's electoral vote.

Among the speakers who have taken the stump for General Garfield in Ohio is ex-Governor J. D. Cox, who evidently regards the victory

over Grantism at Chicago as a substantial one. In a speech delivered last week at Hamilton, and one of the most rational and serious of the canvass, he addressed himself directly to independent voters, and especially such as were to be found in the Democratic ranks. His argument was directed to showing that the continued existence of the Democratic party is the greatest obstacle to reform and a re-division of public opinion on economic questions of the most pressing character, and that that party "must be dissolved." Mr. Cox even seemed to think this would be the necessary consequence of its defeat in November—a view which is probably derived from considerations of the effect the event would have on Southern hopefulness. On the other hand, he foresaw as a corollary of Republican success a still further improvement in the administration of the Government, so well begun by Mr. Hayes, whereas the Democratic incoming "would be a certainty of utter demoralization." He was prepared to say—in cruel disregard of Mr. English's feelings—that he hoped to be spared the sight of another "rotation in office" "until a President of the United States can be elected upon a distinct pledge to an explicit, well-defined, and radical system of reform in the civil service." As to General Hancock's attitude in this matter and toward reform in general, Mr. Cox said: "The plain question is, Would he cheat the party which nominated him, or would he conduct the administration in accordance with its spirit and character?" Some warm praise of General Garfield, based on long and intimate acquaintance, had all the more significance because the speaker and the candidate had taken opposite sides on "the Ohio idea."

Mr. Sherman has delivered the strongest speech of the campaign since Mr. Schurz's, in Cincinnati. It was in the main what is called "an arraignment" of the Democratic party, but made with more than usual skill and effectiveness. A man in the gallery tried to "corner" him by asking how he came to recommend people to vote for a candidate whom he had himself dismissed from office for cause, offering to vote the Republican ticket if the answer was satisfactory. The answer was that Arthur was not dismissed for anything affecting his personal character, and that, anyhow, he was better than English; but we do not believe it was satisfactory to the propounder of the question, and we fear he will vote for Hancock. Mr. Sherman does not shine when "cornered." He was very strong in his presentation of the claims of the Republican party on popular confidence and gratitude, particularly as regards the management of the finances. Indeed, we doubt if this portion of the party history has ever been so well arranged and skilfully presented. The prophetic part of the speech regarding the probable conduct of the Democrats if they got into power was an awful picture.

Wade Hampton has written a letter to the *Virginian*, explaining the much-quoted passage in his speech very much as we presumed it might be explained. He says:

"Your reporter misconceived my language. I appealed to the Virginians present to consider before they voted how Lee and Jackson would vote were they alive, and I asked if any one present could for a moment suppose that those devoted Virginians could have done anything which would create dissensions in the State they loved so well. My sole object at Staunton was to appeal to the Democrats of Virginia to forget their local differences and to unite for the success of the Democratic party. The principle involved in the war was the claim made by the South of the right of peaceable secession. This right was denied by the North, Democrats as well as Republicans joining in the denial. On this issue battle was joined. The North triumphed, and the results of her success were embodied in the amendments to the Constitution, settling beyond all question and for ever the right of peaceable secession by the adverse decision of the highest earthly tribunal recognized among mankind."

Of course this explanation wholly destroys the effect of his speech as reported, even if reported truly, and shows that he either does not hold the doctrines imputed to him or does not think them effective doctrines to preach. In private life, and in ordinary times, such a disavowal would be sufficient; but these are not ordinary times, and we cannot give up the passage in his speech as first reported; we must have it for use in this canvass. We shall be glad to hear anything he has to say by way of explanation after the first Tuesday in November, but until then we have to hold that, in a thoughtless moment at Staunton, he revealed his intention and that of his friends to start a "new rebellion" if Hancock is elected, and imitate Lee and Jackson by fighting desperately for secession.

We believe that none of the newspapers which have been so powerfully agitated over the subject of the Southern census have undertaken to estimate the extent and inherent difficulties of the alleged conspiracy between supervisors and enumerators, to say nothing of the checks of the Census Bureau itself. Nor have they, in default of information, been able to state the ascertained proportions of whites and blacks in the suspected States. That these proportions have not changed in favor of the whites may be judged from the anxiety which the whites continue to manifest about maintaining their artificial supremacy at elections. But proof that the negro population was not only not dying out but was rapidly on the increase, would bring a double mortification to the Stalwarts—first, as exposing their exaggeration of the outrages inflicted on the freedmen, and next as accounting for the unexpected census returns. It would have been shrewder to have explained the figures by the well-known fecundity of the blacks, and thus furnished a basis for fresh calculations of the "natural" Republican vote at the South, and for deeper and louder indignation at the suppression of it by intimidation and violence.

One of the first duties of the Civil-Service Reform Publication Society, when organized, will be to send tracts and missionaries into the New Hampshire field. We say missionaries, because we consider public addresses as indispensable as documents; and we mention New Hampshire, because the Republican organ at Concord, the *Independent Statesman*, has just been giving an answer (which to the editor "seems plain") to the question which now agitates the party in that State: "What shall be the practice in making nominations for Governor, Councillors, Senators, and Representatives, and county and other local offices? Shall we nominate new men, or renominate the candidates who were voted for and elected or defeated in 1878?" In New Hampshire the elections are for two years under the new constitution, and the *Statesman* holds that the "full honors of the party" consist in one nomination and candidacy; rotation should be the practice, "with no right of complaint for failure of renominations, which should be treated as exceptions to the general rule." Special considerations of fitness may justify an indefinite number of renominations; of this the local constituency must judge. And now for the reason of the general rule. "There is no mystery about our ordinary State offices, nor peculiar skill required in administering any of them. Average citizens can hold them for one term, and give place to others who will administer as well as they. *By rotation in office is government by the people preserved* [italics ours]; the reverse system is unrepublican and dangerous to liberty." However, the *Statesman* again excepts Senators and Representatives in Congress. "These we should change or retain on about the system of the other States, *so as not to be at a disadvantage with them* [italics ours again]. But our State officers do not compete or contend with those of other commonwealths"; hence it is of no consequence what course other States pursue with regard to theirs.

Foreign gold is now flowing freely to this country, the arrivals during the week having somewhat exceeded in value five millions of dollars. The Government officials at Washington have published an estimate that the receipts of foreign gold will average four million dollars each week until November 1 next. If anything like this amount arrives, all apprehension respecting the autumn money market may be dismissed. Although the rates for loans continue low, and loanable funds are still abundant, the surplus reserve of the New York banks continues to fall, and for the last week was as low as about $6,650,000. The public credit, as expressed in 4 per cent. bonds, is still advancing. These bonds sold at 110⅛ to 110¼, or at a price which would make a ready market at par for a 3½ per cent. bond of equal length of time to run. Railroad investments still rule very high, and no class of property at present is yielding better returns than are the leading railroads. The new trunk-line, by way of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad, to the West, which was reported last week, appears to be a legitimate business undertaking, although at the Stock Exchange many still regard it as merely an

adjunct of a huge stock speculation. The articles of incorporation for building a double-track road from Binghamton to Buffalo, which would form the missing link, have been filed, and the proper cash deposits made. General trade continues very active all over the country. The market for silver has been very steady here and in London.

The House of Lords has done a more foolish thing than rejecting the Irish Disturbance Bill by striking out from the Employers' Liability Bill the section which not only gave it all its value, but furnished the reason for framing it—namely, that which made employers liable to workmen for injuries received through the acts or omissions of fellow-workmen in the same service. The state of the law at present, which exempts employers from the responsibility towards their own workmen which attaches to them towards all the rest of the community, has long been a standing grievance of the trades-unions, which the Liberals had pledged themselves to remedy. The section stricken out by the Lords made the employer liable for injury sustained by one of his workmen through the negligence of a superintendent or foreman, or the negligence of any person in the employer's service whom the injured workman was bound to obey and did obey, or through the acts or omissions of any person done or made in compliance with the employer's rules, or in obedience to particular instructions. The rest of the act is of very little consequence, and yet Lord Beaconsfield moved and carried an amendment limiting its operation to two years. Of course, the incident will give considerable and bitter stimulus to the agitation for some change in the character of the Upper House. The peers appear to have lost heart a little when the bill empowering farmers to kill "ground game" (*i.e.*, hares and rabbits) came up, for that, under Lord Beaconsfield's advice, they passed to a second reading.

The Powers having refused to accept the excuses of Turkey for not delivering Dulcigno to the Montenegrins, and having directed the delivery within three weeks, and the three weeks on a subsequent additional delay having come to an end, "the naval demonstration" is to take place, and the ships which are to comprise it are on their way to the coast of Dalmatia. Turkey is not to be asked, as was at first supposed, to take part in it, but is to be asked to furnish any land force that may be necessary to carry out the decision of the Conference. The Powers have also answered the Porte's remonstrances against the decision concerning the Greek boundary, and have refused to recede from it in any way. There continues to be the same swarm of contradictory rumors as to what they will do in case Turkey holds out on the Greek question; but there is something approaching to an agreement that England and Russia are ready to go any needful length, that France is opposed to going any length at all, and that Germany and Austria have not made up their minds how far they will go. There seems, too, to be a very strong expectation that, in case of a refusal of the Powers to act, Greece will act alone, and that her appearance in the field will be the signal for a rising against the Turks in Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia.

The loss of wine by the French is one of the most striking economical facts of the day. M. Leroy-Beaulieu tells the story in the last number of the *Économiste Français*, from which it appears that the production in 1869 reached 70,000,000 of hectolitres (the hectolitre is one hundred litres, and the litre is somewhat more than our quart). In 1875, although the ravages of the phylloxera—an insect which attacks the roots of the vine—had already begun, it rose to 84,000,000. It then began to fall steadily, and last year only amounted to 30,000,000. This year, it is expected, it will be smaller still. In 1872 France exported wine of the value of $33,000,000. The amount has since been declining, and this last year only reached $24,000,000; and that it has not gone lower is due to the rise in price of the finer wines. This, however, is not so extraordinary as the rise in the value of the wine imported. Instead of giving up drinking wine when the home supply falls short, the French consumer insists on having it. Accordingly, the imports of wine, which in 1872 were only worth $1,600,000, reached last year the enormous figure of $34,000,000. The imported wines now come from Italy, Spain, Algeria, Hungary, and the United States. All attempts to extirpate the phylloxera have thus far failed. The French Academy of Sciences offered a prize of $60,000 for a preventive, without success. Half the vines, it is estimated, have been already destroyed, and the best judges consider the fate of the remainder as sealed, and the total disappearance of the old French vine as only an affair of five or six years. The only way out of their trouble thus far discovered by the wine-growers is the planting of American varieties. This has been tried by the owners of some of the great vineyards with unfailing success. The American plants defy the phylloxera and are growing luxuriantly; but it will, of course, take some years to get wine from them up to the old standard, and consequently the small growers hope and struggle on with the old vine. The opportunity which this state of things offers for American wine-growers to find a market in Europe and keep it, does not need to be pointed out. They ought to be able to compete at least with most of the coarse Italian, Hungarian, and Spanish wines already, and beat them before long. The difficulty of a complete substitution of the American vine for the native one, even if it were sure to produce as good wine, may be inferred from the fact that it is calculated that it would take 19,335,780 cuttings to replace the existing vines, at four dollars the hundred. At the rate at which the substitution has thus far been affected it will not be completed in less than 128 years.

The Pope has been having a very troublous time with Belgium ever since the present Liberal Ministry came into power. The controversy having ended in the withdrawal of the Belgian Legation from Rome, and the publication of a diplomatic correspondence which seemed to show that the Vatican held one language to the Ministry and another to the bishops, or was at all events capable of some such construction at the hands of the ungodly, the Pope has now published a long memorandum justifying himself; but it is not much of a justification after all, and does not remove the suspicion that he tried hard to keep on good terms both with the bishops and the Government, or else changed his mind frequently in the course of the controversy. His vacillation has now become almost a scandal in the eyes of the extreme Clericals at Rome, who miss much the old uncompromising tenacity and outspokenness of Pius IX. Leo's permission to the faithful to take part in the Italian elections continues to work well. The Clericals seem to carry the municipal elections without much difficulty.

General Roberts's march from Ghazni to Kelat-i-Ghilzai, a distance of about one hundred and forty miles, was achieved in eight days. It ended on August 23. It was entirely unopposed, the troops had plenty of provisions, only a few men died or were missing, and the horses were kept in good condition. The army rested on the 24th, and resumed its march on the following day, General Roberts expecting to reach Kandahar on the 29th. The sick were left in Kelat-i-Ghilzai, which was handed over to Amir Abdurrahman's officers, the British garrison joining the relieving army. A plan for combined action against Ayub Khan was sent to General Phayre, who advanced from Chaman-Choki to Gatai, and was to reach Takht-i-Pul, thirty-five miles south by east of Kandahar, almost simultaneously with Roberts's arrival before the latter city. Takht-i-Pul Pass, however, has in the meanwhile been occupied by a force of the enemy, and, according to the latest telegrams, Phayre's communications are threatened by tribal gatherings, a feverish excitement pervading the country in his rear, down to the Indus. The siege of Kandahar, however, is considered as already raised, Ayub Khan having withdrawn to the Argand-ab. Concerning Ayub's forces and intentions the reports are conflicting, and the question gravely presents itself, What next, if he retires toward Herat? Will the English Government embark now on a venturesome enterprise against that remote city, or leave Burrows's defeat unrevenged, with Kandahar exposed to fresh attacks, and all southern Afghanistan agitated? Lord Hartington, a few days ago, declared in the House of Commons that the decision in regard to the frontier-line "would not be influenced by the mere fact of certain territory having been acquired by the treaty of Gandamak," which "may be regarded as having ceased to exist"; but this declaration contains no clue to the Government's contemplated policy in general, and, least of all, in regard to Kandahar, which is not within the frontier-line of India created by that treaty.

SUPPOSED SPEECH OF A REPUBLICAN EMISSARY AT THE SOUTH.

ONLY two months remain before the November election, and we have yet to see any result of the Fifth-Avenue Conference so far as relates to stumping the South. To all appearances the Republican managers have preferred the advice to strengthen first the weak points at the North with a view to carrying the October elections; and the probability is that if their hopes are realized they will deem it superfluous to undertake a Southern canvass, while, if the October States go Democratic, they will plead the necessity of making a forlorn attempt to redeem these very States in the final struggle. It may, therefore, not be amiss to imagine what a Republican orator of tact and principle might say to an audience of Democratic whites in any considerable city South of Mason and Dixon's line. We assume that his mission would best be fulfilled by openly courting such an audience in place of one composed either of white or black Republicans.

"I stand before you," he would begin by saying, "already a suspected and odious person because wearing the name Republican. Yet I must frankly avow that my object in addressing you is to defend and, if I can, to establish the proposition that your interest lies with the success of the party to which I belong, and not of the party in which you see almost your last hope of salvation. It is clear, therefore, that one or other of us is laboring under an illusion which ought to be dispelled, and which I shall do my best to dispel if you will give me a patient hearing.

"I shall ask you, in the first place, what you will be most unwilling to grant, to draw a line between the Republican party of to-day and the Republican party of five, ten, or twenty years ago. I do this simply because I am ready, on my part, to do the same by the Democratic party in any comparison between the two. It will, too, save us the necessity of raking up issues which, having been settled, had better now be buried out of sight. I must add, however, that I do not shirk an historic retrospect, and that it is a part of my present purpose to maintain that the Republican party, which accepted and carried on the war to your final defeat and the utter extinction of slavery on American soil, was before, during, and after hostilities the real friend and benefactor of the South. I affirm with entire confidence that no one among you whom you would now choose as a natural leader would advocate the re-enslavement of the blacks, even if he thought it could be done; or would pretend that slavery was not a curse, which you have not paid too dearly to be rid of in the only way in which (as was fated) it could be got rid of; or would deny that the South has never been so prosperous as it is to-day, with such bright prospects of material development, and not one-half its resources exposed, or one-half its territory peopled as it might and will be. This condition has been reached in fifteen years under the rule of the Republican party—under the rule, if you please, of leaders tainted with corruption, and certainly in a period four-fifths of which was to be called one neither of war nor of peace. I shall not stop to justify the methods of Reconstruction, still less the abuses to which it gave rise at the North and at the South; but I may challenge the world's statesmanship to point to any social, political, and industrial revolution of anything like the magnitude of ours having been accomplished in so short a time, and, on the whole, with so little friction, bitterness, and hardship.

"To say this is to compliment you in spite of yourselves, for there can be no doubt that if you had promptly accepted the inevitable—the negro as a citizen, with a vote—the friction, bitterness, and hardship would have been vastly diminished; there would have been no room for a foreign element of demagogism and plunder to which an ignorant suffrage is everywhere exposed, and which supported itself among you so long by virtue of a Federal alliance now past for ever, and repudiated by the Republican party itself. But I hear you insisting that this is not so—that the party would to-morrow reinstate the 'carpet-baggers' if it got the opportunity. Herein is one of the illusions of which I spoke. I might point to the deliberate rejection of General Grant at Cincinnati as a proof of the party's change of mind with reference to military government, but I would rather recall the close of his second administration, when it was manifest that he himself was persuaded that he had been undertaking the impossible, and that the course actually adopted by his successor was the only one left. If two terms of President Grant could not win over the party to the constitutional views which you successfully resisted (with ill omen for that party's continuance in power), can you ascribe no influence to four years of Mr. Hayes's administration, against which, on the score of purely Federal relations, you have no cause of complaint? Do you not know, and ought you not to feel, that South Carolina is as free from arbitrary and illegal Federal interference as Massachusetts, and must remain so whoever may occupy the White House? Believe me, of all the phantoms which now haunt either section, this—that reconstruction is not closed—is the thinnest and emptiest. The date of its expiration is known—in April, 1877; there is no prophet bold enough to predict its revival.

"You are, then, even if the Republican party succeeds, absolutely secure against any attempt to set up your governments on a foundation of which the Federal Army and Navy constitute an essential part. But two things you must not reckon upon: that the Republican North will ever be indifferent to State governments maintained only by intimidation and fraud, or will ever cease by lawful means to guard the ballot in the hands of the black voter. I will go further, and assert that you yourselves cannot always, without uneasiness, overcome black majorities as you now do and feel perfectly justified in doing, and that you will end not only by tolerating the colored voter, but by seeking in every way to enlighten and elevate him. As a means of what you deem self-preservation you may wink at ballot-stuffing, but you know as well as anybody what is implied in a community of ballot-stuffers. You had your slave-traders and slave-catchers, in the old times, but you did not look upon them as your first citizens, or invite them to your tables and introduce them to your families; nor can you now regard with respect the men whose business it is to keep voters away from the polls, or to count out an honestly polled majority. You tolerate them as necessary tools, and you voluntarily share in the odium which they incur among all right-thinking men who believe that a republican form of government with doctored ballot-boxes is a farce. But you can see the demoralizing effect of this upon yourselves, and can foresee the time when local dissensions will give occasion for putting these fraudulent devices in practice against one or other of two factions of the same party. What security, let me ask, has Governor Colquitt or ex-Senator Norwood at this moment in Georgia that his vote will come out of the ballot-box exactly as it went in?

"It may well be that you are but copying the example of the 'carpet-baggers' in their last struggles for supremacy, but of one thing be assured, that the Republican party at the North has never sanctioned a resort to such modes of perpetuating its lease of power. I do not say it has not committed frauds, or met fraud with fraud; but I contend that the mass of the voters who call themselves Republican are and always have been ready to accept the results of a fair count, and have erected the only safeguards against cheating at the polls and in making up the returns. On the other hand, the Democratic party has persistently, as it got the chance, torn away these safeguards; so that, believing your encouragement in ways which you yourself must deplore, however necessary they may appear, to be disastrous for you, I again hold up the Republican party as the better friend of the South. The time is coming when it will seem none the less so because of its insisting that, within its own province, the United States shall maintain the purity of elections. The Supreme Court has sanctioned this doctrine, and however it may be questioned by constitutional lawyers, or whatever opportunities there may be for abuse in the application of it, no one can profess opposition to the end sought to be attained by it on grounds that will, morally speaking, bear examination. I myself am free to say that I regard this remnant of the Reconstruction measures as wholly in the line of what used to be called 'manifest destiny'—the gradual but steady enlargement of the Federal powers in keeping with the real growth of the country in unity of feeling and interest.

"Here I seem to confess the Republican party a party of centralization, and if I should defend it upon that ground I might have been much worse engaged. But in spite of the wrangles over the use of United States troops at the polls, over United States jurors, supervisors, and deputy-marshals, the records of the last two Congresses show that both parties and both sections sought to use the power of the Federal Government whenever it suited their purposes. Looking only at measures introduced or supported by eminent Southern men, I might cite

Senator Morgan's constitutional amendment recognizing, by implication, the old Whig doctrine of internal improvements; or his Electoral Count Bill, which forbids a State to certify its own Presidential electors, and gives the right to both Houses of Congress—as to which Mr. Garfield said, as a member of the Electoral Commission: 'The preservation of the rights of the States under the Constitution to appoint electors and to declare who has been appointed, is, in my judgment, a matter of much greater importance than the accession of any one man to the Presidency.' I might refer to the refusal of Congress in June, 1878, to authorize the State of New Hampshire to choose a Senator by its existing Legislature; to Mr. Reagan's Inter-State Commerce Bill, to the bill establishing a Board of Health with power to step in and fulfil the functions neglected by State officials, or the bill permitting the Geological Survey to extend its operations into States having local surveys, or the Voorhees resolution to investigate the colored exodus—all supported and carried by Southern votes, and all within the past two years. I conclude, therefore, that honors are easy, and that your fears of centralization are groundless, or have as much relation to the Democratic as to the Republican party.

"There remains the subject of the Federal offices at the South, in which it is probably true there are many unworthy incumbents, but few corrupt or oppressive, unless you have been singularly derelict in making known your grievances. The general administration of President Hayes has been incontestably free from extravagance or peculation; if the Southern branch of it has been an exception to the general purity, the Republican North has yet to hear of it. The election of General Hancock would certainly throw these offices into your hands, and this would probably seem to you an unmixed good. As my business is to deal in paradoxes, I shall venture to assert that the contrary is true; because, unless human nature is different on both sides of the line, the new appointments will be as truly political as those which they replace. Now, it matters little whether the immediate result is an improved corps of officers; they will be no sooner installed than their honors and emoluments will become the envy of others, and their tenure dependent on influences which have no relation to the efficiency or integrity of the public service. Moreover, the revolution which raises them to place will infallibly breed at the North corruption and jobbery in the public offices, and the damage which will thence ensue to the whole country you cannot hope to escape, even if you flatter yourselves that you would avoid corruption among yourselves. You will have purchased a momentary gratification by an alliance with a party which has never given the least sign (outside of its platforms) that it saw any evil in our present civil-service system, or that it repented of its peculiar doctrine that to the victors belong the spoils. I admit that the Republican party has not done its duty by this great question, but it has done something in practice to administer by business-like methods, and it contains the only body of intelligent and united workers who are bent on securing reform—through a third party if need be. Remembering that your sufferings from rascality during Reconstruction were not owing to the wilfulness of the Republican party—by which always I mean the rank and file, and not necessarily the leaders—but grew out of the very system of political appointments which I am deprecating, it seems to me that experience should make you eager to throw in your fortunes with that party which alone gives any promise of suppressing the most gigantic and dangerous abuse now threatening our institutions—an abuse both anti-republican and anti-democratic, and the abolition of which will redound to the lasting benefit of every section."

Much more our orator might say if his audience remained tolerant, or the editorial column had no limit. Much more he would have to say if he invited debate.

THE OUTLOOK FOR PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP IN IRELAND.

THE Irish question continues to harass the Gladstone Ministry probably more than any other with which it has to deal, and in a way of which Lord Beaconsfield and his followers knew nothing. The latter always treated Irish grievances as a dreadful bore, and kept a young "swell" in the office of Irish Secretary to chaff the Irish members and repeat the club conversations about the peasantry. The Disturbance Bill which the Lords have just defeated was confessedly a hasty measure, and was hard to defend on any other ground than that it was a sign of the good intentions of the Ministry. It imposed a serious disability on landlords by depriving them of their legal right to take possession of their land for non-payment of rent; in other words, it belonged to the class of laws which interfere with the obligation of contracts. These laws are, indeed, sometimes excusable and even laudable, but only on condition that they make no distinctions, but are applicable to all persons of a certain class. The Irish Compensation Bill was, however, only applicable to landlords in certain districts, where the distress of the tenantry was supposed to be greatest. But in these districts the landlords were also worse off than any other landlords, yet no provision was made for the diminution of *their* burdens; they had to meet the charges on their estates whether the rent came in or not. It is not surprising that, under these circumstances, Lord Cairns was able to produce in the debate in the House of Lords a mass of very destructive testimony, showing the injurious effect of the bill on the credit of landlords and on the value of landed property in Ireland. In fact, the bill was not stoutly defended in any quarter. The commercial English Liberals were afraid of it; the philosophical Liberals could say little for it, except that it was absolutely necessary to do something to prevent civil war in Ireland, which Mr. Gladstone said was "measurably" near; and the Irish Home-Rulers and Land-Leaguers treated it as simply a sign that the Government was frightened, and could be made to do a good deal more than they had hoped; so that, beyond establishing the fact that the Liberals would like to do something to regulate the Irish land question, while the Tories would not think of doing anything, the bill has had little importance.

As soon as it was defeated, the Government had to provide for the contingency of the landlords in the distressed districts using their legal right to evict and being resisted—or, in other words, to determine whether it would enforce the law at any cost, even in cases of which it had, by the introduction of the Compensation Bill, acknowledged the injustice. It has, of course, been compelled to announce that it will enforce it, and for this purpose has reinforced the Constabulary, which is essentially a military force, by a regiment of marines. The preservation of peace and quiet now depends much on whether the landlords will or will not assert their legal rights. That they are not men who are easily cowed their history shows clearly enough; but there could not be a more unfortunate time for a display of their courage as against their tenants. They can undoubtedly secure possession of their land, but the land is of little use to them without the prospect of letting it peaceably and getting a fair rent from it, and this prospect is diminished in some degree by every assertion of the extreme landowning rights. As Judge Longfield pointed out in an article of which we gave a summary last week, the landlord's position in Ireland is precarious, and grows more so. Mr. Parnell is laboring for a general refusal to pay rents, and if this could ever be brought about it would be as fatal to the renting of land in large masses as it was in this State. A general refusal to pay rent, if firmly adhered to, no government in our day could overcome. Cromwell would have overcome it very summarily; but Cromwell's processes are not available for any government in our day, except that of Turkey. A whole people could not be evicted from their holdings, and, even if they could be it would do the landlords no good, because they could not farm the whole island. Of course there is little likelihood that any anti-rent combination can be organized that will cover all Ireland; but the anti-tithe agitation, which rose and triumphed in days when the Irish had much less experience of agitation and much less help and encouragement from outside than they have now, does make a combination large enough to defy the law and make land an almost worthless kind of property over large areas, seem not at all impossible, if the popular exasperation should be kept alive by an undue assertion of legal rights by the landlords.

There are several circumstances which favor such a movement at present, and which have not previously existed. In the first place, the English Liberals are committed, as they have never been committed before, to the doctrine that property in land is not property like any other property—that is, that it is and ought to be subject to restrictions

and modifications at the hands of the legislator to which personal property is not, and ought not to be, subjected. This doctrine, in fact, the Liberals are now endeavoring to apply to English land-tenures. Moreover, the English system of land-letting, which prevailed everywhere over Europe when Englishmen first introduced it into Ireland, has disappeared from every European country except England and Ireland. In no other is the hold of the bulk of the population on the land so slight. Within a century the greater part of the land in France has passed into the hands of the tillers. In Germany and Russia the land has undergone a similar process. In Switzerland great landlords have been unknown since the Middle Ages. In Italy, if peasant proprietors be not numerous, the interest of the farmer in the soil is comparatively large. It is, in fact, only in Ireland that tenancy-at-will exists in naked literalness. Everywhere else the will of the landlord is restrained by usage, or by sympathy, or some sort of acknowledged community of interest with the tenant.

The effect of all this in discrediting the existing Irish land-tenure, and making some great change in it seem easy, is apparent enough. But in addition to this the peasantry are now in possession of the ballot, which has not only destroyed the political power of the landlords, but greatly diminished the political influence of the priests. There has never been a political agitation in Ireland in which both priests and landlords counted for so little as the one now raging, and Judge Longfield calls attention to this as a very serious aggravation of the pending crisis. The plunder of the landowners is for the first time distinctly offered to the peasantry as an attainable political object, and the agitation derives a great stimulus from the fact that every tenant knows exactly what his share of the booty would be in case the enterprise succeeded. In fact, Parnell offers nearly every man who supports him a determinate quantity of land as the reward of victory, which is a very different thing from the general scramble for the possessions of the rich which is all the communistic chiefs have to promise their followers. Of course success is out of the question. Nothing but the defeat of the Government in a bloody war will ever compel the landlords to absolute surrender of their property. But many things might happen to bring about the transfer of the fee-simple of the soil to the tenantry, encumbered with the amount paid to the landlord for it, either directly by the tenant or by the Government in the shape of a loan to the tenantry.

Would the condition of the tenants be improved rapidly by this? Some approach to an answer to this question has recently been made by an examination of the condition of those farmers who formerly held under the Irish Church and bought the fee of their farms when the Church was disestablished. It appears from this examination that no man whose holding is less than twenty acres gains much by the change in anything but deliverance from what all consider tyranny and vexation in the shape of landlord interference. He is rarely able to live and support a family on less than twenty acres without help from some other quarter, such as keeping a shop, or following a trade, or going to England to work at harvest-time. In short, such a farm seems at best but a help. It seems also to be ascertained that hardship or failure has followed in nearly every case in which the tenant had to borrow the whole of the purchase-money—the rule of the money-lender being generally harder to bear than that of the landlord, as more rigid and less indulgent. The cases of success are those of thrifty men who had holdings above twenty acres, and were able to pay one instalment of the purchase-money out of previous savings. There does not, therefore, seem to be much promise in any change of proprietorship for the very small farmers without a great change in their habits. The untiring, unending industry of the French peasant might enable the Irish peasant to make up for the disadvantages of soil and climate from which he now suffers. If he became a careful, indefatigable, penurious cultivator under the régime of peasant proprietorship, the change would undoubtedly be little greater than that through which the French peasant has passed. We shall probably never see any general agreement of opinion on this point in advance of actual experiment. But the accounts of those who investigated the condition of the holders of the Church property go to show that proprietorship in fee does have an extraordinary effect in soothing and tranquillizing the Irish farmer, and turning his attention away from furious politics. They all, no matter how hard their present lot or hopeless their outlook, agreed that being "rid of the landlords" was sufficient compensation for every present hardship or anxiety. Should this fact become more patent it will furnish a strong temptation to some English ministry, though doubtless a more radical one than Mr. Gladstone's, to make a bid for the devotion of the Irish voters through some process which, even if it does not change the proprietorship of the fee, will destroy the landlord's power over the tenant's manner of life and his management of his farm.

PHILOSOPHY AT CONCORD.—II.

CONCORD, August 14, 1880.

THE evolution and interadjustment of thought natural to the progress of a five-weeks' session have in the end marked for the Concord Summer School a definable issue and attitude, which should be added as a sort of personal equation to the general character of the school sketched in a previous letter. Theism, which was at first implied, has become thoroughly explicit; there is no question now that the title, were it more accurately written, should mention "monotheistic philosophy," or still more accurately, perhaps, "philosophical monotheism," for such an inversion of phrase would mark a true distinction, and probably the one most vital for a critical estimate of the school. This faith in theism is not held, in Concord, under any of the contingencies of investigation, as an issue that may or may not arrive; on the contrary, it is taken to be both the datum and the foregone conclusion of all investigating, somewhat in the way materialism takes matter; its possession is regarded as the essential evidence of mental and moral sanity; and, in general, there is the same basic confidence in the method and inspiration peculiarly theistic that philosophy has in the method and inspiration peculiarly philosophic. The appreciative mind readily divines why theists speak oracularly, making mention rather than explanation; their appeal is to the intuition in fellow-men, and the profundity of emotion that enwraps insight. Logic appears a pedant in this company, and the matching of words a descent; thus, in the social sense, it was a mistake one day early in the course of the School when, to the remark "Fate is but a word," some one replied "Freedom also is but a word." A better comment, and one at the same time sympathetically cogent, would have been, that all names are but words, and highly secondary to what they signify; for the finest office of theistic and kindred belief appears to lie in drawing attention from the mere labelling and classifying of existence peculiar to the analytical mind toward the inner, unwritten verities.

In the matter of ultimate truth even oracular speech has been discouraged. Emerson says: "Of this essence called Spirit he that thinks the most will say the least"—a sentiment impossible of attainment for a faculty committed to instruction; but that its spirit has been largely observed will be evident. It has been said in various lectures: They who think they comprehend the Infinite do not know what it is. Look at it before you, and it is behind your back. . . . All defining confines. . . . God is nowhere unless he is everywhere. . . . Through Nature up to God? Has any one got through? Is God more up than down? Has any ascension left Nature and her wardrobe behind? . . . The "attributes" of God measure not his greatness but our littleness. . . . The abstract is accessible only through the concrete. . . . The real is the surface upon which the potential writes itself. . . . "God-like" and "beastlike" are not superhuman or subhuman terms; they denote the confines of human character. . . . It is not necessary to attach a definite idea of being to our conception of God. . . . Personality is not a product; it is an essence. . . . We say "thou" to the rest of the universe; that is not religious—all is one. . . . He who will look steadfastly out into the world will suddenly perceive himself surveyed by a great eye returning his stare. . . . "The eye whereby I see God is the eye whereby God sees me." . . . The true ritual is the active work of charity.

While the theistic and mystical intuitions arrive at these encouraging generalities by a stroke, it is at a sacrifice of the logical perspective which philosophy in calmness retains. The School owes the cohesion and continuity of its programme to the Hegelian element or view, cheerfully insisted upon at all points by Mr. Harris and Mr. Snider. If the universe were made of glass the mystical mind would write "vitreousness" and be at an end, but Hegelianism has a treatise upon dioptrics. Hegel has sometimes been taken to be pantheistic, but the presentation in Concord, as has been implied, is entirely in the light of, it almost might be said for the purposes of, theism. The position is, that self-determination of the absolute, the Hegelian first-principle, constitutes a divine personality—that is, God; for self-determining, absolute mind and ultimate personality are the same thing.

By discovering that a thorough-going psychology involves ontology, Hegel relieved this latter from the distress into which it had been thrown by Fichte's psychological criticism. The simplest sense-perception, Hegel found, cannot take place without the activities of memory, representation, and inference; so that the past, the future (there being prevision), and reason—in fact, the total round of existence—are already involved in the particular object. It would,

therefore, be impossible to find a disconnected lump of existence; the universe is all of one fabric, an inwoven web, or like a dictionary of cross-references where each part exists, with any significance, only in connection with the whole. Here is a concrete unity, the ultimate oneness is discovered *in* things, not over or beyond them; and by this change from an abstract to a concrete first-principle Hegel rid ontology of what before had been its apparent goal but really its greatest stumbling-block—the empty and impotent abstraction, pure Being. Existence, he discovered, must have its support or vivifying principle from within, not as an addendum; the universal key was in the wards and not to be removed. The conception was a masterful ascent, reaching perhaps the highest northern latitude yet attained in the great philosophical search for a pole. Whether Hegel really stood there, at latitude ninety, and whether, had he done so, he would have arrived at a position any more intrinsically geographical than one at the whirling equator, are questions for the critique of speculative philosophy; it is only to be noticed here, in relation to the Concord School, that any departure towards theism from this principle of universal, progressive oneness, to which Hegel undoubtedly did attain, immediately shows an anthropomorphic tinge; and the further advances to a personal deity and a personal immortality seem to move by an argument clearly contrived for the result. In fact, the misfortune of all very profound systems of thought is the flexibleness essential to profundity, but which will permit warping at almost any extent. Hegelianism, on the strength of its dangerously facile dialectic, has been known to pass beyond theism, to Christianity, to trinitarianism, to items of orthodoxy. In many ways science has similarly suffered misuse; the occurrence of parthenogenesis in the insect world, for instance, has been cited to explain the virgin maternity of Mary, and so one may expect to hear some Monday morning in Boston, possibly, the whole of Hegel's 'Encyklopädie' incorporated with the Nicene Creed. While in Concord nothing like this extremity is in prospect, there are absent the indications of what is at present the surest safeguard against the doctrinal degeneration mentioned by Mr. Stanley Hall, in *Mind* of last year, as the chief characteristic of philosophy in the United States. This safeguard is a mental bias, or counter-bias, prompted by what might be called a Wordsworthian revulsion in the world of knowledge—a demand for intellectual sanity, simplicity, and faithfulness at any expense. For the type of mind thus characterized, and it is a growing type, the appealing fact is the contrast between the fatal certainty of the near event, flowing continuously, and always modifiable, beneath man's hand, and the distant inconclusiveness of speculative investigation, so variously illustrated by the whole history of philosophy. There is a conviction that philosophy is seeking far off the opportunity which in truth lies at hand, in the ebb and flood of every-day life; and as for optimistic, pessimistic, and all views at large, they seem less relevant to the situation than some working faith such as might find its watchword in the "meliorism" of George Eliot. The programme of this faith is to better, in the light of discoverable law, the situation to which, whatever the occasion or the outcome, human life is committed.

With the formal philosophical substance of the School that has been thus far dwelt upon there has been an intermingling of disconnected lectures, readings, and conversations for the service of relief and variety—an agreeable miscellany, not to be mentioned in detail, but notable in one or two issues. The readings from Thoreau's unpublished manuscripts by his literary executor, Mr. Blake, have, with the accounts of intimate personal acquaintances, thrown new light, or certainly very unfamiliar light, upon the character of this unique author. It appears that the current notion of Thoreau is about as distorted as could be possible. He was the kindest of men, with an acute sense for the rights of others, and in all social relations was guided by a fine instinct of courtesy. This often would compel acquiescence in opinion or action that jarred with his convictions; and, being a man who above all things lived by conviction, he was driven to avoid whatever might thus compromise himself with himself. No one could more highly and choicely value human intercourse, but a certain moral exclusiveness narrowed him to a limited circle of friendship. He often refused to see people because he could not honestly talk to them. Without vanity, he had a large pride and an equal obstinacy; but the pride, it is told, was of the kind which always marks strict moral fidelity to self, and the obstinacy simply expressed intelligent conviction tenaciously held. Perhaps, on the whole, Thoreau lacked flexibility. There was in his mental, as in his physical, build something angular, and this came prominently forth on occasion. For he had more than the courage of his opinion, as is commonly said of strong-willed men; his opinion was himself. And though there is little question as to a certain inflexibility in Thoreau's character, this in the end will more likely be ascribed to an external situation forcing him to the defensive attitude, than to native endowment or misendowment. Nevertheless, it is at present commonly thought that his was a case of village egotism, that he made virtuous living a "fad," and carried adherence to principle from a wise and flexible regard over into a knotty conceit. The most notable evidence in this direction is his refusal to pay taxes during the Mexican War, which he believed a national sin—a course that on one occasion resulted in imprisonment. After release from this he wrote the lecture, "Resistance to Civil Government," which is printed in the 'Æsthetic Papers' of Miss Elizabeth Peabody. This lecture, written when Thoreau was thirty years of age, should be a sufficient answer to all doubt of his intellectual equipoise. The problem is surveyed from all sides in a manner most cool, impersonal, and logical. It is a document fit to go before a high court in session, and the reader, who begins by being shocked, for the first paragraphs appear to deny all rights and offices of government, is led by line and line of serenely vigorous statement to a conclusion that seems the inevitable outcome of penetrating judgment. He writes: "If the injustice is part of the necessary friction of the machine of government, let it go, let it go: perchance it will wear smooth—certainly the machine will wear out. If the injustice has a spring, or a pulley, or a rope, or a crank, exclusively for itself, then perhaps you may consider whether the remedy will not be worse than the evil; but if it is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law. Let your life be a counter-friction to stop the machine."

There was just one thing Thoreau would not do, and to understand this is probably to understand his life: he would not compromise individual virtue. The notion of anything short of the finest integrity gave life a bad odor, and he would not have it; his sensitiveness was as great here as with most men in the matter of honor and cowardice, and the fine edge of his character did not blunt under the wear of circumstance, as most commonly happens in the world. The story of the journals, as read here in Concord, with the story of his life told by those who long knew him all point very clearly to one solution of Thoreau's attitude toward organized society: it was neither iconoclastic nor whimsical, but simply expressed private incommensurability with the average taste in ethics and character. When in prison he wrote: "I saw that if there was a wall of stone between me and my townsmen, there was a still more difficult one to climb or break through before they could get to be as free as I was."

The current misconception of the poet-naturalist may be largely founded in the overstatement and paradox frequent in his pages; the overstatement probably made a relief for a solitary and almost abnormally vigorous habit of thinking, and the love of paradox is said to have been inherited from his mother, a woman of unusual character. As to the Walden episode, it was never seriously intended for a social experiment or a social demonstration, though Thoreau sometimes chose so to use the event in his pages, but was simply a move to secure for a time an unagitated and inexpensive life. He was meditating his first book, and perhaps was a little disturbed at home, it is said, by the domestic buzz; probably reasons for economy existed, for he never would receive a gift or a loan of money, and would always even pay his mother for board with her. The year at Walden really did illustrate the possibility of plain living and high thinking; it was a protest, intended or unintended, not against society, but against many needless expenses and evils that society is accustomed to impose upon itself. Mr. Blake remarked in a preface to his readings, that it was from an insatiable, persistent thirst for true society that Thoreau avoided the false, and many of the selections from the journals favored this view, which had become prominent in the conversations before the School. Take, for example, the following: "If I do not keep step with my companions, it is because I hear a different drummer. . . . It is not easy to make our life respectable by any course of activity. We must withdraw into the shell of thought. . . . If my curve is large why bend it to a smaller circle? . . . I will not be shipwrecked on a vain reality. . . . It is not that we love to be alone, but that we love to soar. Will you go to glory with me? . . . My thoughts are my best company. They have a certain independence and individuality. It is rare that we use our thinking faculty as resolutely as an Irishman uses his spade." This is the familiar aphoristic style of the Concord "Deacon of Nature," different from the ordinary crackle of aphorism as the springy branch from a bundle of dried twigs. There were read, also, many passages in the delicately lyrical touch genuine to Thoreau's hand, or others that hinted the fine resonant quality of his emotional side, as where he listens to the sonorous buzz of a telegraph wire strummed by the wind, and then, after riding this thought round the world, tells how the piano-playing of his sister always gave him an unrestful happiness.

The lecture by Mr. Emerson, given late in the course, is no less inviting to quotation than the readings from Thoreau. It was a brief essay entitled "Permanent Traits of Aristocracy," apparently written in continuation of the chapters, familiar to all, on "Manners" and "Social Aims"; but to speak of it here at length will be impossible as well as needless, since the text, it may be presumed, will soon appear. The lectures of Prof. Peabody and Dr. Mulford, coming towards the close of the session, have helped in their way to identify the purpose of the School, and sever the essential from the non-essential in the general current of remark, which has not implied anything more definite than a genuine horror of all that is materialistic or in the fashion of materialism. In a word, liberal theism has found its most liberal hearing in Concord; the details that might make friction are serenely neglected, and there is a general intention towards the "lovelier verities." It is only insisted,

but to this extent rigorously, that the substance or grain of the universe is mind, and that this universal mind is personal. The insight that announces these highest beliefs cannot be formulated—happily, many will think, who conceive the real force of religious faith. Faith and reason appear fundamentally severed in their offices; and it should be said, in conclusion, that the presentations of religion and philosophy here this summer have failed of being excellent just where either has attempted the labor proper alone to the other.

THE ELECTIONS FOR THE COUNCILS-GENERAL.

PARIS, August 11, 1880.

THE 1st and 8th of August were important dates for the French republic, showing what a deep root the Republic has taken in French soil. The renewable fraction of our councils-general was then re-elected. These elections take place every three years, so that in nine years the entire council-general has been re-elected. The councils-general are the deliberative assemblies of our departments, principally charged with the management of their financial, commercial, and agricultural interests. In these assemblies purely political discussion is prohibited; but as everything concerning public instruction comes within their province, they are compelled to devote their attention to the most important political questions of the day. It must not be forgotten, either, that their members are the principal electors of the Senate, which is itself renewed by thirds every three years. The importance of the councils-general has been much increased by the law passed in August, 1871, called the "Law of Decentralization," which is nearly the only truly liberal law voted by the National Assembly. This law has taken away from the prefect (the representative of the central power) and transferred to the council-general the privileges which permitted him to distribute Government favors to the communes, and by means of which he influenced the elections. This political simony has now become impossible.

For all these reasons the elections for the councils-general have acquired great importance. They have, besides, the very special character of forming a preponderating side in country voting; the numerical preponderance of the towns disappears, now that voting takes place by cantons and not any longer by electoral districts of equal population, as in the elections for deputies. Each canton is composed of a certain number of communes, and it names only one general councillor, whether these communes are small or large. The millions of inhabitants of large towns weigh no more in the balance than the thousands of country communes. Accordingly the small country towns find in the council-general elections the surest means of manifesting their opinions. Now, you know the rural districts are much less easily excited than towns, where the working population predominate, who are so impulsive and so easily roused. They might be compared to the surface of the ocean, which the slightest breath of wind stirs up. The population of our rural districts rather resembles the depths of the sea, stirred only by great currents. Peasants, particularly in Catholic countries where the national religion does not tend to develop an initiative spirit, remain somewhat the *pagani* of the fifth century. This synonymy of the words pagan (*païen*) and peasant (*paysan*) is justified by the fact that while Christianity triumphed in all large centres of civilization, the country people, from a spirit of routine, remained still faithful to their old idols. We have also had our political paganism. The Second Empire had been long disowned and opposed in all large and small towns when it still found in the country many strong battalions for its plébiscites. There was kept up a sort of Napoleonic religion which vowed a true worship to the memory of the great and awful chief of the Bonaparte dynasty. There are few cottages where one may not find an image of this terrible warrior, the most formidable mower of men that the world has ever known.

Our popular song-writer, Béranger, was not mistaken when he said in one of his most famous refrains that Bonaparte would long be talked about under the thatch. By loading the country districts with material benefits the Second Empire omitted nothing to preserve their sympathy. The Second Empire is still remembered even after the frightful disasters which its criminal folly brought upon France. On a certain occasion I heard quoted this humorous saying of a countryman who was answering the criticisms which were being made on Napoleon III.: "He was, perhaps, a bad politician, but he was very skilful and clever for the sale of calves." He paid tribute to the Empire for the ease with which he found a ready sale for his cattle during the materially prosperous years of his reign. It must be admitted that the first years of the Republic, when we were obliged to pay an indemnity of four milliards to Germany, were less favorable to the sale of calves and all other agricultural produce than the beginning of the Second Empire; and the peasants readily forgot that they owed to Napoleon alone the terrible taxes which overwhelmed them. Therefore, they are the chief hope of the Bonapartist and monarchist adversaries of the Republic. Their hopes will be disappointed in the most striking manner. The French country districts have pronounced themselves for the Republic with admirable unanimity. A great number of leaders of the monarchist coalition have not even dared to face the ballot and have disappeared from the struggle. At the 1st of August voting, 900 Republicans were elected and only 382 Conservatives; the Republicans gained 243 seats. There was balloting in 133 cantons. The 8th of August, 99 Republicans were elected, and they gained 55 seats, which almost brings the Republican gain to 300. They have thus reconquered 12 departments, which, joined to the 55 they possessed already, assure them the majority in 67 departments out of 90, without counting that in the others they press hard upon their opponents. These results have considerable importance for the recruiting of the Senate, but they are especially significant as the most irrefragable proof of the consolidation of our present institutions. In vain do our adversaries seek to weaken the import of such a result by pretending that the French country districts always vote for the existing Government. After the kind of *coup d'état* Marshal MacMahon attempted on the 16th of May, 1877, this opinion can no longer be held. For many months the power belonged to the coalition of the monarchist parties. The Duc de Broglie ministry made use of every means of proceeding by official candidature; he employed intimidation against his enemies and lavished favors on his adherents. Marshal MacMahon himself recommended his candidates. Never was stronger pressure put upon any electoral body, and nevertheless the country returned the 363 deputies who composed the Republican majority of the dissolved Chamber, and the Marshal, unwilling to submit to his defeat, was obliged to resign, according to the famous dilemma of M. Gambetta. The peasantry crowded after President Grévy during his official visit to Cherbourg, and although he is the simplest of citizens, without military prestige, a president worthy to sit in the White House at Washington for his freedom from arrogance, he is as much applauded (even in Normandy, which seemed the citadel of anti-republican reaction) as MacMahon was but little cheered when he went on a similar journey during the régime of the 16th of May.

Not only were the monarchists beaten in these last elections, but the extreme radicals also. Their candidates failed almost everywhere. By multiplying their papers they have produced a disastrous competition. The *Intransigeant* of M. Rochefort, of which 80,000 copies were issued the first day, has now a daily edition of only 12,000. The other day a rather comical adventure happened to this gentleman, on the occasion of the last arrival of pardoned convicts at the *Gare de l'Ouest*. Remembering the triumphal manner in which he himself was received, he asked the station-master to show him a side door, so that he might escape the ovation which, doubtless, the population of the faubourg were preparing for him. Besides the relatives of the amnestied, no one came, and M. Rochefort was able to go in by the common entry to wish them welcome, thus estimating the decline of his unwholesome popularity.

É.

GERMANY AND THE POPE.—II.

BERLIN, July, 1880.

I SHOWED in my first letter why and how Bismarck's attempts at peace with Rome have failed. It is not the first time that Prussia has been defeated in her struggle with Rome. The relations of the Prussian Government with the Roman Curia are of comparatively recent origin, dating back only to the treaties of Vienna; nevertheless they form so rich a series of diplomatic negotiations and disappointments, unsuccessful attacks and ill-timed surrenders, sudden changes from indolence and suspicion to energy and self-reliance, that there is hardly a more instructive subject for political students than the history of these days. They teach the great precept how *not* to do it. As the complications between king and pope are far from being settled, but on the contrary still form a very prominent chapter of modern history, they deserve to be traced in their retrograde and forward movements.

During the greater part of the last century Prussia had only several hundred thousand Catholic subjects in Silesia, Western Prussia, and part of the Lower Rhine. They lived in peace with their Protestant neighbors, the more so as the Prussian laws on all religious matters have been and are tolerant and mild. The favorite saying of Frederic the Great, that in his State every man could save his soul in his own way, was not an empty word, but a reality. The King, however, knew how to punish the clerical arrogance of Protestant parsons as well as of Catholic priests, and how to make his laws obeyed. He laughed at the Pope who, instead of addressing him as king, always insisted upon calling him Margrave of Brandenburg; nor did this childish caprice prevent Frederic from dealing justly with his Catholic subjects. During the last century in general a more liberal current in respect to all ecclesiastical matters prevailed in cabinets and amongst the people. The Jesuits were even driven out of Roman Catholic countries. Enlightened Catholic princes like Joseph II. extended the rights of the Protestants, while at the same time science and the philosophical spirit of the age combined to undermine the authority of Rome. In the summer of 1786, at their meeting at Ems, the German electors and archbishops discussed the question of making themselves independent of the Pope and formed the plan of a National German Church. Their aims were chiefly frustrated by the intrigues of the German bishops, who

found it more advantageous for themselves to be dependent on far-off Rome than on their own very near metropolitans.

During the wars of the French Revolution the world was troubled by other sufferings and tribulations than clerical arrogance. Napoleon, who had broken the worldly power of the Pope, reinstated him as the spiritual head of the Roman Catholic world, and even agreed with him on a concordat for the sole purpose of using the ecclesiastical chief as a tool with which to fortify his own position and his ascendency over his subjects. In the spring of 1814 the allied emperors and kings who had dethroned Napoleon, re-enthroned the Pope. To thank them for this favor Pius VII., in his turn, a few months later reinstated the Jesuits, who were welcomed by the ruling reactionary princes as the supporters of the royal thrones and the defenders of religion against revolution. In consequence of the secularizations which followed the peace of Lunéville (1801) the Roman Church in Germany had lost almost all its estates and even charitable institutions, and for its maintenance was dependent upon the good will of the several governments. Frederic William III. of Prussia, by the treaties of Vienna, had obtained from the old clerical territories such large accessions of land that the number of his Roman Catholic subjects increased to about two-fifths of the whole population. Led by the desire of attaching these new subjects to his rule, and of avoiding the remotest suspicion of partiality, he created new archiepiscopal sees and bishoprics, endowed them on the most liberal footing, and hypothecated the income of the higher dignitaries of the church on the public domain. All this was done without any consideration on the part of Rome, and in the expectation that the Pope would help the King in defending and sustaining the so-called conservative interests of throne and altar. The Rhenish Prussians, the King was told by wilful courtiers, were free-thinkers, disciples of Voltaire and French democrats; the best means, he thought, to kill their revolutionary spirit would be to build up a strong orthodox clergy and support it with all the power of the Government. The archbishops and bishops accordingly were allowed free intercourse with the Papal See, enabling the latter to interfere with Prussian ecclesiastical matters. They exclusively controlled the education of the lower clergy, its appointments to curacies and chaplainships, and the superintendence and inspection of the primary schools.

For Prussia there was not the least danger in waiting, but she expected to achieve peace and tranquillity sooner by pressing negotiations with Rome. These the celebrated Niebuhr, who knew very much of the genius of old but very little of the diplomacy of modern Rome, was ordered to conduct. He proved, however, as poor a diplomatist as he was a great historian. Instead of imposing his most essential conditions on the Pope or withdrawing entirely, he negotiated as would become a beaten enemy craving a cessation of hostilities. He yielded all that the Jesuits, then as well as now the rulers of the Roman policy, thought fit at the time to have surrendered. The solemnization of intermarriages between Protestants and Catholics was the principal question on which the parties could not agree. The Prussian law justly determined that, in the absence of previous mutual understanding, the children, if boys, should follow the creed of the father, and, if girls, that of the mother. Rome, however, strictly refused to act in conformity with this law and to permit her priests to perform the marriage ceremonies, unless the future parents bound themselves to have their children indiscriminately baptized as Roman Catholics. Niebuhr was weak enough to leave the matter in suspense, and out of his heedlessness grew all the later difficulties, especially in the Rhenish provinces and Westphalia. The Prussian defeat was complete; the Roman victory was embodied in the papal bull "De salute animarum." As long as Count Spiegel-Desenberg was archbishop of Cologne—the most important metropolitan seat of Prussia—universal peace and good feeling were preserved. Spiegel was a gentleman of refinement and of cultivated mind, of enlightened views and mild, conciliatory manners, in his appearance a grand seigneur, and a dignified and effectual representative of the church. He increased in his diocese the institutes of learning, encouraged a more liberal education of the clergy, limited the celebration of clerical holidays to a smaller number, opposed the too-numerous pilgrimages, and finally, in 1834, perfected an agreement with his bishops which, by meeting the Government views half way on the marriage question and creating a *modus vivendi*, practically removed the difficulty and satisfied the great majority of Protestants and Catholics.

In 1835, however, Count Spiegel died. A stubborn, fanatical priest, a narrow-minded Westphalian baron, Clemens August von Droste-Vischering, of Münster, one of the most bigoted cities of Europe, became his successor. Under the iron rule of Napoleon he had been a pliant tool, and submitted to the French Emperor. Prussia's forbearance, however, he took for weakness and fear, and acted accordingly. Previous to being chosen to his new office Droste had promised to stick to the agreement of 1834 respecting the intermarriage question; but hardly had he been installed than he entirely disregarded it, removed clergymen and teachers who were under the suspicion of favoring Spiegel's reforms, forbade the students to attend the lectures of the liberal professors at Bonn, especially those of Hermes, and when called upon to justify his arbitrary proceedings pretended that he was not responsible to the Government, and that the Holy Spirit had ordered him to watch over the purity of the Roman Catholic doctrine. It would hardly be possible to account for the appointment of such a man, if it had not been for powers working behind the throne in Berlin, who thought it necessary to appoint this orthodox priest on account of the revolutionary spirit of Belgium. As if religious and political radicalism had not struck an alliance in Belgium and made its revolution! The archbishop's disobedience and open opposition finally ended in his deposition and arrest. In November, 1837, he was confined in the fortress of Minden and kept there till the death of Frederic William III. One of the first acts of the latter's son and successor, Frederic William IV., in 1840, was to pardon and liberate Droste. The same grace was extended to Dunin, archbishop of Posen, who had imitated the example of Droste. The new King, a self-willed and weak, orthodox, and romantic prince, dreamed of a re-establishment of harmonious government by worldly and clerical power alike, which, as in the Middle Ages, would decide the destinies of the world. Full of fancies and whims, he thought it his duty to come to a quick understanding with Rome. In fact, he gave up all that remained of his rights over the Roman Catholic Church. The most fatal measure which he took was the creation, in 1841, of a Catholic department in the ministry of ecclesiastical affairs. This department, backed by a Catholic queen and the ultra-conservative and orthodox party, exercised its influence over all appointments, and, being in constant intercourse with Rome, acted as a spy in a hostile camp. Its proceedings were not as brutal and coarse as Droste's were; it planned its schemes less suspiciously and carried them out more politely. But whatever these Ultramontanes did, they advanced their cause to the great detriment of a liberal development of spiritual affairs. It was, again, the Roman Catholic party which alone, in the revolution of 1848 in Germany, gained real and lasting advantages by extending their independence beyond state control. Instead of meeting with opposition, it received the hearty co-operation of the reactionary Protestant ministers of ecclesiastical affairs, viz., Eichhorn, Raumer, and Mühler, who welcomed it as a valuable ally against the liberal tendencies of the age.

In 1864 the Syllabus reasserted all the mediæval papal assumptions, and claimed the Church's supremacy over all secular power. The doctrine that all Protestants are and must be considered as heretics was renewed by Rome. "Heresy does not at all lessen the discharge of religious duties; the heretic has only one duty more to discharge than a faithful Roman Catholic, viz., to be converted, but not a single one less." In 1870 the Vatican Council perfected the absolute centralization of the papal rule and infallibility. Rome thus reconstructed commenced a clandestine but very bitter war against Prussia, since in 1866 the latter had defeated Austria, one of the most faithful champions of Roman Catholicism. The Pope very well appreciated the consequences of the events of 1866. A state like Prussia, having become by her Protestant character a leading power in Europe, cannot reconcile her existence with hierarchical principles and ideas. Sooner or later she must resume her original task and stand for the autonomy of the individual in religious and political matters. When, therefore, Bismarck's powerful efforts for re-establishing a united Germany proved effectual, it was Rome again which all over Europe collected its forces against the new Empire, and in 1870 it was the same Jesuitical policy, prevailing in the councils of the Pope, which did its best to instigate the French war. After the return of peace in 1871 these same enemies of Germany applied to the Emperor William for the re-establishment of the temporal power of the Pope, viz., by making a campaign against the Kingdom of Italy in the Pope's favor and giving him back the States of the Church. They of course met with a flat refusal, whereupon the Ultramontanes formed a distinct party in the Prussian Diet and the German Reichstag—the Centre. Its sole object consisted in fiercely attacking the policy of the Government, which, of course, was bound to take up the gauntlet.

Its first answer was the Imperial law of July 4, 1872, by which the Jesuits were expelled from the German territory. Then followed the Prussian May Laws (published May 11, 12, 13, 14, 1873) and their appendices, called also the Falk Laws, as Falk, the efficient Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, had introduced them. They radically did away with Prussia's vassalage to Rome, initiated by Niebuhr and fortified by Frederic William IV. and the Protestant orthodox clique. The Government at last prescribed the rules for the education and appointment of clergymen; placed the inspection of the primary schools under state control; prohibited the clerical authorities from inflicting punishment for lighter offences against the laws of the Church; excluded from Prussia all orders and congregations of the Roman Catholic Church; prescribed the oath of the archbishops and bishops; stopped the payment of their salaries in case of disobedience; administered the income of these dignitaries after their removal in consequence of open rebellion; and created a special court for the decision of all matters connected with and emanating from these laws.

When, in 1873, the Pope complained to the Emperor of the new laws, William I., on August 7, replied that to his deep concern a part of his Catholic subjects had formed a political party; that Roman Catholic clergy-

men of the highest standing had not only approved of this movement, but broken the laws of the State; that the authority of the laws must be preserved and, if need be, enforced by rigorous means; and, finally, that the religion of Jesus Christ and evangelical truth, to which the Pope had appealed, had nothing to do with these intrigues. In a letter addressed, February 18, 1874, to Lord Russell, thanking him for the sympathies of the English people, the Emperor said:

"I am forced to lead my people in a contest which former German emperors for centuries had to carry on against a power whose rule in all countries of the world has proved irreconcilable with the peace and well-being of nations, and whose victory in our day would endanger the blessings of the Reformation, liberty of conscience, and the authority of the law. Imbued with the spirit of my ancestors, I conduct this war with true tolerance and respect for the religious convictions of others. The laws recently passed do not attack the Roman Catholic Church nor the free religious exercise of its members; they only propose to give some guarantees to the independence of my country and of its legislation. These guarantees existed in a great many other countries, and formerly also in Prussia, without having been deemed by Rome incompatible with the free exercise of religion."

In the same way Bismarck repeatedly laid stress upon the one and undivided sovereignty of the Government to which all, high and low, were subjected. "Whoever claims," said he, "that he need not be governed by the laws of the country places himself beyond the pale of the law, tramples on the law, and will be dealt with accordingly." Every German patriot hailed these words and the accompanying deeds with satisfaction and delight; the nation never stood more unanimously by its Government. An old power of a thousand years' standing, like papal Rome, of course does not succumb to the first attack; an edifice which required centuries for building cannot be destroyed in a few years; a long struggle was therefore anticipated. Bismarck was correct in stating, what was also the opinion of the great majority of the people, that the Government had no need of precipitating the contest. Now, however, after eight years' hostilities, this same Government lays down its arms, thereby sanctioning the inference that by the introduction of the May Laws it had done wrong. For this reason public opinion takes the Government's policy as an acknowledgment of having violated the rights of its Roman Catholic subjects, and regards it as a signal defeat. How this change of tactics was brought about is, as you will have seen in my first article, at present only partly explained; how and when the contest will be reopened again I cannot tell; but you may be sure of one thing: that this struggle for life or death must be renewed by Germany if she would live in peace, and that she must beat Rome if she would not be stricken from the roll of independent nations and great powers of the world. There is not room enough for a German Emperor *and* a sovereign Pope at Rome. One or the other must yield. In Germany's ultimate triumph you, as well as every other civilized country, are deeply concerned. ? ?

PROGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN GREECE.

ATHENS, July 1, 1880.

THE progress made in bringing to light what is left of old Athens is, to any one accustomed to western ways, surprisingly small. The reasons are many, if not entirely satisfactory. Firstly, no one in the East must be expected to hurry—no one ever does; secondly, the foreign governments which have done so much for archæology in Greece seem to have carried elsewhere their energies; and, thirdly, the narrowness of the feeling of the Greeks themselves checks outside enthusiasm. The Greek is, I judge, of all civilized men the most chauvinist: he willingly allows no foreigner to acquire profit or glory on Hellenic soil. The country is too poor to do much for archæology, but they say it may be rich one of these days, and then Greece *farà da se*, which is sufficient reason for refusing all concessions to outside archæology except on terms which few localities justify, and few archæological authorities or associations are willing to accept—viz., the entire concession of the results of labor and expenditure to the Greek museums. It may suit the German archæologists to excavate Olympia, where problems of the first importance in the archæology of art were to be solved with tolerable certainty, or an enthusiast like Dr. Schliemann, to connect his name by unrecompensed expenditure with some classic locality; but already the Germans have given up and closed their works at Olympia, and men of the Schliemann stamp are hardly likely to enter into labors which only result in determinations of unobtrusive archæological problems.

The influence of the body of Greek archæologists, backed by a shallow form of patriotic pride, is, therefore, on the whole exerted against the interests of Greek archæology, because everything is done which can be done to discourage foreign associations from entering the field. Archæologists, as individuals, have rarely money to spend, and the men whose funds sustain their work, whether the representatives of government or private capitalists, are not disposed to give their money for the solution of dry problems, however much their patriotic pride might consent to do for their national museums, etc., etc. The Archæological Society of Athens lies, like the dog in the manger, the greatest of the obstacles to the advancement of the interests it represents. Everybody who wants to excavate in Greece must sign a copy of the German Olympian convention, which the Germans themselves will accept no longer. Any attempt to show the impolicy of such obstruction or the illiberality of such a policy is met with the reply: We shall be rich enough one day to do all that is to be done, and our treasures had better lie another thousand years under ground than leave Greece. As if the Elgin marbles in London, and the statues carried away by the Romans, but known wherever found as Greek, had not done more for Greece, made more Philhellenes, than all modern Greece will ever do! As if every noble fragment of Greek work sent to the antipodes was not a missionary for the propaganda of Philhellenism!

Meantime, not only are treasures perishing every day, but every advance in the prosperity of Greece is making archæological research more costly or impossible. The city of Athens of to-day is extending continually over ground which should be sacred to archæology, at least until it has been searched, and the most expensive part of the modern city overlies one of the most interesting cemeteries of the old city. It is only the chance of having to reconstruct a house which can permit certain points of Athenian topography to be elucidated. And that which was merely the work of ignorance in Otho and his time is being consciously repeated wherever a city is being built on an old site: the old work is being irretrievably covered by the new. Science is cosmopolitan, and what it finds is common good; but there is something revolting to the natural man in this scientific chauvinism, something which checks sympathy with Greece, so far as sympathy results from the admiration of a great past, guarded by such narrow-minded trustees. There are monuments of which no liberal man would wish to deprive Greece; but the sweeping, absurd, and suicidal policy which forbids all excavation except for the Greek museums, and any exportation of objects of antiquity whatever, according to the present laws, checks sympathy, deters aid where it would otherwise be given, and is the cause of injury and even destruction to objects maybe of inestimable value, to say nothing of the continual smuggling which is the inevitable result of all prohibitory laws. The world must be content to congratulate itself that the Romans had carried away most of the valuable statues of Greece, and that England had an opportunity to acquire the Elgin marbles and France the *trouvaille* of Melos, otherwise no one would ever have been able to study Greek art, and probably very little of it would have survived to our day.

No doubt many archæological associations would be glad to assist that of Athens in what ought to be its special and urgent work, the clearing away of all the rubbish accumulated around the Acropolis and such parts of the city as are still unbuilt over; but I sincerely hope that none will do so till that Society, under whose counsel and direction is all the legislation on the subject, adopts a wider and more liberal policy. What the Society has done since I first saw Athens fourteen years ago ought to have been done in three months. Since my last visit, eleven years ago, it has cleared away the rubbish which concealed the ground visited by Pausanias in part of his third day's visit, disclosing to a more or less doubtful identification the tomb of Talos; the sanctuary of Asklepios with its fountain—as to which no doubt can exist, as the fountain still flows, and you are offered its slightly medicinal water to-day from the old channels; the temples of Themis and Aphrodite-Pandemos; the tumulus of Hippolyte, of which nothing seems recognizable; and the sanctuary of Ceres and the Earth, whose location has been so variously conjectured. Several temples are uncovered in these recent researches, and the fragments have very great architectural interest as showing what wide liberty and variety of detail Greek genius allowed itself. The sanctuary of Asklepios reminds one (pardon the vulgarity) of a modern spa with its colonnade for the promenade of the water-takers. But what are of very great interest, even more, artistically, than anything exhumed of late years about the Acropolis, are some of the votive bas-reliefs which had been placed in the sanctuary, and which are of the most admirable art, while at the same time others prove that even in those times there were sculptors as bad as any the backwoods have produced.

The general effect of the Acropolis rock, as it is uncovered by this nearly complete clearing away of the long slopes of rubbish which once disfigured it (and are still intact on the north side) is grandiose, and one appreciates the matchless position of this citadel, which to all the appliances of ancient days was impregnable if properly guarded and provisioned. The picturesqueness is immensely increased by the discovery of the bold and rugged base of the rock springing out of the plain almost without a preface. There is still a good deal of clearing away to be done on the north side, and possibly some interesting remains to be disclosed, and some perhaps still more important on the west and northwest, where the débris forms a sort of *col* between the Acropolis hill and the Areopagus. It is here, if anywhere, that we must hope to find the solution of the problem of the first fortification of the Acropolis by the Pelasgi, and the indications of the Enneapylæ, the nine-gated approach to the early city of Minerva. To any one who has made a careful study of Pelasgic remains the so-called Pelasgic wall on the Acropolis, behind the

southern wing of the Propylæa, has nothing of this character generally attributed to it, nor is there on the Acropolis itself a piece of wall which merits this distinction. The substantial destruction of every structure by the Persians, and the subsequent employment of all the débris and material which did not serve as substructure (as with the foundations of the first Parthenon) as matter for reconstructing fortifications, etc., leave scarcely a possibility of any part of the early walls being still *in situ* on the Acropolis. But the Pelasgic engineering was in no case that I know of content with a simple circuit of wall defending a crest of rock which in this case hardly needed a wall, and certainly only needed it on the west (the Persian, be it remembered, only succeeded in entering by a subterranean passage, artificial or artificially enlarged, and which the Greeks neglected to guard), and I should be surprised if on uncovering the original surface to the west some indication were not found that the Areopagus had originally been enclosed, as indeed Ovid distinctly says that it was, and that the whole elevated land east of the valley between the Museum hill and the Areopagus was enclosed in the first Athens. The fortifications of that epoch invariably included an upper and a lower city, where the ground permitted it, and sites were very rarely chosen which did not admit it, an isolated peak being often arbitrarily divided when no natural division occurred; and in the case of Athens the complicated defence which we have a right to conclude existed, from the necessity of nine gates to it, could only have been made on the western side of this mass, of which the Areopagus and the Acropolis are only two separate peaks, perfectly conforming by their mutual relation to the conditions required by Pelasgic structure.

The excavation on this side will involve the reconstruction of the road to the Acropolis, probably by a viaduct, if people must go up by a carriage-road, which the ancients evidently did not, as Pausanias particularizes the road by which he entered the lower city of his time (a very different thing from the lower *Pelasgic* city) as one *which was available for carriages;* and in his time, moreover, the Enneapylæ had probably utterly disappeared, as he mentions no fortifications whatever. There is, therefore, even with the occasional help of the French and German academies, use for all the funds of the Greek Archæological Society for a long time on this point of the first importance, viz., the restoration of the Acropolis to its ancient condition. So that one would say that the Society would be disposed rather to attract explorers and stimulate excavation all over Greece than to suppress it by its absurd policy.

A glimpse of the statues just discovered at Melos, though still in their packing-boxes, shows them to be really valuable acquisitions to our knowledge of Greek art, though far from the elevation of the "Venus." They are a Neptune and a female figure draped—possibly a Ceres, but the head and extremities still lacking leave room for conjecture. The new museum is filling up; and though there is little hope that it will ever contain many of the masterpieces of Greek art, unless Italy should be more liberal than Greece and permit the re-exportation of them, there will be enough to make it worth a visit to Athens.

The Mycenæ collection is well arranged and of very great and perplexing interest. I am disposed to side with those who give to it a comparatively modern date, and one utterly inconsistent with the Agamemnonian theory. What is beyond all question is that there are works of widely different epochs, and amongst the engraved stones are two nearly three-fourths of an inch in diameter, of lentoid shape, which are most certainly, if there is any certainty attainable in such questions, of workmanship not anterior to the Roman epoch, and distinctly in the manner of cutting of which we know no example in archaic art, *known as such.* One of them, a common amethyst—a stone I have never known of archaic use—is not only cut in the Roman manner, with the wheel, but is in unmistakable imitation of an archaic design. This was found in one of the tombs; the other, not less characteristic in technique, but original and late in the spirit of its design, was found outside the tomb; but in both cases not only the cutting but the form and design indicate work done after the best period of gem-cutting. With them were, however, some admirable archaic gems, unquestionable and closely resembling the earliest Etruscan work (if that can be distinguished from Pelasgic). In support of the extreme antiquity of the find, the destructive oxidation of the silver vases is brought forward, but this is more than offset by the fact that the bronze articles are in very good state and far less corroded than the silver, while fragments of wood and cloth remain. A little sulphur in the soil, or lead in the silver, would perhaps account for the condition of the silverware. Taking, however, the gems as the indications, I should be inclined to dispute an antiquity so great as the period of Alexander the Great. There are some gold intaglii which I should be inclined to consider as of Asiatic origin, and later than that period by a century or two at least; but, though I am not so confident of this, certain it is that they belong to a decadence of art. The Hissarlik treasures are said to be in the vaults of the Bank, and awaiting the completion of Schliemann's three-story Pompeian villa to be seen by the general public.

It may interest the admirers of the latest discovered form of Greek art, the so-called figurines of Tanagra, to know that they are so extensively and successfully counterfeited that there are probably not more than three persons in Athens whose judgment is absolutely trustworthy in regard to them. The most experienced amateurs have been deceived by demonstrated forgeries, and the law has already been successfully invoked to reclaim guarantees of the dealers. In one case a figurine sold to a well-known collector for 2,000 francs was discovered to be a copy of an Apollo found at Pompeii; and what is even more glaring, an entirely new type of ornamented terra-cotta has been introduced, fabricated in Crete, and successfully palmed off on collectors as a novelty for considerable sums—in one case I know of as much as £30 for one broken vase, broken intentionally to give it an air of unquestionable genuineness. I was offered in Crete a pair of them in perfect condition for £50, and the owner did not seem in the least surprised when I told him I would not give him ten shillings for them, but put them back laughingly in his basket as if he thought it a good joke between us. In Athens the usual mode of taking in the stranger is to send to the hotel a peasant—an apparently unmistakable rustic—who pretends to have found a couple of figurines in his own field and to be anxious to sell them secretly, as the Government claims the half of all the antiquities found, and to escape this tax he is willing to sell them for a small price. Or perhaps the *valet de place* informs you with great secrecy that a peasant has been about the hotel with some figurines or vases which he wants to get out of the way of official attention, etc. The result is, in general, that in no city I have ever been in are there so many forgeries of antique objects of all kinds as in Athens. It would seem as if something of the old Greek art-feeling had broken out in this vein. Neither coins nor terra-cottas can be bought with any kind of certainty here except by the most capable experts, and for genuine articles the prices are enormously higher than in Italy for the same class of articles, the excavations in Magna Græcia affording much more abundant results than those in Greece proper.

W. J. Stillman.

Correspondence.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA CENSUS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the matter of the census it will be well to consider other figures besides the enumerations of 1870 and 1880. In South Carolina, for example, a State census was taken in 1869, and another in 1875—both, it will be seen, by Republican officials. Now, *e. g.*, Kershaw County presents a stock grievance, as having nearly doubled its population since 1870, from 11,754 to 21,181; but the State census of 1875 gives 20,992. Orangeburg County had in 1860 24,896; 1869, 26,842; 1875, 34,070; 1880, 41,000. Is it not self-evident that the figures of 1870, only 16,865 for the county (the town of Orangeburg only 246!), were grossly incorrect? We had better possess our souls in patience until General Walker gives us the official returns.

Marcel.

GEORGIA POLITICS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The Democratic Convention at Atlanta, which adjourned without a nomination, was packed, as far as possible, in the interest of Governor Colquitt, and I believe that the election will prove that he was in no sense a proper candidate, and would not have been nominated had the people generally been properly represented at the convention. Whether he is in any way responsible for the disgraceful plundering of the State which was not so long ago exposed, may be a question of opinion, but he is at all events closely allied to the corrupt ring which now controls the Democratic party, and consequently the State, and benefits by its power. I regret to see that the *Nation*, in its review of "The Week," advises the colored people to vote for Colquitt because he did a simple act of justice and his duty to one of their race. The outrage you mention was received with the greatest indignation by all classes in the community, and the comment thereon by the Atlanta *Constitution*—which, by the way, is one of the most bitter partisan journals—well illustrates the general feeling. There are many lawless counties in the State, and one of them was where this outrage occurred. It is, however, a curious fact that for one outrage upon a negro there are twenty on white people—which the relative proportion of each in the population will not account for.

The recent Democratic convention well illustrates which way the wind is blowing, and it is pretty evident that in this State, at least, the party is going to pieces; and this is the general feeling here with men whose opinion is unbiassed. It is unfortunate that the Republican party has no organization in the State, and its early history here is so unpleasant to most of the white population that it never can be revived. The so-called Independent party, which already has great power and is generally supported by the negroes, is led by sharp and unscrupulous men, and is merely a Democratic bolt without any particular organization. It seems to me that this independent movement—of which Senator Norwood is now the leader for governor—should be supported

by the negroes and every one else who desires to see a new party come out of the present chaos, unless it be still more desirable that the negroes should divide like the whites. This latter supposition is not likely to occur, however, while the name of the Republican party exists, and it is to be hoped that a new party under some other name than Independent may take shape from the present discontent, with some creed other than the buried issues of the past.

This is, I believe, a just view of Southern politics to-day by a Northern resident—as far, at least, as this part of the South is concerned. W. T.

MARIETTA, GA., Aug. 23, 1880.

THE BEST WAY TO PREVENT "ELECTION FRAUDS" AT THE SOUTH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The most certain and effectual way to bring this about is to elect Hancock. The Southern whites fear Republican ascendency because they think the Republicans would be willing to remand them to negro rule to perpetuate their power. Remove this apprehension by a change of administration, and there could not fail to be a disintegration of parties as they now stand. The whites would then divide, and then the negroes would also divide, and the elections would be more fairly conducted. It was a great mistake to confer the franchise upon the negroes *indiscriminately*. The mass of them are wholly unfit for such a trust. The presence of such a mass of hopeless ignorance as a factor must necessarily degrade our politics, especially as they can never blend with the whites as one people. As long, however, as the color line is forced upon us as the leading political issue, the whites must be expected in some way to be masters of the situation, and any *strategy* needed to effect this will be considered as justifiable as *similar strategy* between belligerents in time of war. J. H. T.

EASTOVER, S. C., Aug. 24, 1880.

GENERAL GARFIELD'S CIVIL-SERVICE ATTITUDE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Would you be kind enough to state in your columns what evidence there is, if any, that Mr. Garfield is in sympathy with the Independents on the question of civil-service reform? I ask this because, as an Independent and a citizen of Mr. Garfield's district, I have watched pretty carefully the distribution of offices and the conduct of office-holders in that portion of the district in which I live; and the evidence thus obtained, as well as what I can learn from men prominent in political circles, goes to show that that sentence in his letter of acceptance which you term (No. 785, p. 37) "a vindication of Congressional interference with appointments" is an expression of his real sentiment on that question. In his own district his position is generally understood to be this: Civil officers should be selected, with regard to fitness, from the party in power. Yours very truly,

L. B. TUCKERMAN.

AUSTINBURG, ASHTABULA CO., O., August 21, 1880.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: With your correspondent "J. B. M." (who is certainly a practical man), I will be one of five thousand, one thousand, or one hundred to give, as the case may be, one, five, or fifty dollars a year towards the formation of a publication society, the aim of which shall be the destruction of the spoils system, which in my judgment is not "second only in importance to the abolition of slavery," for it is slavery itself—a degrading bondage which holds black and white alike. Truly yours, JOSEPH PARRISH.

PHILADELPHIA, August 26, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Quite agreeing with your correspondent "F. W. H.," I shall be very glad to assist in the formation of a publication society in opposition to the "spoils" system, and to that end will make the same offer as is made by "J. B. M." in your paper of yesterday.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MCK. LEOSER.

27 PECK SLIP, NEW YORK, August 27, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I entirely agree with your correspondent, "F. W. H.," in the *Nation*, No. 790, in what he says of the need for "Civil-service reform agitation." I look upon the spoils system as responsible for the bad police, etc., of our cities, for *Seawanhaka* accidents (are not the inspectors appointed on political grounds?), and for *very much* of the bad government with which we are cursed. Holding these views I take pains to express them whenever opportunity offers, hoping thus to do a little towards awaking attention to the need for reform. When the scales once fall from the eyes of our people, short work will be made of the "Machine" and what it stands for. I wish our people could be made to see how directly railroad and steamboat accidents result from the *low official tone* resulting from the bad example and influence of our civil-service performances—that is, *administrative dry-rot!* Some day men will find that these things come home not only to their business but to their bosoms in a very positive sense.

I shall be glad to be a member of the society "F. W. H." proposes, and to contribute money to its work. I fear it will be difficult to get five thousand (5,000) names—five hundred possibly. I am ready to contribute ten dollars a year, or more, to help to carry on this good work.

Very respectfully, P. S. J.

BROOKLYN, August 24, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Ever since it became clear that the noble efforts of Thomas Allen Jenckes, of Rhode Island, in favor of the reform in our civil service were not destined to meet with immediate success, it seemed evident to thoughtful men that the only way out of our Slough of Despond was by the patient methods of the old abolitionists. First and foremost among them was the formation of an association devoted to the reform in question. The well-written communication, therefore, of "F. W. H.," in your last issue, is sure to meet with some cordial responses.

The first desideratum is a preliminary meeting. New York, Philadelphia, and Boston will be likely to be chiefly interested in such a meeting. Of the places named by your correspondent wherein to hold it Newport seems most convenient of access to these three cities, as well as pleasantest at this season.

It would gratify many friends of this reform to feel as confident as your correspondent that after the election many Democrats would join such an association. But with the exception of the Adamses it would be difficult to point to any expression from a Democrat departing from the dictum of Governor Marcy—"the sharp mustard-seed of our present dilemma"—that "to the victors belong the spoils." W. H.

COHASSET, MASS., Aug. 23, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I trust that the suggestions of "F. W. H." in the *Nation* of the 19th inst. will meet with a prompt and effective response in the formation of a society for the publication and diffusion of argument and information in behalf of a true civil-service reform.

The sooner it is done the better. The interest in public affairs growing out of the Presidential canvass would supply a large class of readers among voters at other times indifferent. Nor does it seem unavoidable, or even necessary or desirable, that such a society should enlist under the banner of either Garfield or Hancock. I agree with the *Nation*, and with "F. W. H.," in believing that the friends of such reform have far more to hope from the election of the former. But there are those who sincerely entertain, as they claim, a like hope—I confess I can see no ground for it—through the success of the Democratic party. Why antagonize either, since civil-service reform is a *policy*, which its friends would gladly see enforced by either, and which is promised in the platforms of both? The work of such a society would bind it to no existing party or candidate, as such, and it would affiliate exclusively with either only if and because one should adopt and the other reject it. Its office would be to bring, in the plainest and most practical shape, before men of all parties the vast and increasing evils of the spoils system, the frightful peril into which it has already brought the stability of free representative government, the true nature and methods of the reform desired, its actual simplicity and complete practicability *whenever the people of this country choose to command it*, and the necessity of electing not only a President who will execute, but also Congressmen who will honestly support, or else will be afraid to oppose, efficient laws to that end.

For this purpose, at this time, the dissemination of appropriate political tracts would be greatly facilitated by the existence of thousands of political clubs all over the country, engaged in actively distributing documents relating to public questions, and the fact that many thousands of voters, especially young men, are disposed, as at no other time, to read and think seriously about such questions. The argument for such a reform is independent of either party. Both need to be reformed in that regard, and both have acknowledged the demand for it by promises which each charges that the other means to break—with perfect justice, no doubt, so far as many influential members of both are concerned. Why not so frame such arguments as to reach, without offending, members of either party, leaving the voters whom they convince to decide for themselves which party they can safely trust? Were the tracts of the Anti-Corn-Law League addressed to Whigs or to Tories, or the Anti-Slavery appeals to Whigs or to Democrats, as such? Why need the cause of civil-service reform be handicapped with either Democratic blunders or Republican mistakes?

However, it will be for those who shall form such a society to weigh these

and all other considerations as to the best mode of doing its work. I am satisfied, for one, that the conviction that this reform *must* be had is far more deep and widespread than many of its friends venture to believe: of which it is one indication, that even the politicians and avowed spoilsmen at Chicago, willing enough to smother, were yet afraid to reject, the Massachusetts amendment to the platform when forced to a direct vote. I am convinced that in capable and fearless hands such a society would meet a welcome and find a pecuniary support greatly beyond the estimates of "F. W. H." The mere fact that it had brought this question home to the voters, and compelled its recognition during the Presidential canvass, would be an important preparation for the determined fight which must and will be made—forced, if need be, by a small band—in Congress, *and which, sooner or later, is certain to be won.* To those who never lost faith or hope during the war for the Union, and who rejoice in the assured triumph of hard money, common sense, and public honesty over the greenback craze, it is no great stretch of faith to believe that this nation of practical, and for the most part honest and hard-working, business men can be convinced that the same methods which ensure honest, efficient, and economical service in their private business will serve them best also as a people.

I earnestly trust that the proposed conference may be held and such a society formed, and that such men as "F. W. H." names will act with promptness, energy, and, above all, with a hearty faith in their cause.

H. H.

NEWPORT, R. I., Aug. 21, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have long wondered why the able advocates of civil-service reform have made so little effort to explain their principles fully to the common people, and expended so much strength in urging politicians to adopt reform resolutions for which they have contempt, and for which they know nine-tenths of the voters have the most indifferent regard.

My association is wholly with the common people, and though my political friends all admit the need of improvement in political morals, I cannot name three who have any definite idea of what is meant by civil-service reform, or how the spoils system is responsible for our demoralization. The recent correspondence in the *Nation* leads me to hope that some plan will soon be adopted to bring this great *moral* question to the attention of all serious voters. Francis Parkman says that "The champion of the new reform will need no whit less enthusiasm [than the abolitionists], but it must be tempered with judgment and armed with knowledge."

I would gladly give five dollars a year to sustain "F. W. H.'s" "Civil-Service Reform Publication Society," which seems to me to be exactly adapted to spread knowledge and enthusiasm through the country, which Mr. Parkman believes "is full of recuperative force, latent just now, and kept so by the easy and apathetic good-nature which so strangely marks our people." "F. W. H." desires persons interested in the movement which he advocates to send their names and addresses to the Independents' committee-room. Will you please state the full address of the committee?

A. M. G.

WALTHAM, MASS., August 23, 1880.

[Address the Independent Republican Committee, Box 1827, New York.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

JAMES J. CHAPMAN, Washington, has brought out Mr. Edward McPherson's 'Hand-Book of Politics for 1880.' The contents are of the usual character—President's messages; judicial decisions; Congressional measures, votes, and resolutions; national political conventions, and statistical tables. We doubt if any volume of the series has a more permanent value, if one considers only the light which it sheds on the present controversy over the powers of the Federal Government in the regulation of elections.——Newly discovered material for a volume of sketches by Charles Dickens will be, by special arrangement, printed here in the "Leisure Hour Series" by Henry Holt & Co., under the title of 'Mudfog Papers,' etc. The same firm have in preparation a 'Young Folks' Cyclopædia of Persons and Places,' by John D. Champlin—a welcome supplement to his childish cyclopædia of common *things*.——J. B. Lippincott & Co. have in press a sociological work which will doubtless be made to do political service also—'Homicide North and South,' by H. V. Redfield. It offers in a scientific spirit "a comparative view of crimes against the person in various parts of the United States."——William Bros., Cleveland, announce a 'History of Hamilton County, Ohio,' by Captain Henry A. Ford.——Macmillan & Co. will shortly have ready Roby's new Latin Grammar for schools, the high quality of which can safely be predicted.——The New England Publishing Co., Boston, Mass., will issue this month a bi-monthly international magazine called *Education*, which "proposes to discuss questions of education on the sides of philosophy and humanity," or, less vaguely, to be a sort of pedagogical review in the field of the higher education. Mr. Thomas W. Bicknell will be its conductor.——Mr. B. F. De Costa's "Traditional Washington Vindicated," in the August number of the *Magazine of American History*, is also a rehabilitation of his first biographer, Weems. The story of the little hatchet is ingeniously sustained by reference to the severity of the Virginia laws touching the mutilation of fruit-trees. The number is given up to Washingtoniana, and contains thirty-two hitherto unpublished letters of the general in the years 1782–3. Two of these relate to slaves carried off by the fortunes of war. "Although," writes Washington to Col. Bland, "I have several Servants in like predicament with yours, I have not yet made any attempt for their recovery."——The first annual report of the Cornell University Experiment Station (Ithaca: The University Press) shows what can be achieved without an endowment. It has a special value for dairymen and cultivators; the longest paper relates to the lung plague in cattle.——Last winter (No. 754) we noticed Mr. Fred. Barnard's series of six "Character Sketches from Charles Dickens," published in portfolio by Cassell, Petter & Galpin. The same firm has now reissued them in reduced fac-simile (4to), with little detriment to the drawings, and of course with a marked reduction in the price.——We have received from Macmillan & Co. a 'Treatise on Determinants,' by Robert Forsyth Scott, M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. The principal novelty about the work is the systematic application to the theory of determinants of some of the fundamental principles of Grassmann's 'Ausdehnungslehre.' It is another indication of the irresistible manner in which the ideas of that remarkable man are forcing themselves upon the mathematical world. The work presents the results of a great number of papers widely scattered in mathematical journals, transactions of learned societies, etc. Of these it gives a valuable bibliography. For purposes of self-instruction, it does not appear well adapted to the use of those who have no previous acquaintance with the subject.——The South Australian Institute of Adelaide, whose origin goes back to 1834, exactly a fortnight after the colony was established, laid on the 7th day of last November the corner-stone of its new building, which will embrace a Public Library, National Gallery, and Museum. A pamphlet, giving an account of the proceedings, as well as of the history of the Institute, has just reached us.——Messrs. Sands & McDougall, of Melbourne, Victoria, have published a limited number of copies of 'The Baconian Authorship of the so-called Shakespeare Plays Demonstrated by an Original Enquiry,' by William Thomson, F.R.C.S.——The lectures of Professor Herman Grimm on Goethe, reviewed in No. 639 of the *Nation*, have appeared in a new edition, making a single volume, and greatly improved by the addition of a list of the chief editions of Goethe's works, select references to the literature pertaining to Goethe, a chronological table (1474–1880), and an excellent index (New York: B. Westermann & Co.)——One can now obtain of J. Dumaine, 30 rue Dauphine, Paris, any one or all of the sheets (save that including Lyons) of the map of France published by the General Staff on a scale of 1:80,000, or .792 inch to the mile. They number 258 and upwards (*e.g.*, No. 160, 160 *bis*, 160 *ter*). The indication of highways and railroads, canals, villages, heights, marsh, woodland, vineyards, etc., is very minute. The sheets cost one franc each unmounted, and three mounted. The publisher will furnish a *tableau d'assemblage* on application.——Students of the Russo-Turkish war should consult a recent French work (Paris: Dumaine) entitled 'La Guerre d'Orient en 1877–78: étude stratégique et tactique des opérations des armées russe et turque en Europe, en Asie, et sur les côtes de la Mer Noire,' by an anonymous "Tactician." It has a map, plates, and a sketch (*croquis*).——Our Supreme Court's decision against the constitutionality of the laws relating to trade-marks has prompted a work 'De l'état actuel des relations internationales avec les États-Unis en matière de marques de commerce,' by Édouard Cluny, of the Paris Court of Appeals (Paris: Marchal, Billard & Cie.)

—Among the ingenious explanations of the backwardness of the South in promoting public schools must be reckoned that furnished by the Rev. W. H. Patten, D.D., to a late number of the *Methodist*. "As a rule," he says, "Southern leaders greatly desire the education of the masses of the people, both white and colored, but they fear the consequences of an irreligious education of the masses more than they do the evil resulting from a partial ignorance of letters." Accordingly, "representative men vote money reluctantly to inaugurate and sustain a godless system of education, and not because they are indifferent to the subject." Dr. Patten thinks this view "a slow one," but "safer for all interests." He further explains what he means by "godless education" by saying that it "destroys the power of conscience by destroying the power which is back of conscience, which is God"—certainly the most destructive agency yet discovered. He does not intimate where this system prevails, but his substitute for it is to place "schools for the higher education of the colored people under religious control."

—The position which the late General Albert J. Myer held in the scientific world was peculiar. He was at the head of the most extensive and important meteorological service in the world, which had grown up mainly under his directions and through his instrumentality, and which in ten years has become an indispensable function of the Government. Yet he was not properly to be called a meteorologist, and his official designation as Chief Signal Officer U. S. A. both indicated the original source of his distinction and the kind of talent which he brought to his later work. His invention lay in perfecting the art of signalling, by which during the war he rendered the greatest assistance to the operations in the field. His success since 1870 in organizing and developing the meteorological branch of the Signal Office was owing to very great executive ability on his part, and the wonted liberality of Congress in matters pertaining to science. In criticising his annual reports we have remarked on the disturbance of the records caused by embracing the returns of stations dominated by their environment, on the fatal want of accuracy in editing the returns, and on other evidences of the lack of a controlling mind imbued with the principles of the science. On this side, therefore, General Myer's loss can more than be made good, and it should not be difficult both to maintain the existing discipline and to extend the service with better judgment. Perhaps also his successor will be less open to the suspicion of magnifying his own reputation at the expense of his assistants and subordinates. General Myer was a native of Newburgh, N. Y., where he was born in 1828. He took his degree in medicine at the University of Buffalo, and entered the Army in 1854 as an assistant surgeon.

—The Marquis of Bath has recently published a little book under the title 'Observations on Bulgarian Affairs,' in which he gives the impressions received during a journey through Eastern Rumelia and Bulgaria in May and June, 1879. It is in no sense an account of his travels, but a clear and pleasantly written description of the people and the new governments established by the Treaty of Berlin, their relations to their neighbors, and their prospects for the future. The Marquis does not conceal his strong Liberal bias and his disgust at the success of the Jingo Government of Great Britain in preventing the creation of a powerful Bulgarian state, consisting of Eastern Rumelia, Bulgaria, and a part of Macedonia. The strong Turkish sympathies of the English officials are, however, not without some advantage, as the following extract will show:

"In all probability the English Consul-General has contributed in no small degree to the success of this, the most recent, and, for the present, most prosperous attempt at self-government on the part of a province lately subject to Turkish rule. By his unceasing hostility he has brought home to the Bulgarians the consciousness of there being among them an ever-present enemy ready to turn to account any mistake they may commit, and impressed on them the necessity of sinking all minor differences in order to unite for the preservation of their newly-acquired liberties, and in support of the governor and of the constitution, on the maintenance of which they at present depend."

The author has a high appreciation of the value of the labors of the missionaries of the American Board. "The result of their teachings," he says, "has permeated all Bulgarian society, and is not the least important of the causes that have rendered the people capable of wisely using the freedom so suddenly conferred upon them." The general desire for schools and a superior education is quite remarkable, as is the absence of class or race hatred, even against their former oppressors. The strongest opponents, apparently, of the new state and the province are the Phanariot Greeks, who have seen their ecclesiastical supremacy overthrown and their political hopes of the succession to Constantinople endangered by the rapid development of the Bulgarian nation.

—In the August number of *Le Livre* M. A. J. Pons insists upon the importance in Balzac's career of his failure as a publisher, and afterwards as a printer and type-founder. He gives interesting details of the classics bearing the imprint of H. Balzac, "éditeur-propriétaire, rue des Marais-Saint-Germain 17," which were issued in 1825 and 1826—the complete works of Molière and La Fontaine. These were put forth in illustrated *livraisons* forming a single volume when complete. Balzac furnished a Life of Fontaine, in which, as M. Pons says, by a curious kind of misinterpretation the novelist "unconsciously projected his own features upon those of the fabulist." Neither can M. Pons praise the engravings (after designs by Devéria, some of whose work is reproduced in this number of *Le Livre* in connection with another article); but print and paper were excellent and the price not dear. Still, nobody wanted the books, and they were disposed of as waste paper before one in twenty had been sold. With a loan of $6,000 from his indulgent father, Balzac and one Barbier, a practical printer without funds, set up an office and manufactured a number of books, including, besides some of good quality, 'L'Art de mettre sa cravate' and (most ominous) 'L'Art de ne pas payer ses dettes.' They even added a type-foundry to their establishment when the pinch was hardest, as a means of improving their credit, and then their creditors compelled them to liquidate, leaving the printing-office to Barbier and the foundry to a M. Deberny, who found his profit in it. Balzac emerged with honor but loaded with debt, and then resumed strenuously his literary undertakings, having gained an experience which was of the greatest value to him. He had seen the bright and the dark side of life, and especially learned all the shifts of the impecunious. His Gobsecks and Birotteaus and Crevels were partly the reflection of his own past. Above all, he learned "the potency of money and the grand rôle which this force plays in our modern society."

—European scholars are still busy discussing the revelations made last winter by Prof. Sophus Bugge and Dr. A. Chr. Bang, of Christiania, Norway, in regard to the origin of Teutonic mythology. Illness has prevented Prof. Bugge from publishing his lectures in an authentic form. Of Bang's little work (Völuspaa og de Sibyllinske Orakler.' Christiania. 1879) we have received a copy in the original, and also a German translation by J. C. Pœstion ('Voluspá und die Sibyllinischen Orakel.' Vienna. 1880). The translation is somewhat enlarged, giving, instead of references to the Sibylline oracles, the passages themselves in full, so that the reader who has not the opportunity or the time to refer to the work itself, which is very scarce, finds his task at once more agreeable and more profitable. The Norse edition also abounds in aggravating misprints, which have been corrected in the German version. As already pointed out in the *Nation* of March 18, of this year, Prof. Bugge has attempted to show that a considerable part of the Teutonic mythological literature is not national, but is based partly on Jewish-Christian, partly on Greek-Roman legends, and was imported to the north by the vikings from Ireland and the isles around Great Britain. In the work before us Dr. Bang has made a special investigation in regard to the 'Völuspa' (the vala's prophecy, the first and by far the most interesting and important lay in the Elder Edda), and has come to the remarkable conclusion that both as to form and contents it is wholly based on the Sibylline oracles, and that, like these, its purpose is to scatter Christian doctrines among the heathen. From the second to the fourth centuries after Christ there were produced a number of so-called Sibylline oracles, purporting to be of divine origin, and in a credulous age they were not unfrequently quoted by the Church fathers. Of these a collection was published in two volumes by Alexandre (Paris. 1841–53), and another, complete and furnished with critical commentaries, by Dr. J. H. Friedlieb in a metric German translation (Leipzig. 1852). It is to these post-classical Sibylline books that Dr. Bang refers. The whole drift of his discussion is to show that the songs of the Elder Edda, the prose tales in the Younger Edda, and the Latin-dressed stories in Saxo Grammaticus—that is to say, all those weird traditions which we have been taught and have accustomed ourselves to regard as the venerable and unadulterated expression of Teutonic heathendom—are a mere hash made out of Teutonic, classic, and Christian ingredients.

—After a careful perusal of both the original and the translation, and after a painstaking examination of the references, we are bound to say that we utterly fail to see the force of the author's arguments. The numerous passages in the oracles referred to as parallel to lines in the 'Völuspa' are never convincing, and in some instances seem almost ridiculous. The only resemblance we are able to see between the two is that they treat of the origin, development, destruction, and regeneration of the world. But, in the name of common sense, what mythology or religion does not do this? On this principle it would be easy enough to show that the Hindu mythology is founded on the Norse, or to prove that any religious system is borrowed from any other. In the Sibylline oracles we fail to find a single myth, a sentence, a line, or a name like those in the 'Völuspa' and the Eddas. Where in the oracles is there a word about Niflheim, Muspelheim, Ginungagap, the Elivogs, and the whole pre-chaotic condition of the universe? There is not a syllable about Ymer and Audhumbla, who represent the Teutonic chaos; nor of Odin's creating the world (Kosmos) out of Ymer's slain body. There are no names in these oracles that, etymologically or otherwise, suggest Odin, Thor, Balder, Loke, Frey, etc. The oracles speak, like the Bible, of the end of the world and the wicked times that go before its destruction; but these passages bear not the slightest resemblance to the Eddaic description of Ragnarok (the twilight of the gods), in which all the good, on the one side, and all the evil forces, on the other, meet on the great battle-plain Vigrid, and mutually slay each other. They are as unlike as the Teutonic representation of creation is unlike the Jewish. Of course there is a place of reward for the good and a place of punishment for the bad; but the Sibylline oracles depict for us no shield-thatched Valhal, no Gimle that outshines the sun, and no Nastrand constructed of serpents wattled together, with all their heads turned into the hall and filling it with streams of poison in which perjurers, murderers, and adulterers have to wade. Indeed, the similarity between the oracles and the 'Völuspa' is so very slight that we cannot see how any one could be struck with it. Furthermore, if the supposed author of the 'Völuspa' imitated the Sibylline oracles, where did he find them? Dr. Bang makes short work of it by alleging that these Eddic lays, which every one knows are written in pure Old-Norse, were composed on the Orkneys, on the

Hebrides, and in Ireland and Scotland, where there were monasteries filled with rare books. We look in vain for any proof of this.

—In the 'Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge' (Berlin: Carl Habel) three recent numbers—339, 'The Government-Post of the Roman Emperors,' by Prof. Gottfried Ritter von Rittershain, of Prague, and 340 and 341, 'Journals and Journalists of the French Revolution,' by Dr. Ambrosius Neményi, of Buda-Pesth—are noticeably interesting, and give a good idea of their subjects. The Roman post was created by Augustus, and was an imitation of the Persian system. Before the time of the Cæsars the rulers of the provinces were much more independent than afterwards. The cost of the post fell upon the provinces, and was almost wholly without benefit to private individuals. The names *cursus publicus* and *cursus vehicularis* show that light wagons were used when the quantity of despatches was great, or speed not especially important. With regard to the *evectio*, however, the despatch of persons as well as baggage, by imperial permission, the author is of opinion that this arose under later emperors. Permissions to use the post were called diplomata, at first a word of wider signification, but, after the second century, used especially for postal permits, and the officers charged with issuing them—mostly freedmen—were called *a diplomatibus*. The system fell into decay with the fall of the empire, but Theodoric the Great attempted to revive it, and in France down to the ninth century, long after the fall of the Merovingians, the old technical terms were still in use, for some of which the reader must look outside the usual classical dictionaries. The author refers to numerous works on the subject, and gives interesting details and quotations.

—The journalists of the French Revolution Dr. Neményi divides into three classes: the earnest, the bloodthirsty, and the satirists. Under the first head we have Mirabeau, Brissot, André Chénier, Loustallot, and on the other hand, as defenders of constitutional ideas, Mallet-Dupan and Ch. J. Panckoucke, founder of the *Moniteur Universel*. Of the second class, Marat, Fréron, and Camille Desmoulins, in some of his phases, and, on the royalist side, the Abbé Royou. Hébert, the founder of the *Père Duchêne*, belongs to this class also, but on account of his literary qualities the author places him in his third class, along with Desmoulins, whom, with Carlyle, he considers the brightest of all and the wittiest. The author describes at length the wit of the journalists on the royalist side, and has special praise for Suleau among the journalists of the reaction. Suleau, he says, was one of the most strangely gifted men and most honorable partisans, and had no superior in the possession and expression of the Middle-Age French wit. With Desmoulins, he is the humorist of the period—a melancholy time for the display of humor, but the two writers are characteristic of their generation. The number of the journals of the Revolution was immense, but no paper throve except in opposition. On the other hand, every day saw a new list of newspapers whose appearance was forbidden and whose editors were condemned either to exile or death. Michelet says that at one time 600,000 copies of the *Père Duchêne* were printed. It appears to be certain that 80,000 copies of this weekly were printed and circulated.

THE BAYARD OF INDIA.*

"THE Bayard of India"—such was the name which, in the days of their friendship, Sir Charles Napier conferred upon James Outram, and its strict propriety is attested by the fact that it remained associated with him, though Sir Charles Napier had become the bitter enemy of the man he had once commended. To the world in general Sir James Outram is known chiefly, if not entirely, by the romantic generosity which declined to supersede Sir Henry Havelock in command of the troops destined for the relief of Lucknow. Sir James Outram was the senior officer. He had been summoned in hot haste from Persia to assume high command in India. He was a man, as one of his friends said of him, "absolutely consumed by ambition"; but justice had all his life been dearer to him than his ambition, and "therefore" (to quote the language of his own order) "the major-general, in gratitude for and admiration of the brilliant deeds of arms achieved by General Havelock and his gallant troops, cheerfully waived his rank on the occasion, and accompanied the force to Lucknow in his civil capacity, tendering his military services to General Havelock as a volunteer." An extraordinary impression was made at the time by this generous act of self-renunciation; but the full measure of the sacrifice it involved was unknown to the world until the publication of General Goldsmid's 'Biography.' In reference to it he writes as follows:

"Every one can appreciate what it must have been for an ambitious soldier to surrender the glory and satisfaction of conducting to a triumphant issue, under the eyes of the whole world, such an enterprise as the rescue of the imperilled garrison of Lucknow. But this was not all. He believed, on what were at the time good grounds, that the rebellion would virtually collapse after the capture of Delhi and relief of Lucknow, and that any subsequent operations would be of a desultory character, unlikely to afford any opportunity of distinction to an officer of his rank. In short, he believed that this month's campaign would in all probability bring his military career to a close. He was already a G.C.B., and any additional reward must necessarily assume the form of a permanent title with a pension attached. He therefore believed he was irretrievably surrendering the certainty of a baronetcy and its accompaniment. Further, it was understood that the treasure in the Residency, stated to be from twenty-three to thirty-two lakhs of rupees, would, in accordance with precedent, be adjudged prize-money. He elected to receive the insignificant share of a civilian volunteer, instead of the very substantial one of the general in actual command. Thus he deprived himself 'not only of all honors, but' (we quote an allusion to the subject in a private letter of his own) 'of the only means of support for the declining years of a life the chequered vicissitudes of which have afforded no opportunity of making any provision for the requirements of age.' If in after years the matter was mooted in his hearing, he was wont, as his custom was when his own good deeds were spoken of, to turn it off by some self-depreciatory remark, such as 'People have made too much of it,' . . . and so on. But it is only fair to the memory of an unselfish man now to make public what he only revealed in confidence. The surrender of the command was no mere chivalrous impulse, but a deliberate act of self-sacrifice."

The unique characteristic in the public life of Sir James Outram is the number of such acts which it contains. They begin almost with his entry into the military service of the East India Company. He was still only a young lieutenant when he had become conspicuous by the prudence and circumspection, not less than the dash and enterprise, with which he handled troops in the field. Sir John Keane, the Bombay commander-in-chief, had in consequence nominated him to the chief command of an expedition to suppress some insurgents, over the heads of several superior officers. The reply of the young lieutenant to this signal mark of distinction is highly characteristic:

"He declared himself sensible of the distinction conferred upon him by such a mark of confidence, but felt it his duty to point out that the appointment of so junior an officer might give umbrage in quarters where unanimity was necessary. The senior officer on the spot was almost the senior captain in the army; none above him could be sent with the detached companies of which the force would be composed; whereas he himself, from his junior position in the army, would, if in command, be the cause of separating captains from their companies to the detriment of the service. He wrote, moreover: 'The qualifications of the officer now commanding the detachment in the disturbed districts are far superior to mine. I willingly stake my humble reputation on his conduct. Associated with him, as I presume I shall be in the duty, while he has the honor of success, mine be the blame of defeat, in measures of which I am the proposer.'"

The Commander-in-Chief, however, declined to be balked of the services of the chivalrous young lieutenant, and Outram was obliged to do violence to his feelings and accept the command.

We find him acting in a precisely similar fashion in the Afghanistan war of 1838–42. His services in this campaign had been manifold, and of the most arduous and distinguished character, but more especially towards the close. He had then been entrusted with the charge of holding open General Nott's communications at Kandahar with British territory on the Indus. At that time not only Kelat but all Sindh was independent territory, ruled by native princes, who might, had they pleased, when disaster overtook the British forces in Afghanistan, have barred the way for either supplies or reinforcements, in which case the troops at Kandahar would in all probability have succumbed, as did the troops at Kabul under General Elphinstone. It was due to the political ability and indefatigable exertions of Major Outram that all such disastrous results were averted. But the most signal service he rendered to his country was his opposition to Lord Ellenborough's pusillanimous purpose of withdrawing the British troops from Afghanistan without having effected the liberation of the ladies and gentlemen held prisoners by the Afghan chief, Akbar Khan. Such a policy, it is easy enough to imagine, must have been inexpressibly revolting to such a mind as Outram's; and he did not cease to argue and protest against it until it had been relinquished. But Lord Ellenborough, though compelled to forego his purpose, could not forgive the man who had brought this humiliation upon him. He bided his time, and Outram's generosity soon furnished him with what he desired. A British force under the command of General England was defeated by the Afghans at a place called Hykulzai. The defeat was due to the incapacity of the officer in command; but it is a common thing when accidents of this kind occur to pass over the real criminal and select some uninfluential subordinate as the scapegoat. The scapegoat on the present occasion was a young lieutenant, Hammersley—an officer in the political department, and working under the orders of Outram. England's defeat was due, so the Government of India declared, to the deficient information regarding the number and strength of the enemy supplied by Hammersley, and that officer was, in consequence, deprived of his political appointment, and remanded back to his regiment. Outram knew that Hammersley had been wronged. That was sufficient for him, and he determined to vindicate the reputation of his subordinate. He was well aware of what the consequences would be to himself of thus assailing a re-

*'James Outram: A Biography. By Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B.K.C.S.I.' Two vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1880.

corded decision of the governor-general; but that in no way deterred him. Hammersley's reputation was vindicated, but the pent-up wrath of Lord Ellenborough descended upon his champion. Outram was remanded back to his regiment. In his despatches on the termination of the Afghan war the governor-general sedulously abstained from either mentioning his name or referring to his services; and so it came about that in the distribution of honors and promotion absolutely nothing was conferred upon Outram—"My real offences," writes Outram to a friend, "being such as he (*i.e.*, Lord Ellenborough) cannot forget—*i.e.*, my advocating poor Hammersley's cause, and opposition to the disgraceful retreat from Afghanistan. . . . But I regret nothing that has passed; indeed, you are well aware that I fully laid my account to suffering personally in the cause of Hammersley months ago; and were it all to do over again I would not vary my course. I am prepared for the worst, and fully expect it."

Precisely similar was Outram's behavior with reference to the Amirs of Sindh. No one doubts now that the conquest of this province and the deposition of its rulers constitute one of the most dishonorable episodes in the history of British rule in India. But at the time Outram stood almost alone in his perception of the injustice and the dishonor. He was under no obligation to protest against the wrong of it. He knew well that he could do neither without raising up around him a swarm of powerful and implacable enemies. But Outram never counted the costs when a wrong had to be rectified and it was in his power to contribute aught towards its rectification. He stood forth alone as the champion of the fallen Amirs of Sindh, simply because they were weak and fallen; and the animosity with which Sir Charles and Sir William Napier pursued him in consequence will remain for ever a blot upon their memory. For Sir Charles, Outram retained through life the warmest affection—an affection which survived unchilled the bitter hostility with which Sir Charles assailed him. General Goldsmid recounts a pleasing anecdote to illustrate this. The incident occurred when Sir James, then at the zenith of his fame, was commanding the intrenched camp at the Alum Bagh, in the neighborhood of Lucknow:

"A comrade, not by any means the least distinguished of his officers, once accompanied him to the rear of the camp, to inspect a detachment of native cavalry that had lately joined. The native officer in command, after paying his respects to Outram (who as usual treated him with the most kindly courtesy), said he would like to produce some letters which he possessed from English officers under whom he had served. His request was readily granted, and, retiring to his small tent, he presently returned with the much-prized testimonials. The first paper put into the general's hands at once aroused his interest. 'I was standing,' says our informant, 'close behind Outram, and heard him speaking to himself, as he read the letter. Thus he soliloquized: "Ah! poor Charley; *he* could appreciate a good soldier."' The manner in which these few words were spoken sufficed to convince the hearer that he who uttered them had the warmest feeling towards the subject of his contemplation. It was, indeed, a worthy tribute *in memoriam*, for the writer of the native officer's certificate was no other than Sir Charles Napier."

The extracts we have given from General Goldsmid's work will suffice to show that the general's style is not one suited for biography. In fact, a more unfortunate selection could hardly have been made than that which entrusted the writing of such a life to so ponderous and unimaginative a writer as General Goldsmid. It was a life fraught with romance and moving accidents by flood and field. Outram, in his young days, was a mightier hunter than Nimrod: and later on he was diligent in hunting the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth. Wherever he was placed, he kindled in the minds of those around him a perfect enthusiasm for him and his service. He won the hearts of savage races, and reclaimed them from their wild and predatory habits to become peaceful, law-abiding agriculturists. The soldiers he commanded, whether British or native, regarded him with an affection wonderful to recall and to have seen. But General Goldsmid's arid narrative fails completely to make us *feel* all this. We accept it on his testimony; but the subject of his biography is not made to move before us in his habit as he lived. This is greatly to be deplored. A biography of Sir James Outram, worthily written, would have been a book of surpassing interest and fascination.

GREEN'S HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.—I.*

MR. GREEN'S 'History of the English People' is completed. The time, therefore, has now come for expressing our estimate of an author whose works are certain to exert a wide influence on the study of English history. Mr. Green's merits are great and unmistakable. Not the least of them is that he has brought the task which he set before him to an end. This is an age of great schemes and of small performances. Increased masses of information have, especially in the province of history, daunted the energy of enquirers. The stupendous amount of knowledge which may be gained by assiduous labor makes students feel that to accomplish any great achievement involves an amount of preliminary study which necessitates the devotion of a life to the preparation of materials whence a literary monument may be erected. Hence one life after another is consumed in preparation. The stones for the building are collected, and the architect dies before he can even lay the foundations of his gigantic edifice. The spirit of criticism, moreover, is essentially adverse to the daring recklessness necessary for creation. We think our age happy in its immense stores of learning; we forget that the weight of fuel may put out the fire, and that a generation imbued with a passion for investigation has lost the capacity for creative production. Hence the present is a period of fragments, and that author is certainly to be called happy who in the nineteenth century sees the completion of his work. Such felicity is not the mere gift of fortune: it is the proper reward of certain rare intellectual merits. It can be attained only by those writers who are endowed with a sense of literary proportion, who can measure their means for reaching their ends, who have the good sense to form designs which lie within the compass of human industry, and who possess the aptitude for doing exactly the task set before them and avoiding the infinite temptations to stray into other fields which do not really lie within the scope of their efforts. These gifts Mr. Green certainly possesses. Every line he writes exhibits talent and what we have termed aptitude. He never pretends to be a profound investigator. The aim of his work is to present to his readers the latest and best results of enquiry in a compendious and readable form. He does not try to add to the fruits which have been attained by the labors, say, of Stubbs, of Freeman, or of Gardiner. What he endeavors to achieve is to combine the results obtained by the investigations of the best enquirers and to make them intelligible to the English public. No man could take upon himself this kind of labor who was not a trained student of history. But the particular function undertaken by Mr. Green is literary rather than historical. His book is the performance of one of the ablest and cleverest literary men of the day. It is because he has kept consistently before his mind the fact of his duty being one rather of exposition than of investigation, that he has succeeded in completing his work. His success, like all true success, is the legitimate fruit of energetic labor directed by talent and insight.

The second distinguishing quality of Mr. Green's workmanship is that it is guided throughout by an original and, in our judgment, a true conception of the principle on which an historical manual meant for general reading should be written. The prevailing notion is that such a compendium should be an abridgment, and should contain a brief account of everything (such, for example, as invasions, battles, laws, etc.) which would be given at length in larger works. The inevitable fault of such an idea is that it leads to the production of books which, like the 'Students' Gibbon' or 'Students' Hume,' are to most persons unreadable, and which, in the attempt to tell something about everything, end in conveying to the reader nothing about anything. Mr. Green, with the insight of genuine literary genius, rejected the attempt to tell something about everything, and wrote his manual on the principle of telling a great deal about a limited number of events and transactions. These events were to be the salient points in the history of England. The omission of a host of details, the careful avoidance of matters which if dealt with at all ought to be dealt with fully—such, for example, as the strategy of generals or the principles on which great campaigns were conducted—gave him space in which to paint the marked features of great crises or the outlines of remarkable characters. Of the skill with which he has described the limited number of matters on which he fixed the attention of students, one cannot speak too highly. The immediate and immense popularity of his short history (in which his genius is exhibited to more advantage than in his later and longer book) was sufficient proof that he had discovered, or rediscovered, the art of compressed historical narrative. One may also add that critics who candidly compare Mr. Green's work with such a meritorious and dreary production as Kitchin's 'History of France," will agree that the writer of genius has, in the composition of his manuals, perceived and followed a sound principle which escaped the attention of the worthy and industrious Mr. Kitchin. The author of the 'History of France' tells us a great deal and leaves nothing impressed on our minds. The author of the 'History of the English People' omits much which other writers would tell us, but of the little he does tell us he impresses a great deal on our recollection. The moral which Mr. Green's success forces on all writers is that a manual is quite a different thing from an abridgment.

Mr. Green's undoubted merits are balanced by some grave defects. He exhibits a tendency to become what we can only call "sketchy" in his treatment even of important topics. It is quite in accordance with his design that details should often be omitted. Of this, accepting as we do his principle of composition, we do not complain; but a writer who omits details is bound to mark clearly and distinctly the main and important points of his narrative. Mr. Green, especially in his last volume, is by no means careful in the matter of precision. There is something very loose, for example, in his narrative of Monmouth's rebellion. After an account of the rout of the rebels at Sedgemoor, Mr. Green adds that "their leader fled from the field, and after a vain effort to escape from the realm was captured and sent pitilessly to the block." This sentence may in the writer's own mind mean a good deal. The word

* 'History of the English People. By John Richard Green, M.A., Honorary Fellow of Jesus' College, Oxford.' Vol. IV. New York: Harper & Bros.

"pitilessly" is probably to him emphatic. But surely Monmouth's end deserved something more elaborate than mere adverbial allusiveness. Can any one believe that an intelligent boy or girl set to read the 'History of the English People' would in the least realize the features of Monmouth's death? It is, we presume, mainly by its fitness for younger students that the merits of Mr. Green's work should be tested; yet this criterion is exactly the test which his last volume, at any rate, hardly stands. What we have termed his sketchiness is not his only defect as a teacher. He has always exhibited boldness approaching to rashness in the enunciation of wide views; he has always been what one may call "viewy." But his real insight, and, in the earlier parts of his history, his thorough command of his subject, have kept his tendency to viewiness within due bounds, and have made his theories, if not always correct, at least always striking. As we advance nearer to present times his speculations become not less bold, and are, we cannot but feel, based on less solid ground. We do not for a moment mean to intimate that Mr. Green's capacity for grasping the essential features of the historical landscape before his eyes ever deserts him. One may learn much from his views as to modern England. Few writers have grasped more firmly the transformation of Great Britain into the British Empire. None have shown more clearly the relation between England and her colonies and the true import of the struggle for American independence. Industrial England, and its relation to the moral and political changes which began towards the close of the century, have, perhaps, never been better drawn than by Mr. Green. He has, indeed, almost omitted all reference to that most important topic—the history of English law—but in this he has only followed an error which must probably be considered inveterate till some man of genius makes the growth of English law his special study. What, however, we complain of is a kind of speculative rashness which certainly goes beyond knowledge.

The view, for instance, of Pitt's statesmanship is certainly original. He is grouped by Mr. Green with statesmen, such as Turgot and Joseph II., "whose characteristics were a love of mankind and a belief that as the happiness of the individual can only be secured by the general happiness of the community to which he belongs, so the welfare of individual nations can only be secured by the general welfare of the world." But the originality of the estimate of Pitt, which makes the favorite minister of George III. a representative of "the larger sympathy of man with man which especially marks the eighteenth century," is far more obvious than its correctness. Students will find it difficult to accept an analysis of Pitt's character which contradicts the impression left on all his contemporaries. Mr. Green's view may be right, but it needs to be supported by undoubted knowledge both of Pitt and of his age. Such support is, we must frankly say, wanting. It were absurd for any ordinary reviewer, and certainly for the present writer, to pretend to anything like the acquaintance with English history possessed by Mr. Green. We do not doubt that his inaccuracies are nearer the truth than that average knowledge of educated men which is, compared with the knowledge of experts, but a decent name for ignorance. Still, it is impossible not to note points which though small in themselves seem to betray that Mr. Green is not quite at home in the eighteenth century. Thus, of Pope he writes: "His life, as Johnson says, was a 'long disease.'" For aught we know, Johnson may make this remark, but Johnson certainly knew, what Mr. Green apparently does not, that this pathetic description of an existence racked by illness was given by Pope himself when he refers to the muse who served "to help me through this long disease—my life." The error is a trifle. It may be a mere slip of the pen. It is far less significant than the statement that Burke "struggled bitterly against all proposals to give freedom to Irish trade." Certainly such was not the impression of the electors of Bristol, and on this matter we venture to think that they were better informed as to the policy of their member than is Mr. Green. We have not the remotest wish to make too much of such slips as these. They may be the only errors in the whole of Mr. Green's four volumes; they may mean nothing but that the author happened to be away from a library when he was correcting his proof-sheets. At the very most they only show that a man of genius may be wanting in accuracy. They do, however, make us receive with some hesitation our author's bolder speculations, and suggest that he is a safer guide for the reign, say, of Alfred or of William the Conqueror than for the period of George II. or of George III.

Moreover, if we may in our turn enter on the dangerous path of speculative criticism we should venture to propound the theory that the very nature of Mr. Green's task makes it likely that he should be less successful in his treatment of modern times than in his dealing with the earlier periods of history. His object, as we have pointed out, is to reproduce in a striking literary form the best results of other men's historical labors. If a writer is to do this with success it is absolutely necessary that he should deal with fields of investigation which have been already well worked. An era like that of the Norman Conquest, all the portions of English history included within Professor Stubbs's four volumes, the Reformation, and, to a certain extent, the religious and political struggles of the seventeenth century, have of recent times been carefully explored, though they can hardly be said to have been worked out. Each of these periods has, at any rate, been so studied that Mr. Green can find with regard to them that kind of material which he needs. He is never a servile imitator, but he thoroughly knows a good authority when he has one; and when he has guides such as Stubbs or Freeman he can trust their guidance, and, working upon the materials which they have sifted, use freely his own great powers of narration and speculation. With the history of modern England it is otherwise. That any one who has not devoted his existence to the study of the age of George III. should try to master all or the greater part of the documentary authorities for the Georgian era would be simply ridiculous. A writer such as Mr. Green would, no doubt, read what may be called the authoritative historians for that time, if such historians existed. Unfortunately, they do not exist. There is no one who has made himself the master of George III.'s reign in the way in which Mr. Freeman has, so to speak, appropriated the Norman Conquest, or in which Mr. Gardiner is gradually making himself the acknowledged authority for the reigns of James I. and Charles I. The result is that Mr. Green has not at hand the kind of help which his sort of book requires. In finishing his work he has been forced not only to build but to bake his own bricks. He has erected a striking literary monument, but we cannot greatly wonder if the last part of the edifice has suffered from the unfavorable conditions under which the architect has been forced to labor.

RECENT NOVELS.*

MR. BLACKMORE returns to his old manner and merit in 'Mary Anerley,' which is to be ranked with 'Lorna Doone' and 'The Maid of Sker,' and deserves the praise—sometimes of more value than just now—of being called the novel of the year. It is a Yorkshire tale of such proportions and variety that we cannot attempt an epitome of its plot, and must be content with saying that its characters are very numerous, and divided into four or five sets, each of which illustrates a different though convergent action; that it is partly a sea-story, the hero being first a daring smuggler and afterwards a junior lieutenant on the *Victory* at Trafalgar; and, in fine, that it contains the elements of two or three ordinary novels, and elaborates them all with ease. The time is the beginning of the century, and the book is a picture of English life that has a real value as well as a romantic interest, just as was true of 'Lorna Doone,' which illustrated the seventeenth, and 'The Maid of Sker,' which concerned the last part of the eighteenth century. In this sense Mr. Blackmore may be called the successor of Scott. Indeed, in the two earlier works mentioned he has done for the romance of history what Scott failed to do—namely, lent it the reality of local color by an archaic style surpassed, so far as we know, only by the archaism of 'Henry Esmond,' and perhaps not very greatly surpassed even by that. But in temper and attitude Mr. Blackmore is Scott modernized, if that be not a contradiction in terms; that is to say, though he is as romantic to the full, and some of his scenes are as melodramatic as anything in 'Waverley' or 'Rob Roy' or 'Ivanhoe'—witness John Ridd's visit to the Doone valley, which his readers will vividly recall—his tones are so quiet and his observation of the true relations of character and incidents to human nature and life in general so nice, that there is the same difference between his romance and Scott's as between a modern battle picture and an old-fashioned "historical painting." This is not quite saying that his attitude is wholly modern, which perhaps would imply an absence of the quick sympathy with the subject needful in every just treatment of history; but his sympathy is of the literary order which enables him to appreciate the past from his own view-point and illustrate it with his own art, without making such free translation and adaptation of it as Bulwer, or James, or Harrison Ainsworth, let us say. For he is first of all an artist, and shows an artist's subtlety of divination in treating traits and emotions capable of satisfactory treatment only in this way; experience, observation, even erudition being poor substitutes at the best.

Notwithstanding his distinctly romantic bent, it is with character that he mainly occupies himself, and for the illustration of certain points of character rarely illustrated in humdrum life that he uses his romantic machinery. Such natures as those of Robin Lyth and Lieutenant Carroway are to be found fully developed, perhaps, only amid exciting scenes, and, in their characteristic details, only amid such circumstances as existed on the Yorkshire coast at the beginning of this century. Mary Anerley herself not only could not have been born out of Yorkshire, but could not exist there now, doubtless; and, allowing for the essential identity of human nature in all times and places, it would be difficult to imagine any one of the interesting group by which she is surrounded—Mistress Yordas, Mrs. Carnaby, Stephen Anerley and his wife, the Poppletons, Mordacks (one of "the prize men of fiction," as Thackeray would say), and the Flamborough people—figuring in one of Mr. Trollope's novels. It cannot be denied that this is strong evidence of the fact that Mr. Blackmore is not greatly interested in what are known as colorless characters, and perhaps would be no great hand at portraying such; and this, from the

*'Mary Anerley. By R. D Blackmore.' New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

point of view of the modern novel, is undoubtedly to be called a limitation. But, as we have intimated, if he is old-fashioned enough to be most at home in depicting picturesqueness, he is nothing less than old-fashioned in the subtlety with which he does it. No modern dissector, such as George Eliot (if we may hazard the temerity) or Mr. Blackmore's more immediate rival, Mr. Hardy, can set before us the lineaments and deportment of a personage with "points" more vividly and completely; and this used to be thought something to do.

Saying, however, that Mr. Blackmore is first of all an artist ought to be qualified by adding that he is pre-eminently an English artist. He is altogether given over to following the lead of his own sweet will, and it must be confessed it conducts him in a very charming manner through very pleasant places. Having only his own original force, and the tastes of a public that wears responsibility in such matters as fiction very lightly, to depend upon, a novelist who has Mr. Blackmore's force is very fortunate. Very likely he would say he does not care a button about style, for example; in which case he is lucky to have made shift to get such an admirable one, so flexible, so genuine, blending so well those generally incompatible elements, power and charm. He will, if he likes, humor himself in making a wretched pun now and then; in delaying his action by quaint philosophical digressions that could not fail to irritate a hostile reader; in putting a literary aphorism into the mouth of a character that could by no possibility have either conceived or expressed it; in loitering over the details of a landscape which has the charm of familiarity for him, but none for another; in introducing full-length portraits which have no intimate connection with the set he is avowedly painting; and in verbal quips and eccentricities of phraseology which utterly contradict the character of his quaintness, which is that of admirably-studied simplicity rather than whimsicality. In the face of all this, one can only suggest that it is very agreeable to find his merits so far outweighing his blemishes, and possibly to solace one's self with the query—which never occurs to the strictly academic critic—whether, namely, these blemishes and merits are not cognate, and whether, if Mr. Blackmore should have a respect for his art too great to permit him to take such frequent liberties with it, he would not lose something in the vivacity and absolute sincerity that are among its chief claims upon our admiration, and contribute, it may be, to the sense of large truth (as pictures of life) that informs his books—'Mary Anerley' notably.

It would be difficult to imagine a more complete contrast than that afforded by two such writers as Zola and Gaboriau, each of whom probably detests the aims and accomplishment of the other with cordiality. In a certain sense the works of both belong to what George Sand called "the literature of the mysteries of iniquity," but the function of one is to exploit the romantic possibilities of such mysteries, and that of the other to show their vulgar and inane reality. The latter, at least, is part of Zola's profession, and he has rarely had fewer relapses into the art of the romancer than in 'His Excellency Eugene Rougon,' to which the translator has given the title of 'Clorinda.' The change, by the way, is to be regretted because it tends to obscure the intention of the author by exaggerating one element of his hero's career. M. Zola's political prejudices contribute further obscurity; a spirit of contempt, not to say hatred, dominating his usual passionless philosophy. But the book contains some of his best work; the study of each incident is exhaustive, and at times subtle enough to show a different phase to, and awaken a different judgment in, different minds—an effect justly to be called artistic, and thoroughly antagonistic to his most impressive "naturalism." In other respects it is rather a failure; the transitions are abrupt, there is juxtaposition without continuity, and the author struggles with his mass of material with evident effort and apparently divided purpose. With a slight subordination of the principal character it might have been made a study of the Court of Napoleon III., or a heightening of the conception of Clorinda would have made it a picture of the power of a woman without scruples and with a superstition for a religion. But to give these two motives as prominent a position as they hold obscures the chief one, which is the study of the greed of power exhibited in a man who can accept no defeat of his instincts, and it results in confusing and weakening all three. Historically, one of the most important chapters is the baptism of the Prince Imperial. Of 'Monsieur Lecoq' we only need to say that it is one of the most labyrinthine of detective stories, and that no one who likes these will begin it and leave it unfinished.

'Hepzibah Guinness' gives the title to a volume of three well-told stories. The scenes of the first two are laid in Philadelphia, and they deal with the straitest sect of the Quakers. The devices which these find allowable in their relations with the people of the world, and their jealous watchfulness lest one of their number should slip from the fold, form a good background to two pleasant little love-stories, which are, however, in so low a key that the tragic element of the second seems a little incongruous. The third story, 'A Draft on the Bank of Spain,' is more ordinary.

'Clorinda. By Emile Zola. Translated by John Stirling.' Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. 1880.
'Monsieur Lecoq. By Emile Gaboriau.' Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1880.
'Hepzibah Guinness. By S. Weir Mitchell, M.D.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Abbot (E.), Authorship of the Fourth Gospel: External Evidences	(G. H. Ellis) $0 75
Atkinson (E.), The Railroads of the United States, swd.	(A. Williams & Co.)
Barnard (F.), Character Sketches from Dickens	(Cassell, Petter & Galpin) 2 00
Bayne (P.), Essays in Biography and Criticism, 2 vols., 3d ed	(Henry A. Sumner & Co.) 2 00
Belot (A.), The Stranglers of Paris, swd.	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.) 75
Black (W.), White Wings	(Harper & Brothers) 1 25
Capes (W. W.), Livy	(D. Appleton & Co.) 60
Clarke (Col. A. R.), Geodesy	(Macmillan & Co.) 3 25
Contributions to the Archæology of Missouri, Part I.: Pottery, swd.	(Geo. A. Bates)
Edwards (Dr. J.), Greek and Roman Coins in the Yale College Collection	(New Haven)
Freed (A. T.), Hancock	(Henry A. Sumner & Co.)
Garnier (A.), Scientific Billiards	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Gilmore (J. R.), Life of James A. Garfield, swd.	(Harper & Bros.) 20
Gordon (Rev. D. M.), From Victoria to Winnipeg	(Dawson Bros.)
Horn (F. W.), Geschichte der Literatur des Skandinavischen Nordens, Parts 5, 6, swd.	(B. Westermann & Co.)
Institute Essays	(Geo. H. Ellis)
Janson (K.), Spell-bound Fiddler	(S. C. Griggs & Co.) 1 00
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1880.

The Week.

NEARLY six millions of foreign gold arrived here during the week, and foreign exchange at the close warrants further imports. The movement of gold to this country is anxiously watched by the leading European banks, and the Imperial Bank of Germany has again advanced its discount rate. The Bank of France has been urged to do so, but has not, and the Bank of England has taken no action as yet. It is now evident that, while Europe will want a large amount of our breadstuffs, the demand will be much smaller than last year. The yield of wheat in Russia, it is estimated, is hardly more than sufficient to supply the home demand. Last year Central Russia alone furnished Great Britain with over ten million bushels of wheat. The European demand for American securities continues good, however, and the public credit of the United States now rules in London nearly as high as that of the English Government, due allowance being made for the length of time which the securities of these respective governments run. During the month of August our public debt was reduced a little over $12,000,000. Railroad business continues to be very profitable, and the best class of railroad bonds and shares have in several cases advanced during the week to the highest prices ever paid for them. This is due not only to the large traffic of the railroads and to the easy condition of the money market on account of gold imports, but to the fact that investment money is being steadily driven out of United States bonds by the purchases of the Government for the sinking fund. These purchases during August amounted to about $10,000,000, and in the last ten months to not far from $90,000,000. The money thus driven out goes very largely into the next best class of securities. Speculation at the Stock Exchange was active and buoyant during the week, and in all departments of trade activity was the rule. So large is the demand for currency all over the country that the New York banks are not able, even with all the foreign gold coming here, to maintain their surplus reserve, and this was reduced during the week about $1,000,000. The price of silver in London and here was unchanged during the week, notwithstanding sensational rumors about the intended action of the German Government towards bi-metallism.

Important letters on the subject of the campaign by General Grant and Mr. Conkling have been made public during the past week. General Grant, it seems, is to come to New York and preside at a Garfield and Arthur mass-meeting in the course of the month. Writing to General Logan with regard to this he says, "I agree with you that it will not do to be beaten now"; a pithy sentiment which has proved a godsend to many Republican newspapers which were in want of some ringing cry to "place at the head of their columns." General Grant adds, in a somewhat less simple style, "We should never be beaten until every man who counts, or represents those who count, in the enumeration to give representation in the Electoral College can cast his vote just as he pleases, and can have it counted just as he cast it." There are so many men who "count," or who "represent those who count," in a Presidential election nowadays, that General Grant's exact meaning might have been made plainer without disadvantage. If his intention was to express the same idea that is conveyed in the phrase which the *World* keeps set up on its editorial page, and attributes to General Hancock, "a full vote, a free ballot, and a fair count," and if Hancock did really use this language, the views of the two generals on the subject seem to be identical; in fact, they both seem to be clamoring for the same thing. Mr. Conkling's letter was addressed to a Republican meeting in Rochester, and contains some hearty praise of Abraham Lincoln and the Republican party, but neglects entirely to mention General Garfield. He makes up for this to a certain extent by pointing out "the grave hazard *at this time* of putting in power the Democratic party, dominated as it must be." With regard to this "domination" he adds, in a vein which shows that his old power of sarcasm has not yet been exhausted, "The Democratic nominee for President is an honorable man, and therefore he will not try to defraud the party whose nomination he has accepted of the results implied by success." This enables the *World* to say with deep malice, but still truthfully, that Mr. Conkling has called General Hancock "an honorable man." Mr. Conkling adds that his "earnest sympathy" is with the Rochester Republicans "in every effort and purpose to lift high the Republican banner and push on the Republican column," but regrets his inability to lift or push, himself, in person.

The Massachusetts Democratic Convention has resulted rather curiously. The long struggle between the Butler and anti-Butler forces has ended in the complete capture of the organization by Butler, and at the same time the Convention has nominated an old anti-Butler man as its candidate for governor. Mr. Charles P. Thompson is a lawyer of excellent standing in his profession, and was elected to the Forty-fourth Congress over Butler, then a Republican candidate. He is a man of high character, and would certainly make a good governor, but the chances of his election are small. General Butler had the whole Convention in his hands, and could have been nominated himself if he had desired it. Instead of this, he made a thoughtful speech in which he explained his present position. He reviewed the history of the Democratic party in the days of its success and power, incidentally alluding to San Domingo and the "whole group" of West Indian islands, "which sooner or later will come to us, just as sure, in God's Providence, as a necklace of jewels shall come from the bridegroom around the neck of a fair bride." He showed that the Union soldiers were chiefly Democrats, and that "the first blow struck and the first word given" toward the emancipation of the slaves "came from a Democrat in command"; and that since the war the Republican party has been "chained to the car of capital." With regard to the Revolution he declared that, so far from that war having been carried on by capitalists, most of the great men who made up the convention which declared our independence "could hardly have paid their board bills out of their private fortunes." They were "young lawyers, young doctors, . . . young shoemakers, young coppersmiths, young mechanics," and the "gentlemen and capitalists" came in late and after "the movement had got so far it could not be stemmed." He drew a striking contrast between the tendencies of the Republican and the Democratic parties, and expressed the hope that "something like statesmanship" might be the result of this campaign.

If we may trust Republican accounts of the New Jersey Democratic Convention at Trenton last week, a "delirious mob of a thousand delegates," sitting in an "air blue with tobacco-smoke and sulphurous with blasphemy," made a very good choice of candidate for governor in the person of Mr. Geo. C. Ludlow. Mr. Ludlow is a lawyer of character and standing and mature age, who has presided over the State Senate as a member of that body. The weak point in him is that he voted on one occasion to let the State-prison convicts engage in the manufacture of shoes. This implies that he would favor their making hats also, and as hatting is a very prominent interest in certain counties the Republicans expect, not without reason, that the shoemakers and hatters will to a man bolt the ticket and vote for Mr. Ludlow's rival, Mr. Potts, also a very respectable man. The fact that the Convention, after endorsing in the gross the Cincinnati resolutions, incorporated a protective-tariff plank in their own platform, is regarded as a futile endeavor, by stealing Republican thunder, to repair the error of their candidate. Now, we have grown accustomed to seeing the Republican party advocate protection as an historic article of their faith, but we are not aware that, outside the State of New Jersey, they couple with it opposition to self-supporting industries in our prisons. The more they inflame the resentment against Mr. Ludlow on this score, the more they will recommend that gentleman to the suffrages of those who

have bestowed a very moderate amount of thought on the moral and economic advantages of convict labor, and who object to any further concessions to Kearneyism on the part of the Republican party.

The hottest work of the canvass is evidently taking place in Indiana, and the candidates for governor have begun a series of joint debates which seem to have been conducted so far with reasonable decorum. More prominence, however, than people at a distance from the scene of conflict could wish has apparently been given to the question as to whether Judge Porter ever publicly referred to his opponent as a drunkard. He is not accused of having done this in anything but a jesting and humorous manner, but it looks as if Mr. Landers attached a good deal of importance to his having done it in some fashion, and made use of the charge not only with the confidence of an immaculate man, but as the fitting climax to a terrific indictment of the Republican party. Judge Porter denies it, nevertheless, in terms of great vigor, and thus the onus of having introduced personalities into the debate falls upon the Democratic candidate. It appears that this is a grave thing in Indiana. As to other portions of the discussion, so far as we can learn, the Republican candidate has had the advantage, despite the fact that he is but just recovering from an attack of illness. His competitor laid great stress upon the Republicans' mismanagement of the finances, a subject upon which he talked with great fluency, and was led into statements that made it necessary for him to protest that he had never been an inflationist, but simply a strenuous opponent of a wicked contraction. But, although the Democratic party had brought the treacherously demonetized silver dollar and the retired greenbacks back into circulation, he did not propose "to monopolize this thing" and claim "the credit that belongs to the Lord" for the present prosperity of the country. Judge Porter's reply to this, inasmuch as he had never before "attempted a speech on financial matters, while that subject has been Mr. Landers's stock in trade for several years," is reported to have been very creditable, and at the second debate Landers went so far as to leave the platform, either in disgust or discomfiture, before his opponent had finished. This discourtesy, added to his introduction of personalities, is severely commented upon, but he appears to get a good deal of applause.

The South Carolina Republican Convention, held in Columbia last week, proved a very singular affair. On the eve of its meeting, the press despatches reported that "the intention seems to be to-night to retire every one tainted with the frauds and irregularities of the past, and to nominate none but men of unassailable character." But when assembled to carry out this laudable design it was called to order by ex-Congressman R. B. Elliott, chairman of the Republican State Committee, and Special Agent of the Treasury Department, who was convicted by the Legislative Committee on Frauds, some years ago, of having bought his election to Congress by drafts upon the "Armed Force Fund" of Gov. Scott's régime. Presently the Convention went into secret session with closed doors, and appointed a committee to consider the expediency of nominating a State ticket. On the following day the committee reported favorably, but were opposed by Elliott, who succeeded in persuading the Convention that such a course would be impolitic. Accordingly it resolved merely to present an electoral ticket, and that the party should make such a contest for Congressmen as it could. Conformably to this advice, the Fifth District immediately nominated Robert Smalls, a member of the Forty-fifth Congress, who, in November, 1877, as a result of the same investigation which exposed Elliott, was tried before a mixed jury and convicted of having accepted a bribe of $5,000 from the *Republican* Printing Company, while serving as chairman of the Committee on Printing of the State Senate.

We must not wonder that, in view of this protracted control of the party by its greatest knaves, sustained no longer by Federal bayonets but by Federal sinecures, the white Democracy in South Carolina consider it a paramount duty, in the words of the Charleston *News and Courier*, "to put down Elliott's political party and to keep it down," and "desire a change of administration at Washington." "The character of most of the United States officials in South Carolina," continues the same journal, "is a reproach to the Government. Leaving their politics altogether out of the estimate, they are a very sorry crew. There is some stain upon almost every one of them." If this be true, and we have little doubt of it, it supplies an evident reason for Southern opposition to Federal supervision at elections where such creatures as Smalls can be put up and perchance elected, with the aid of the Treasury Department. Moreover, do not such incidents make honest Republicans, when they speak of a suppressed "Republican" party at the South, ask themselves what possible meaning the term has there, and whether, as it furnishes no criterion of principles or of character, it stands for anything but a purely artificial political division? And if such divisions are in the nature of things unstable as well as pernicious—like the carpet-bag governments, which could not stand alone—is there any cause for regret in the fact that in South Carolina and in Georgia the "Republicans" have decided to abandon a State ticket?

In Arkansas the Republicans have accepted practical effacement with the same submissiveness. At the election for State officers on Monday there were but two tickets in the field, Democratic and Greenback, and the majority of the former is probably about fifty thousand. The repudiating constitutional amendments have, it is now thought, undoubtedly failed. The returns of the Vermont election on Tuesday, which show a Republican gain over the election in 1876, indicate that the situation there is about as depressing for the Democrats as that in the South is for Republicans. The contest was accurately though enviously described in advance by Mr. Blaine as a "dress parade," and yet "the unterrified" had no thought of disbanding. Their example in Vermont and Rhode Island may be commended in this sense to discouraged Southern Republicans, as it is practically just as bad to be in a hopeless actual, as in a hopeless virtual, minority.

We beg to direct the attention of our readers to a review of a history of Windham County, Conn., which will be found on another page. It will be found to furnish peculiarly seasonable reading at the present moment. It gives a picture of intolerance towards a lady keeping a school for colored girls, in one of the most enlightened counties in New England, within the memory of any man not over sixty (the victim is herself still living at the West), the like of which we venture to say can be found in no "campaign story" of Southern outrages. We call attention to it thus prominently for the benefit of those—many of them pure in intention and honest in belief—who are busy preaching the doctrine that the Southerner who kicks against negro suffrage and negro politicians is a new and obnoxious variety of human being, who cannot be reasoned into humanity and enlightenment, but must be for ever denounced and voted against and suspected. We have no doubt there are hundreds in Windham County, Connecticut, to-day who roll their eyes in unaffected horror when they hear that the South Carolina whites become turbulent and unscrupulous when threatened with a State government composed of the Elliotts and Smallses. To all such we say: Read what your own fathers felt about having one colored school in their town, and what they did in order to get rid of it; and learn from the story to believe in the power of time and knowledge and trade and education over your Southern countrymen, against whom you allow demagogues and sentimentalists to lash you into perennial hate and distrust. Learn from it, too, that human nature is much the same in all parts of your country, though blessed with much better surroundings in some parts than in others.

When speeches like Secretary Schurz's and General Cox's have been made, printed, and given a wide circulation—at least through the press—it cannot be said that civil-service reform has been disregarded in the present canvass. We were glad to note still more recently two occasions well improved for preaching sound doctrine on this subject to a large body of hearers. At the annual reunion, near Cleveland, of the 124th Ohio Volunteers, on Friday week, Mr. Andrew Squire, the orator of the day, devoted nearly one-half of a long address to citations from the testimony of earlier American statesmen against the spoils doctrine, and from Secretary Schurz's speech, to which he added some

timely comments of his own. For example, after pointing out that the Democrats' "genuine and thorough reform" would, in case of their success, mean "a clean sweep of the offices," he said no Republican could blame them, and urged such preparation against "clean sweeps" by any party hereafter as we have enforced on another page. In contradistinction to an eminent Ohio Republican Mr. Squire said, "I believe in 'abroad,'" and proceeded to hold up the example of the English civil service. The same thing was done in Boston at a Republican flag-raising by Mr. Robert M. Morse, jr., who showed how little disturbance in the *personnel* of the administration was caused by Mr. Gladstone's accession upon the defeat of Lord Beaconsfield. We fear, however, that the moral of this was lost upon Mr. Morse's audience by his failure to explain that as the political opinion of applicants is excluded from the tests of fitness for every subordinate office, there exists no excuse for removals under a new administration. It will be observed that both these speakers were Republicans. The Democrats are yet to be heard from. Ex-Senator Trumbull, addressing the voters of Belleville, Illinois, on Monday week, made no allusion whatever to the need of this particular reform, or to Democratic intentions in regard to it, laboring altogether to show why his party "demand, as did the Republicans of 1860, an entire change of administration."

"Straws" have not been as plentiful during the present campaign as could have been desired; but, nevertheless, every now and then we meet with indications of the way the country is going. A Chicago *Tribune* correspondent at Omaha gives an account of a vote taken on a train of cars on which the Rev. Dr. Talmage was homeward bound. He was returning from Leadville and had been "taking in scenes and incidents along the Pacific coast." On the same train which bore the reverend gentleman homeward over the Union Pacific Railroad a Presidential vote had been taken, which resulted in fifty-six votes for Garfield and forty for Hancock; General Crook, who was on board, and Dr. Talmage refused to vote, but it is obvious that their failure to exercise their rights cannot have materially affected the result. This, of course, is a Republican "straw"—a plain, unvarnished statement of facts from which the wayfaring man can draw his own conclusions. To show how different Democratic "straws" are in their origin and composition from this, we may mention that the New Haven *Union* (a Democratic sheet) boasted within a few days about a train of cars on which the ballot stood fifteen for Hancock and six for Garfield. The Meriden *Republican*, however, mentions that "a passenger on the train states that the said canvass was taken on the scoot train from this city Wednesday noon, and that ten delegates from the Democratic Convention in this city were on board, and six train-hands voted, three of them being Democrats." The *Republican* continues: "This explains the unprecedented result of the ballot, and it was rather unkind of the *Union* to conceal the fact that the Democratic delegates were on board." It was not only unkind, it was wrong. What can reformers expect of a party that provides "straws" of this kind?

Mr. Hayes's speech at Canton, at the meeting of the 23d Ohio Veterans, was chiefly devoted to urging the necessity of some national provision for education in the late slaveholding States. The facts, as he states them, are rather startling. In 1870 there were over 4,000,000 people in the South unable to read and write, and more than three-quarters of a million of voters "too illiterate to prepare or even to read their own ballots." This evil, too, is not diminishing rapidly. In 1878 the total school population in the old slaveholding States was over 5,000,000, but of this number only 2,710,096 were enrolled in any school. The conclusion which he comes to is as follows: "Citizenship and the right to vote were conferred upon the colored people by the Government and people of the United States. It is therefore the sacred duty, as it is the highest interest, of the United States to see that these new citizens and voters are fitted by education for the grave responsibility which has been cast upon them." In the same way he thinks that the Indians, the New-Mexicans, and a large proportion of European immigrants all require education which the General Government can best provide. With regard to the Constitutional power to do all this, Mr. Hayes appears to think that there can be no room for doubt as to its existence, and contents himself with mentioning as to the Territories that the General Government has authority to make "all needful rules and regulations." It would, however, involve a very important change in the hitherto accepted relation between the States and the central Government if Congress undertook to provide the machinery of popular education within State lines. The moral obligation to do something in the premises may be derived from the fact that the negroes have been given the suffrage, but the legal power cannot be got in this way. The speech deserves consideration as a serious suggestion of a definite scheme of political action directed against admitted political evils. So few such suggestions are made in either party that anything of the kind comes as a sort of surprise. We fear, however, that the excitement and noise of the campaign will deafen the country to Mr. Hayes' proposals.

The House of Lords has been acting with so much perversity and obstinacy in Irish affairs as to suggest the belief that the majority was bent both on frustrating all attempts of the Ministry at conciliation and on increasing the madness of Irish malcontents. For their resistance to the Disturbance Bill they had the excuse that it was in some sense an unusual interference with the rights of property, but there is no creditable excuse for their recent defeat of the Irish Registration Bill, which was simply intended to facilitate—that is, make more convenient as to time and place—the registration of voters in the country districts. The rejection of this can hardly be ascribed to anything but rancor, and it is, of course, likely to increase greatly the exasperation which makes the Irish problem such a tough one even for a Cabinet with the most benevolent intentions.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Mr. Forster, on whom so much of the burden comes, should have been stung into an assertion that, if such things were repeated, an alteration in the constitution of the House of Lords would some day become necessary. The "tremendous cheers" with which this indiscretion was greeted is a significant indication of the kind of feeling which the Upper House is exciting in the breasts not only of English Radicals but even of more moderate Liberals. No such utterance with regard to the Lords has, to the best of our knowledge, escaped the lips of a Cabinet Minister since the days of the Long Parliament, and it is not surprising that Lord Granville had to explain in the House of Lords that it was Mr. Forster's own opinion he expressed, and that he spoke for no one else and committed no one else.

General Roberts reached Kandahar unopposed, entering it on August 31. He found Ayub Khan occupying a fortified position at Mazra, on the Argand-ab, which was completely concealed by the intervening hills. Reconnoissances were immediately made, which elicited the fact that the enemy's main camp was on the Baba Wali heights, and that his right could easily be carried and the camp assailed from the rear. This offered an opportunity of totally breaking up Ayub's army, and the preparations were made accordingly, and ably executed on the following morning, September 1. General Primrose, with the Kandahar garrison, about nine o'clock made a direct attack on Baba Wali, which served as a feint to cover the real design, while the cavalry brigade, under Hugh Gough, advanced upon the left, to occupy a position on the Argand-ab suitable for pursuit. The main attack was made by two brigades of infantry, supported by a third, all under the command of General Ross. The turning movement was vigorously opposed at various points, but in vain. The reverse slope of Baba Wali was reached and the camp stormed. At noon the work was achieved, the enemy fleeing in wild confusion. Twenty-seven guns were captured in the camp, and five more—Ayub Khan's last cannon—during the pursuit. Ayub himself made a hasty flight, followed by almost all the other chiefs and a few Herati horse, the rest of his troops dispersing in various directions. He had been joined before the battle by the leaders of the Ghazni faction, and is believed now to be going straight to Herat, which, however, it is thought, may close its gates against him. The loss of the victors was insignificant.

NEGLECTED PRECAUTIONS AGAINST A "CLEAN SWEEP."

THE charge which some critics have been making against the Republican orators in the present canvass, that they are refraining, apparently with care, from all mention of civil-service reform, is not strictly accurate. They all, or a very large number of them, do draw attention to the very serious consequences which would result from the "clean sweep" of the offices which would be sure to result in case the Democrats got into power. On this point they are generally very emphatic in their remarks, and their objection to this clean sweep rests, as far as it goes, upon the very grounds on which the civil-service reformers ask the Republicans to set the Democrats a good example. Every orator, therefore, who urges this argument is *pro tanto* a civil-service reformer. Every voter who is influenced by it into voting against Hancock is *pro tanto* a civil-service reformer. He objects to having the Government offices treated as the booty of the party which happens to get most votes at the polls; to having competent men who are familiar with their work expelled from these offices because they happen to hold a particular set of political opinions and to have voted for a particular candidate. He objects to having the salaries annexed to these places treated as a property subject to a tax to which no other kind of property is exposed—a tax levied, too, without authority of law, and yet, in practice, levied under a penalty, in case of default, to which payers of no other kind of tax are liable, and disbursed by a body unknown to the law, and which renders no public account of the use made of the money. The difference between such an orator and voter and the regular civil-service reformer, who "sips cold tea" and is "goody-goody," and clamors for "the schoolmaster's test," lies simply in the application of the rule. Mr. Sherman and his brother orators think the rule an excellent one, evidently, but think it ought only to be applied to the Democrats, because the Democrats are such bad men and have such evil designs. They would not apply it to the Republicans, because the Republicans are such good men and have such noble designs. This view of moral obligations is a very old one, and has excited the merriment of many generations. But we are willing to concede, for the sake of argument, that it is sound—that the Democrats are bad men and the Republicans good men, and that things done by Republicans might be very harmless which if done by Democrats would be very mischievous. But action based on this view can only be safe—indeed, one might say can only be rational—if accompanied by precautions as insurmountable as human skill and strength can make them against the Democrats ever coming into power.

We need hardly say that no such precautions are possible, or desirable if possible. This Government, like every other constitutional government, is framed and carried on on the theory that two parties or more are contending for possession of power, and that power may, and perhaps frequently will, pass from one to the other. If there were no such theory elections would be a farce. Voting is the exercise of a choice between two sets of men and two sets of ideas. All the speeches the Republican orators are making to-day are appeals to the voters not to make any change in the depositaries of power; but they are also very emphatic admissions that the voters *may* make such a change next November. If there were no likelihood or no risk of their making it, there would be no occasion for the speeches, and the voting would be a mere form. Moreover, power has heretofore often passed from one party to another in the United States. The Federalists gave way to the Republicans; the Republicans gave way to the Whigs; the Whigs gave way to the Democrats, and the Democrats gave way to the Republicans again. No rational and intelligent Republican would maintain that no other similar change is likely to occur, or that the Democrats, or some party essentially embodying their spirit and aims, are sure not to get hold of the Government in place of those who now hold it. As a matter of fact, the Democrats for some time back have been in actual possession of Congress in both branches, and came within a hair's-breadth of securing the Presidency in 1876. Moreover, no observant man can deny that the Democratic tide has, for some years, been slowly rising—that is, that the voters who have the Democratic way of thinking about government and legislation have been for some time gaining on the Republicans, and diminishing their majorities in States in which the Republicans have been strongest. We may, therefore, set it down as undeniable that the Democrats, or some other party like them, may come, and very probably will come, into power again. In other words, Democratic ascendency—we are now looking at the matter from the standpoint of a very Stalwart Republican—is one of the dangers to which the Republic is most exposed. It is more likely than a foreign war, for which we prepare by keeping a militia on foot; more likely than a run on the Treasury, for which we prepare by keeping a reserve of specie; more likely than the inability of the Government to pay cash in a great national emergency, for which we prepare by affirming its power to manufacture and issue paper money; more likely than that the separate States should destroy the Federal credit by taxation, for which we prepare by forbidding such taxation in the Constitution. In fact, there is hardly a single risk to the National Government or its belongings, now guarded against by either the Constitution or the laws, which is nearly so probable as that the Democrats will one day get possession both of the Presidency and Congress, and be thus enabled to make that "clean sweep" of the public offices, with its attendant horrors, over which our Secretary of the Treasury and his brother orators are so eloquent.

It is, therefore, proper and desirable for every voter who hears them to ask them what preparations they have made for this contingency which they paint in such black colors. A party in power in Holland, whose orators, every time they took the stump, declaimed on the horrors of inundation, but made no mention of what they had done or proposed to do about making or repairing dykes, would naturally call forth much interrogatory criticism from the audience. The Republicans who are conducting this canvass, from General Garfield down, seem to us very much in this position. They lay themselves open to some very awkward questions, of which we may give the following as a sample:

"If, as you confess, the danger of the Democrats getting possession of the Government is not an imaginary danger, and if, as you say, they will, if they get power, make the dreadful thing called a 'clean sweep,' you, as the party which has for fifteen years held the Government in all its branches, and in a measure created the civil service as it now exists, must surely have taken some means to prevent this clean sweep. What have you done? You cannot possibly believe that the Democrats will be prevented, if they get a chance, from turning your men out and putting their own in all the offices, by the feeling that they are themselves too wicked for such an undertaking. Have you, therefore, passed any law or constitutional amendment making a 'clean sweep' impossible when there is a change of administration? If not—if this has been impossible—have you made an effort by your own example to embody in American political usage the rule that a man's tenure of office in the public service shall not depend on his political opinions, but on his character, skill, and efficiency? If so, where, when, and to what extent? You dwell a good deal on the power of the 80,000 offices on the corrupt imagination of the Democrats in stimulating their exertions at the coming elections; now, what have you done by your own practice to rouse popular feeling against the doctrine that the offices are the fair prize of party victory? Is there anything in your example to suggest to any Democrat that treating offices as 'spoils'—that is, giving them to the members of one party exclusively as the reward of electioneering—is a disreputable system? Can you imagine any spectacle more likely to stimulate their cupidity than the spectacle you are yourselves offering to the world at this moment of the levy of illegal assessments for your own purposes on the salaries of your office-holders? Would there not be something ludicrous in one of you preaching the sacredness of property to a mob from a balcony while his confederates were gutting the house and dividing the goods in full view of the street? When your candidate, too, proposes publicly to fill offices by the advice of Congressmen of his own party, can you expect a Democratic President to refrain, whenever he gets a chance, from doing likewise? Your plan, too, or at all events the only plan you offer, of preventing the derangement of the public business by a sweeping change of public servants is keeping *you* in power, because your men, having been twenty years in the business, understand it. But does not this suggest to your opponents the obvious answer that when you began you were as green and awkward as they would be, and that they have as much right to learn to administer by long administration as you have, and will draw as good an argument from this

source against being turned out of office at the end of twenty years as you now draw? In fact, does it not seem as if your allusions to the evils of change were highly unbecoming in you, who have carefully maintained a system which not only tempts millions into clamoring for change, but makes the change, when it does come, in the highest degree mischievous?"

"THE CORMORANTS AND THE COMMUNE."

WE print elsewhere a letter from a highly esteemed correspondent which is in several ways very suggestive. The personal character of a possible Vice-President is undoubtedly a subject of legitimate interest to voters, and a man's "treatment of his unfortunate debtors" is an important indication of character. But no man's personal character can be depicted to the voters in a trustworthy manner by the researches of a campaign newspaper reporter among his private papers. To any one who knows anything of the frame of mind in which this functionary enters on the examination of a candidate's life and manners, there is something very ludicrous in treating his revelations of any candidate's treatment of debtors as a proper basis for a judgment about his humanity. The one thing certain which appears from the list of Mr. English's foreclosures is that he made a large number of loans to persons whose credit was very poor, and on the only security they could offer, and presumably at the legal rate of interest. Any one who makes great numbers of such loans must needs, unless he means to lose a great deal of money, or convert his property into a charitable fund, make a great many foreclosures. Mr. English, it appears, made three hundred and ninety-two within the last two years, which proves that he had made three hundred and ninety-two loans, and did not seek to enforce his security until there was no other way of getting either principal or interest, for he could not foreclose until the debtor defaulted on both. It suggests, too, that he had probably made twice as many loans on mortgages which he did not foreclose, because he could not, unless he were Satan himself, select as his debtors only those who would be sure to become insolvent. Moreover, it appears that the security in those cases in which he did foreclose was very poor, because in most of them he had to buy the property in himself and got it, in the absence of competition, for less than the assessed value. The theory of his critics, therefore, apparently is that he ought to make thousands of loans on mortgage, but not foreclose in the only cases in which foreclosure would be necessary—that is, where the debtor is poor—and ought to have taken the property himself in the open market, not only for more than any one else would give, but for enough to cover his debt. We should like to know who has ever foreclosed a mortgage on anybody but a poor debtor. Foreclosures on rich or well-to-do debtors are at least very rare. The mortgage is taken lest the debtor should become poor. There is not a particle of proof that Mr. English was harsh in his treatment of the debtor in any case. He may have been; but every transaction between a creditor and debtor has two sides to it, and before being used against the character of either should be examined by some impartial tribunal. The last person in the world to report on it is a campaign reporter getting up "stories." We know nothing about Mr. English's private affairs, but we think the researches among his foreclosures, and the inferences based on them, have been more ludicrous and discreditable than such things usually are. It may be that Mr. English has used his "capital as an instrument for wrecking," but do not let us convict any man of this on the strength of a list of foreclosures published in the midst of a canvass, with comments of his own by an industrious "staff correspondent."

It is to be observed, too, that a man who has a house and lot to pledge for a loan of money is usually a man of considerable intelligence, who knows what pledging it means, and knows the probable consequences of any failure to pay the interest on the loan. Moreover, the law protects him in this kind of a loan against any sharp practice on the part of the creditor. The creditor cannot snap him up for one, two, or ten days' default, as an insurance company can, and cut off his equity of redemption. The law gives the debtor ample time to look about him for means of relief in the shape of a fresh loan, on the same property, or on other property, or the sale of the property itself. So that the presumption is, and Mr. English is entitled to the benefit of this presumption as well as everybody else, that mortgagers are a class of men who understand their own business, who know what risks they run when they make a mortgage, and who are prepared to bear the penalty of their default when the time comes. According to the campaign view of these English debtors, however, they are a band of unfortunate paupers who borrow money on contracts to which they do not expect to be held, and who are grievously wronged because they are held to it.

If it be asked why we attach enough importance to this particular campaign story to make it the subject of any lengthened discussion, we answer because it has made more impression on the public mind than such stories usually make, and seems to have a more substantial basis than such stories usually have; but, above all, because we think it a kind of story which the Republican party should by all means avoid as a weapon of attack. The Republicans appeal to the country in all their platforms and speeches as *par excellence* the conservative party, which is the only safeguard of industry, property, intelligence, and order against that combination of violence, envy, slothfulness, and greed known as "the Commune." "The Commune" is, in fact, frequently referred to by Republican orators as one of the things we have to fear if the Democrats get back into power, and some of them were so much frightened by it last year, even, that they were almost prepared to protect themselves against it by the sort of veiled dictatorship called "Grantism." We do not deny that there is something in the country which may be called "the Commune"—that is, a body of persons who look on all owners of capital, no matter whether composed of the workingman's savings or the idle man's inheritance, as their natural enemies, and to whom all power, influence, or authority acquired by superior training, skill, or intelligence is detestable. The Greenback party contains a considerable body of them; the Democratic party contains most of them. They are the sworn enemies of public and private credit. They like high taxes, to be paid by the industrious people who save. They like also to have money made plenty without labor, by the free use of the printing-press. They hate colleges and all institutions of learning as producing persons with marks of mental superiority to the simple Democrat who carries the hod up to the bricklayer. They do not care to have the world carried forward in civilization, because their highest ideal of civilization is expressed in the phrase "plenty to eat and drink and little to do." They are the curse of any country in which they abound, and though they are less numerous in this country than in most others they have the power of making more trouble. They have within a year or two arrested the prosperity and seriously endangered the future of one American State—California. They may any day disorganize the industry or lower the credit of some other in which they may happen to secure a temporary ascendency or hold the balance of power. The "cormorant" clause of the Democratic platform was put in in order to placate them, and by "cormorants" they understand everybody who has savings out at interest. They are as hostile to the investments of the savings-banks as they are to those of Mr. Vanderbilt. Any country which was governed by them, or had its domestic or foreign policy shaped by their ideas, would speedily disappear from the community of civilized states.

Now, all indiscriminate abuse of capitalists and "money kings" for heartlessness and greed furnishes these people with their whole stock in trade. A capitalist ought to be reprobated for heartlessness, greed, and extortion when he is proved guilty of them, but no sooner. We have no right to infer heartlessness, greed, and extortion from the fact that he has much money and many debtors, and brings many foreclosure suits or holds people to their contracts. We must let him live under the common law and hold his character on the same tenure as other people. So, also, it ill becomes the Republican party, as the party of intelligence and education, to endorse such sentiments as Mr. G. F. Hoar's denouncing General Hancock because he was regularly trained in the national military school and had honorably followed the calling for which he was trained, and had not, like General Garfield, begun life as a day-laborer. This view of the comparative merit of callings and careers is essentially Kearneyite and barbarous. What we need in the United States is more, and not less, regular training for honorable callings, and steady pursuit of the callings for which the training has prepared. It is to be regretted that a

man of General Garfield's capacity should have passed the best learning years of his life on a tow-path, and it is to be desired that all boys as bright as he should be saved from such a waste of time if possible. It is greatly to General Garfield's credit that he should have overcome the disadvantages of this early loss of time; but it is not to any other man's discredit that he was enabled to avoid it, and to pass his youth in school. To preach that it is is to supply the nourishment on which Communism grows, for what the Communist seeks is not so much that the poor should have more knowledge as that the rich should have less, and he therefore hates and despises the fortunate son of an honorable and conscientious father who has labored and saved that his children may get the best equipment for the work of life which the community in which he lives can give.

PARLIAMENTARY OBSTRUCTION.

LONDON, August 26, 1880.

PROBABLY before this letter reaches you the Parliamentary session will have come to an end. It has been marked by a struggle between the efforts of the Government and of the majority to do the business of the country, and of the minority in opposition to prevent that business being done. The temporary return of Lord Hartington to the leadership of the House of Commons has probably been to the advantage of the Government and of the party. He possesses a certain thickness of skin, a lack of which is Mr. Gladstone's chief defect as a politician. When there is any question of argument or persuasion, when the ministerial majority has to be roused to decisive action, when an obstructive minority has to be taught that the forces of the country are behind the Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone is without rival or second. But in dealing with the vexatious details of obstruction Lord Hartington's slower intelligence and less sensitive temper give him great advantages. He allows things to pass partly because he does not perceive the point to which opposition is directed, partly because he is not stung into retort by attacks which he does not feel and therefore does not resent. He does not by any copiousness of ideas or speech contribute to prolonged discussion. Assaults to which no other rejoinder is made than a few matter-of-fact sentences, or a supercilious taciturnity, followed by a request to the House to proceed at last to business, are sooner over. It cannot be truthfully said that Lord Hartington is greatly aided by the colleagues who sit by his side. Only two of them have any remarkable power of debate or great position in the House of Commons. These are Mr. Bright and Sir William Harcourt. Mr. Bright speaks with an authority inseparable from his age, his long parliamentary career, his position in the country, his disinterestedness, and his eloquence. He is respected even by those who hate him. It cannot be said that Sir William Harcourt has any weight with the House of Commons at all. The sentiment, perhaps, does him injustice; but he is looked at as a man who is only accidentally on the Liberal side, as a counsel who has taken the brief which came to him first, and whom a little more promptitude might have retained for the party and cause against which he now contends. Mr. Bright's occasional insolence and arrogance have a moral dignity of real conviction about them which shines through the rudeness of his language and bearing. If a savage, he is a noble savage. He is fighting for what to him are his hearths and altars, against greedy and sacrilegious invaders. Sir William Harcourt's offensiveness of tongue and port is resented as an outrage, because it is regarded as the indecorum of a licentious advocate.

I dare say all this is very unjust. But it is the Opposition view of him, and it inflames the dislike and fear with which he is regarded by an infusion of contempt. The office which Sir William Harcourt holds brings him more frequently before the House in replying to questions and in the detailed discussions of committee than any other would have done. The Home Secretary has, moreover, to arrange matters with members in the lobby more frequently than any of his colleagues. This is involved in the peculiar business which belongs to his department. Sir William Harcourt is not specially fitted for his work; and if, as is said, of all the great ministerial offices that which he fills is that which he least desired to have, his distaste proceeded on an ample basis of self-knowledge.

The other members of the Cabinet in the House of Commons are respectable heads of departments. Mr. Childers adds to a mastery of the routine of administration a knowledge of parliamentary management and a superficial tactical skill which would probably have made him a good whip. He has an eye for the emergencies of the moment, and a skill in devising evasions of difficulties and plausible excuses for glaring blunders, which are estimated perhaps above their intrinsic value in the House of Commons. Mr. Forster has been too much occupied in getting into false positions and out of them to give much general help to the Ministry. He is a dreary figure lost in the Irish bog which has engulfed, though not, perhaps, beyond the possibility of recovery, his reputation for statesmanship. Mr. Chamberlain's sudden elevation to the Cabinet, at an age at which most men are content to be under-secretaries, and after a Parliamentary career scarcely long enough to justify selection for office at all, has roused jealousies which seem to have suggested to him a certain modest self-effacement. But he is a trained man of business and a dextrous political manager; he has the official and Parliamentary manner, and his future is well assured. After a personal elevation without recent precedent he does well to wait. Mr. Dodson belongs, like Mr. Childers, to the class of official and Parliamentary experts, but he is scarcely to be counted as a directing or controlling influence in Parliament. In Mr. Gladstone's absence Lord Hartington does not receive much help from his colleagues in the Cabinet in his conflict with the tacticians of Parliamentary delay.

The first practitioners of obstruction in the House of Commons were Mr. Raikes, Mr. James (more familiarly known as Jim) Lowther, and Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, the two latter belonging to great aristocratic English families. The *Lord Eskdale* of Lord Beaconsfield's political novels was the Lord Lonsdale whom Wordsworth suffered to protect him, and to whom he paid in poetry the debts due for patronage. Mr. Jim Lowther is a scion of this great Tory house. Mr. Cavendish Bentinck belongs to the Dutch and ducal family whom William III. established in England. Both these gentlemen, together with Mr. Raikes, distinguished themselves by their strength of constitution, which enabled them to sit up late o' nights under Mr. Gladstone's former Government; by their strength of lungs, which made them unweary in articulate speech and inarticulate interruptions, and by their capacity for taking minute and constant exception to every detail of every question which was brought before them. On the principle which is adopted when a desperate poacher is turned into a gamekeeper, or as a thief used in olden times to be enlisted as a thief-taker, Mr. Raikes was appointed when Mr. Disraeli came into power to be chairman of committees. Knowing every artifice, and having practised most of them, by which the forms of the House can be evaded for the purposes of delay and resistance, he was well fitted to watch over their execution and to maintain them against transgressors less bold and skilful than himself. Mr. James Lowther was made, first, Under-Secretary of State, and then Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Mr. Cavendish Bentinck became Judge-Advocate General. The example of their promotion has not been lost upon the aspiring Tory youth of the present Opposition. Political youth has a very long duration, and a man at fifty in the House of Commons is supposed to be just beginning his career. Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Henry Wolff, and Mr. Gorst, among the Conservatives below the gangway, are practising the arts which were pursued with success by Mr. Raikes, Mr. James Lowther, and Mr. Cavendish Bentinck. They will doubtless have their reward. They have already hustled aside poor Sir Stafford Northcote, who scarcely affects to control the party which he nominally leads, and is little more than a figure-head and symbol of a political chief.

But it may be doubted whether they will succeed in their more immediate purpose. They are bent upon wasting time, and the Government is wisely giving them as much time as they like to take. It has hitherto been, to use the phrase of Lord Hartington, an unwritten law of Parliament that it was to rise early in August, some days, at least, before the 12th, and only in the extremest cases to remain sitting a few days after it. If business was not done, so much the worse for business. The measures which there was no chance of passing before a certain date had to be dropped and to be started with anew in the next session. Mr. Gladstone has adopted a new course, which it is to be hoped will be persisted in. He is resolved to keep Parliament sitting until the measures which are brought before it shall either have been passed or shall have been definitively rejected. He has made up his mind not to allow the deliberate proposals of the Cabinet to slip through the Ministerial fingers. If either House refuses to pass them, the blame or the merit of their refusal, as the case may be, will be clearly ascertained and the Government will be without responsibility. This method has provoked vehement outcries of indignation. Attempts have been made to censure the Ministers for pressing measures at a time when, it is alleged, they cannot be fully and fairly considered. But they can be fully and fairly considered in September or October, if the peers and members of Parliament will remain in town to consider them. If they choose to go away for their own amusement or on their private affairs, it will be for the country to confide its business to persons who will attend to it at any and every season. The existence of a class of professional politicians in the United States is sometimes sneered at, and sometimes deplored as an evil injurious to the working of republican institutions, and as one from which England is happily free. But we have in this country another evil. A very large number of members of both Houses are persons to whom a Parliamentary career is simply an amusement—something to occupy their leisure when they are in town and cannot be killing something on the moors or among turnips. To them the two Houses are simply clubs of mixed politics, like the Athenæum or the Travellers'. It is these people who maintain that only so much business ought to be done as can be packed between the months of February and August, and that whatever cannot be accomplished within that time must be

abandoned till another session. If Mr. Gladstone succeeds in teaching legislative amateurs on both sides of the House that this understanding will not hold good for the future, he will render very considerable service not only to his own administration but to Parliamentary government in England. The venerable man of letters whom it is the custom to speak of as the Sage of Chelsea is in the habit of appealing to the history of the past half-dozen years as a proof that Parliamentary government, or, as he calls it, the national palaver, has broken down. Talk has superseded work, in his view. While the choice was between talk and work, the opponents of changes which they disliked naturally preferred talk. When the choice comes to be, not between talk and work, but between talk and sport, talk will be sacrificed and work will be done. †††

Correspondence.

MR. ENGLISH'S MORTGAGE RECORD.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In this week's *Nation* you ridicule the attention paid by the Republican organs to the record of Mr. English's mortgage foreclosures. Permit me to remark that I think no one with the slightest sense of humor can fail to enjoy the delicious contrast between that record and the denunciation of "cormorants" in the Cincinnati platform which Mr. English mounted with so much alacrity. That demagogical appeal invited, and I think justifies, precisely such an attack upon a candidate open to it.

I venture to add that the personal character of a possible Vice-President is a subject of legitimate interest to voters, and in nothing are certain important traits more clearly revealed than in a man's treatment of his unfortunate debtors. I have had considerable experience in mortgage investments, and I must say that no one of ordinary humanity will sell out and buy in a debtor's homestead, except as a last resort of self-protection and after stretching indulgence to its utmost. This the long record of Mr. English's foreclosures would seem to show that he had habitually not practised. Again, while mortgage investments are a perfectly legitimate employment of capital seeking merely security with interest, we are all of us familiar with cases in which the capitalist uses them for another purpose—as instruments for wrecking; his object being, not the safety of his money, but to profit by the misfortunes of his debtor to obtain property below its value; and this, again, is presumptively indicated by Mr. English's record. This process of acquiring wealth is strictly legal, but it never serves to elevate a man's character with his neighbors or to increase their willingness to entrust themselves to his power.

Very respectfully, ***

Cape May, August 20, 1880.

THE SOUTH AND PUBLIC EDUCATION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your answer to "J. B. S.'s" communication on "Republican Threats of Rebellion," contained in No. 790 (August 19) of the *Nation*, induces me to relate a fact that was brought to my attention some ten days since, while on a visit to Northampton County, North Carolina.

I was out hunting, and there passed me on the plantation-road that led to the county-road some eight or ten colored children of different sexes, between eight and fourteen years of age, I should judge. On being asked where they were going, the oldest said "to school," and they all had their books in their hands. I found the oldest was studying third arithmetic, English grammar, geography, and I believe natural philosophy. Their teacher was a colored man, and their schooling was given them at the expense of the county, under the general school system of the State. The white children have separate schools and white teachers. Up to the close of the war the parents of these children were the slaves of the gentleman on whose lands I was hunting. Northampton County has a population considerably over 15,000. The blacks largely preponderate. There were but five prisoners in the county jail. The crops (cotton and corn) are the finest seen since the war, cultivated almost exclusively by colored labor on shares, or at a rent of two bales of cotton for twenty-five acres.

I come now to your remark: "We cannot recall at this moment a single attempt on the Democratic side to provide by legislation for the fact that the negroes are now free, very ignorant, and liable to great oppression." If you will refer to the speeches by Senators Vance, Ransom, and other Southern senators, delivered last winter in the Senate on this subject, "as to what the Southern legislatures have done for the education of the colored race since their emancipation and the Democratic party has had control," you will find reason to change your opinion. If the author of 'A Fool's Errand' is correct when he says the only solution of the problem of negro elective franchise is time and education, I think you will find that the South, by legislation, has done in that direction as much as lay in her power; and it must be left to time and the ability on the part of the South to do more, when her ability is greater, unless President Hayes's plan is adopted, and the universal education of the colored people be undertaken by the General Government—as to the propriety of which there would doubtless be an irreconcilable diversity of opinion, as people now think. Possibly a few more decisions of the Supreme Court might enlighten us as to what powers Congress does possess as to matters relating to the freedmen in the South under the recent Amendments to the Constitution.—Very respectfully, Wm. H. S. B.

Baltimore, Md., August 31, 1880.

[We had in our mind, and ought to have expressed it more clearly, the national Democratic party, and the "Democratic side" in Congress. Of these we believe our remark is strictly true. We were, of course, well aware that the Southern State governments were doing something, some of them a great deal, for the education of the blacks —Ed. Nation.]

THE PRIESTLEY RIOT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Mr. A. V. Dicey (*Nation* of August 12), in speaking of the Bastille anniversary, seems to imply that Dr. Priestley was *present* at the tavern dinner which was the pretext of the Birmingham riot of 1791. This is an error. Though doubtless in full sympathy with the party there assembled, he sought to avoid needless grounds of irritation. In his 'Appeal to the Public on the Riots in Birmingham' (Works, vol. xix. p. 373), he says:

"With the dinner itself I had, in a manner, nothing to do. I did not so much as suggest one of the proper and excellent *toasts* provided on the occasion, though it was natural for my friends to look to me for things of that kind, if I had interested myself much in it; and when opposition was talked of, and it was supposed some insults would be offered to myself in particular, I yielded to the solicitations of my friends, and did not attend."

Mr. Dicey must be jesting in suggesting that Priestley was "dreaming" of the *mob* when he pleaded for the "supremacy of the people"—Priestley, who stood so stoutly for education and all things that go to make the mob impossible. The scandalous feature of the riot was that, if not actually planned and instigated, it was certainly winked at and rejoiced over, by the local *clergy of the English Church*. *They* were the "mob" which had worried Priestley for years and finally drove him to this country. Even Burke (Priestley heard from a friend in the house with Burke) could not conceal his exultation when told of the sacking of Priestley's house. It was not the "people," in any proper sense, that did the deed, nor had Priestley any "awkward *argumentum ad hominem*" to face. H. D. C.

Near the Grave of Priestley, Northumberland, Pa., Aug. 28, 1880.

MRS. SWISSHELM CRIES ALOUD.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: You do me a great injustice when, in your review of 'Half a Century,' you speak of my desire to see Indians exterminated. I have never had any such desire; but, on the contrary, have persistently opposed the Penn policy, on the ground that it exterminates Indians. In the book you review is this passage, given in denunciation of that policy:

"If, by gentle means, Mr. Lo can be persuaded to stop taking all the wives he can get, extorting their labor by the cudgel, and selling them and their children at will, all well and good. Millions are expended on the persuading business, and prayer poured out like the rains in Noah's flood, without any perceptible effect; but still they keep on paying and praying, and carefully abstaining from all means at all likely to accomplish the desired result. All the property of every tribe must be held in common, so that there can be no incentive to industry and economy; and if the Indian refuse to be civilized on that plan he must go on taking scalps and being excused, until extermination solves the problem."

Is not this true? Do not the mass of thinking people regard the North American savage as incapable of civilization? For eighteen years I have stood protesting and insisting that the exceptional savagery of our savages is due to the exceptional conditions in which they have been placed by the exceptional people who have dictated a policy they have been unable to control; in other words, that William Penn and his maudlin sentimentality are the cause of the exceptional savagery of our savages, and exterminate them.

You mean to be generous when you excuse my "incoherence" and "shrieks" by assuming that I lost control of my nervous system in 1862; but eighteen years of hysterics is an untenable position. In what way should any one give utterance to the words you quote, believing, as I do, in their literal truth? If you saw a railroad train full of people rushing toward a broken bridge, would you not shriek your warning? Shall I see the Christian

people of our Eastern States, the people I revere, rushing blindly into blood-curdling crime, and not shriek! shriek! gesticulate! "cry aloud and spare not," beat my breast and swoon with agony to find I cannot make them hear, cannot induce them to forbear? To me the sun at noon-day is not more visible than the complicity of Eastern Christians with Indian massacres. "They know not what they do." Like the sleep-walker who cut off his friend's head, they are doing most terrible deeds in utter unconsciousness. Gabriel will not blow his trump to arouse them, and I can but use my poor little penny whistle, on the principle that a mosquito might wake a man in time to save his life. Oh, no! "I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak the words of truth and soberness," when I say to you, to the Eastern people *en masse*, "Ye have taken and with wicked hands have crucified and slain the" innocent! You it was who took those eight Minnesota babies, tied them, two and two, by one wrist each, and threw them across a fence, tied their parents where they must see their agony and hear their shrieks, and left them there to die; and these were only eight of the one thousand murders committed at one time for which you are responsible! Did you not arm the murderers with the most effective, deadly weapons—the weapons they used in this work—and stimulate them to it by the assurance that they should not be punished, nay, that they should be rewarded for their crimes? Are not Indians always rewarded for a massacre, and is not this reward given in response to the demand of Eastern philanthropy?

You are mistaken about my scouting the idea of the Indians having *any* title to the land. On page 223 of 'Half a Century' is this:

"William Penn disclaimed the right of conquest as a land title, while he himself held an English estate on that title, and while every acre of land on the globe was held by it. He could not recognize that title in English hands but did in the hands of Indians, and while pretending to purchase of them a conquest title, perpetrated one of the greatest swindles on record since that by which Jacob won the birthright of his starving brother."

By what legerdemain of logic do you draw from such premises the conclusion that I endorse "the woman-whippers of Georgia" in their treatment of the Cherokees? I hold that a civilized nation has as much right as a savage tribe to acquire land by conquest, and you conclude that, if this be so, a band of brigands or brigadiers has a right to defy the laws of the nation of which they are a part, laws they have sworn to obey, and forcibly expel men from the lands assigned to them by the nation.

After disposing of my sins of commission you turn to those of omission, and say "one must not turn to this volume for any light on the causes of the Sioux outbreak, on the extent of the massacre, or on the justice of the multiple hangings which succeeded it; nor, either, for an explanation of the failure of our Indian policy, or for one humane or practicable suggestion how to redeem it!" I am sorry, now, that in my anxiety to be brief I have given so much cause for this charge, but it is not altogether just. On page 229 I state what I believe to have been the cause of that outbreak, viz., a plan to assist the rebellion; and give some of the evidence on which this belief is founded. On page 207, in describing the trains of Red River—Ironless Carts—I give this hint of the cause of failure in our Indian policy: "In these trains were always found Indians filling positions as useful laborers, for the English Government never gave permission for idleness and vagabondism, among Indians, by feeding and clothing them without effort on their own part." I intended, by this, to indicate the whole cause of our failure in dealing with the Indian question. As for my remedy, I have published it so persistently in newspaper articles, from the platform, and in petitions to Congress, that I thought every one was tired of seeing and hearing it, and shall be glad if you will lay it before your readers. It is this:

Article One. Tumble the Indian Bureau into the Potomac.

Article Two. Put a washstand in its place.

Article Three. Place every Indian under the protection and jurisdiction of the laws of the State or Territory in which he may be found.

Article Four. Give to every head of a family one hundred and sixty acres of land, in fee-simple, and make his title inalienable; then let him dig or die.

You say truly, that to me "the Northern sentiment of pity for the aborigines is abominable," and could not overstate my loathing for that mother of crime, or for that whole sentiment which would convert "the Friend of sinners" into the Friend of sin. The pity which is always on the side of vice against virtue; the pity which has taught this Government to pay tribute to any half-dozen savages who may please to make war upon it; the pity which nerves the arm of the stalwart murderer, as, with raised butcher-knife, he pursues the Christian mother and her babes, and buries his death-dealing weapon in their flesh; the pity which assures him of justification when he subjects mangled and dying matrons, maidens, and infants to his brutal lust; the pity which is with the barbarian in his war against those men and women who plant Christian houses, churches, schools, and libraries on the lair of the wolf, is, to me, altogether and inexpressibly abominable.

JANE GREY SWISSHELM.

CHICAGO, August 27, 1880.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Nothing could be more gratifying than the letters on the Civil-Service Reform Publication Society which you published in the *Nation* for September 2. They show clearly, what has often been asserted, that there are plenty of men in the country who understand thoroughly the bearings and importance of the question at issue in civil-service reform, and, the moment the right cue of action is given them, will join in the movement.

I think the right cue of action has now been given; and as we love our country we must not fail to follow it out.

I feel free to say that there are thousands, as yet unheard from, scattered over the country, who as soon as the idea reaches them will back our Publication Society with their voice and wealth. It is our part to see that the idea does reach them. Let the gentlemen who have written letters to the *Nation*, and all others interested in reform, take action in their several communities. Let them write to their local papers, explaining the subject, and calling on all Independents to send their names to the Independent Republican Committee in New York. Let them mention the matter in clubs and societies, and by every means in their power induce their neighbors to pledge support, and call for a grand meeting to be held as soon as possible.

The iron is now hot. We must strike before it cools. We must have a monster meeting and rouse enthusiasm. As one of your correspondents suggests, this is just the nick of time. Everybody is in the humor for talking politics, and any action on our part would be sure to be widely known, and would draw full attention to our object.

I think our meeting should be held within the next week or so—at any rate, as soon as possible, before the holidays are completely over and men settle down to their business. F. G. S.

PHILADELPHIA, September 6.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I presume there will be little difficulty in raising five thousand dollars a year for the proposed Civil-Service Reform Publication Society by either five-dollar or fifty-dollar subscriptions. If it can be done by five-dollar or ten-dollar subscriptions so much the better, as the interest in, and influence of, the Society would probably be greater than if it was in the hands of a few.

It will be a point gained if the Society starts free from the charge of being in the interest of any political party, and if some existing organization could be used that result might be attained. Might not the Social Science Association undertake the work, increasing its membership with special view to this object? C.

PHILADELPHIA, Ninth Month 4, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I approve of the idea of your correspondent, "F. W. H.," in your issue of August 19, as to forming a Civil-Service Publication Society, and can promise five subscribers at five or ten dollars each whenever it is organized.

Yours truly, H. WALKER, JR.

PITTSBURGH, PA., August 30, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As one who would gladly contribute to the support of a Civil-Service Reform Club, as suggested by your correspondent, "F. W. H.," I beg leave to present a few considerations which I believe do, or should, affect the minds of Independents in the present campaign.

Your correspondent suggests that in order to accomplish anything such an organization as he recommends would be obliged to support either Hancock or Garfield. It seems to me that this course would be most unwise, for it must be admitted that neither of the candidates, nor the party which supports either, has given any assurance on the subject which may not be discarded when convenient, and to the discomfiture of those who may undertake to make promises on behalf of either. Take Hayes's Administration as a warning. It would hardly be safe to promise anything definite on the part of Garfield and the Republican party, and the fact that nothing more definite can be predicted of General Hancock and the Democrats shows how completely the politicians have thrown vital questions into the background, and how shrewdly they are rallying the rank and file to the support of extinct issues and party records.

In this state of affairs your correspondent's suggestion, that the argument in favor of reform should be simply that it is *right*, should lead to an attempt to bring a moral force to bear on both parties, and perhaps if a few enlightened clergymen could be induced to present from their pulpits the true state of the present evil, viz., that the distribution of the Federal offices is a vast corruption fund, a fund measured in value by the amount of the salaries of these offices, used as direct bribery by the "Bosses" and "Ringsters," public attention might be roused sufficiently to enable reformers to take some decided

action. Unless, however, it be found possible to bring a strong influence to bear, I venture to suggest to Independents that, putting all other questions aside, there is one event that may force these questions to the front, viz., a collision between Hancock and his political supporters in the distribution of offices. It can hardly be believed that Hancock, in the event of his election, can fail to see the momentous importance of this question, or fail to pause before the undertaking of such sweeping changes as some of his supporters will be certain to call upon him to make.

I admit that there is little more to hope from his silence on this subject than from Garfield's unworthy letter of acceptance, but even supposing Hancock to be utterly weak and with no serious grasp of the question, is it unreasonable to entertain another hope—namely, that should he undertake to dispossess seventy thousand office-holders there would be a large number of intelligent Democrats who would severely condemn such a proceeding; and would not their censure, joined to the outcry from the entire Republican camp, become a force that could not be resisted nor defied? It seems to me that in this view the course of events may thwart the politicians, and further as if the election of Hancock gave promise of bringing this question speedily to an issue. Very truly yours, E. B.

CHICAGO, August 28, 1880.

THE LONDON *TIMES*.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A letter on English journalism dedicated to the *Times* in *Nation* No. 787 runs so wide of the pith of its subject that it is difficult to say whether it says more that it should not say or leaves unsaid that, more important, which it should say to give a fair idea of the *Times*. I can only warn your readers in general not to accept it as an adequate statement of that which may be said about the paper—for some things could only be said by those who have no disposition to say them.

The well-understood principle of the *Times* is to support every measure which it considers wisely Liberal until it is clear that public opinion—*i.e.*, the perception of some dominant public interest of England—is opposed to it, when it must be abandoned as too much resembling the butting one's head against a stone wall. That in following this course it should occasionally contradict itself is only equivalent to saying that it cannot struggle against a determined public opinion; but this contradictoriness is so much dwelt on and exaggerated as to become practically a misstatement, because in general the course of the *Times* is self-consistent and may nearly always be safely predicted. One honors the *Daily News* for its tenacity in defence of Liberal principles; but they are the principles it was founded and is supported to defend. The *Times* would lose its power and support at once if recognized as a party paper, or one devoted to the support of any special dogma or interest. But to say that it does not combat the opinions of the day is to forget or ignore the fact that to the obstinate resistance of the *Times* and its effect on public opinion was, more than to anything else, due the paralyzing of the long effort of the Conservative Government to drive the country into a war with Russia during the Bulgarian war; nor was there any cessation in that opposition until the danger of war was over. Acrimoniously attacked as a Russian organ, it never in reaction became anti-Russian, and only withdrew its generous advocacy of interests espoused by Russia when the more material interests of the proprietors made persistence ruinous.

Nothing is more curious in English character than the excessive energy of action and reaction in regard to exciting questions, so that the men who applauded the mob that broke Mr. Gladstone's windows are now borne off their feet by the Liberal flood. A tide of this kind directed against the *Times* for a few months would wash an obstinate editor and staff out from the office, and leave nobody the better for it, and the proprietors much worse off. I have known Englishmen so fanatically hostile to the *Times* that they absolutely refused to read it. Yet with this fanaticism forcibly brought home to the paper as a consequence of its Slavic tendencies, with the strongest influence of the Government and Court pressing on it, I have yet to see that the *Times* during that long and most critical period ever went over to the other side, or further than silence on questions on which it had spoken warmly. It is not true, then, to say that it follows and never leads public opinion. What is better and more just would be to say that it leads as long as it can, and when it can lead no longer accepts the dictates of public opinion. Of course there are occasional exceptions, but this is the fair general statement. With regard to the Afghan question, again, I heard the editor, on the receipt of the telegram with the news of the first hostilities in Afghanistan, express the opinion on the question which to-day he is maintaining, and from which the paper has never widely varied—vindication of English honor and total abandonment of Afghanistan militarily.

A little acquaintance with the mechanism of the journal would have saved your correspondent from some practical mistakes, especially as to men. During all the last years of Mr. Delane's ill-health Mr. Stebbing was the acting editor of the *Times*, as he still is one of the principal collaborators. When Mr. Chenery came in he was not Arabic professor at Oxford in any proper sense of the term, but held an honorary professorship involving no duties, and was one of the principal editorial writers of the *Times*, and had been for many—if I mistake not, twenty—years; he was, in fact, educated to journalism on the staff of the paper, and he did not change his staff in any material degree. Nothing is more characteristic of the *Times* than the conservatism of its organization. It is difficult to get on the staff, and with common prudence next to impossible to get thrown out. There was never any noticeable degree of disorder or any large changes, and Mr. Chenery had by most of his fellow-workers been long noted as the fittest man for the succession. He is probably as competent a man as could be found for a position in which no man living would not make some mistakes, and he is both eminently judicial and very firm in his opinions. Nor was he in any shape responsible for the opposition to Lord Beaconsfield's Government, which was at its strongest before Mr. Chenery came to the helm.

The present editor is known to be more in sympathy with Mr. Walter than was Mr. Delane, and while Mr. Walter never directly interferes with the conduct of the paper, nothing is more certain than that it would adopt no line of policy which he did not favor. It would be, I think, safe to say that Mr. Chenery would not submit to direct interference; but this sympathy of views between Mr. Walter and him, and his long and complete identification with the conduct of the paper, taken with his appointment by Mr. Walter, knowing him for so many years, secure this result, so that Mr. Walter is practically dictator of the *Times* and its policy.

In the very partial list of the personality your correspondent omits some of the most important names, which is not strange, as the destiny of a good *Times* man is obscurity: no man who does not more or less merge himself in the paper and adopt its general tone would long remain on the staff, if he ever got there; but to speak of the editorial staff and not mention Mr. Clifford is strange, while to leave out the manager, Mr. MacDonald, is like "Hamlet" without (not *Hamlet*, but) the *Ghost*, for no man *now* on the paper has so large a part in what it is as he. He is not only business manager but director and controller of the correspondence, and the inventor of the Walter press and of nearly all the improvements which make the mechanical execution of the *Times* possible, as well as of the marvellous organization within the printing-office, as in the intelligence department, which keeps the paper in the position it holds quite as much as anything in the editing of it. Mr. MacDonald is, even more than Mr. Walter, the soul of the *Times*.

Unless Mr. Davidson has retired from the musical criticism by death or resignation lately, Mr. Hueffer is not the musical critic but an assistant of Mr. Davidson, though in all probability to our public Hueffer is better known than the responsible chief, who, in fact, I believe, writes very little.

Of the correspondents, Eber, who has the post at Vienna that Blowitz holds at Paris, certainly is as well worth notice, and the two have very great influence on the tone of the paper in reference to their provinces. One feature of the *Times*, which distinguishes it from all its English contemporaries, is the preference for foreigners as its chief correspondents, and the entire independence in which they are left in the expression of their opinions, even when radically opposed, as often happens, to the editorial tone. Eber is an Hungarian, Blowitz a Czech, Gallenga (the chief of the specials) an Italian, and in the late war in the Balkans two if not three of its specials were American; and at one time, not long ago, the only great capital where an English correspondent was kept was St. Petersburg.

I believe that every person connected with the *Times* is Liberal, nor has it, ever since I have known it, advocated Conservative opinions. Nor is it just to say that in the latter part of the Eastern crisis it "suddenly turned round and became the organ of the Ministry," or that it has as suddenly gone over to the new Government. The *Times* has never, since I read it, been friendly to Mr. Gladstone, nor, if I am a judge, has it ever gone further in support of a Conservative Government than most patriotic and non-partisan Englishmen do. What is true, and a point in which the *Times* sets an honorable example to the press of the whole world—an example in which, so far as I know, the *Nation* is the only paper which follows it—is the allowing in its columns the expression of all sides of every question. As the most important channel of communication with the public, it is especially favored by the communication of the views of every English Government and of some European, and advocates those views if they seem to it reasonable and politic; but there are many questions on which it would be safe to predict that the *Times* will never advocate but one opinion.

In personal questions the *Times* is the only paper in England which refuses a hearing to no one. Let us be just, for the *Times* never defends itself.

AN EX-MEMBER OF THE "TIMES'S" STAFF.

CADIZ, August 14, 1880.

[Some of the above details as to the *personnel* of the *Times* were given by our London correspondent in a postscript on p. 114 of our No. 789.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

MACMILLAN & CO. have published, in an octavo of 333 pages, uniform with his other works, 'Passages from the Prose Writings of Matthew Arnold.' The title-page gives no intimation as to who is to be credited with the work of selection, but for several reasons we suspect it is not the author himself. In the first place, there is no preface or introduction, both of which it is Mr. Arnold's constant and agreeable habit of supplying in cases where there is far less need of any. In the second place, the arrangement, divisions, and headings are such as his urbanity would have been more likely to sanction than his taste to dictate; and the whole volume has an air of scrappiness and "smartness" which misinterprets a writer to whom context is of unusual importance. Still, it contains many of his best passages, and readers who do not know him may get from it an intimation of the range and variety of his topics. The same house have in press a 'History of Procedure in England during the Norman Period,' by Melville Madison Bigelow.——In a class of text-books which may be thought (according to the teacher and his method) either of the first or of the least importance—readers, namely—Swinton's supplementary series, to be published at once by Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co., will have some claims on attention. The fifth and sixth respectively consist of extracts from seven American and seven British classics.——Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago, have entrusted Mr. J. J. Lalor with the editing of a 'Cyclopædia of Political Science and Political Information,' in three volumes.——The supplement to the first annual report of the Massachusetts State Board of Health, Lunacy, and Charity preserves the independence of the unequalled series of health reports. Drainage and pollution of drinking-water furnish the bulk of the discussion. Mr. E. W. Bowditch's paper on the drainage of summer hotels (aided, as it is, by effective drawings from photographs) has a special bearing on the settlement at Oak Bluffs, Martha's Vineyard, but a universal interest. Mrs. Ellen H. Richards's report on the adulteration of some staple groceries gives, on the whole, a comforting assurance.——We have also received the seventh annual report of the Michigan State Board of Health, which might have been edited and printed to greater profit. It gives details which it is useless to spread before laymen. The most characteristic feature of this report is the section upon the meteorological conditions of the year 1878 in Michigan.——An unpretentious, clear, and important study of the mound-region of southeastern Missouri is made in Part I. of 'Contributions to the Archæology of Missouri,' by the Archæological Section of the St. Louis Academy of Science (Salem, Mass.: George A. Bates). Prof. W. B. Potter gives an interesting topographical description of the deltoid district in question, with the aid of several plans showing the mound settlements; and Dr. Edward Evers briefly comments upon the twenty-four plates of pottery, which embrace not a few remarkable specimens. ——Effingham Wilson, London, sends us the seventeenth edition of 'Tate's Modern Cambist,' a standard manual of foreign exchanges and bullion, weights and measures. The work has perforce undergone extensive revision in consequence of the great monetary changes of the past ten years. May the editor be able to say in the next edition as now: "The United States have practically still the 'gold valuation.'"——Students of mediæval art may find their account in examining Camillo Boito's recent illustrated work entitled 'Architettura del Medio Evo in Italia' (Milan).——According to the *Athenæum* the present month will witness the publication of the first number of a periodical devoted to international spelling reform, the *Zeitschrift für Orthographie*, of which Dr. W. Victor, of Wiesbaden, will be the editor. A zealous French reformer, by the way, M. Courtat, sets forth a scheme of his own in a recent 'Monographie du Dictionnaire de l'Académie française,' upon which *Polybiblion* remarks: "Entre l'identité parfaite de la prononciation et de l'écriture et l'orthographie actuelle, telle qu'elle est, il n'y a pas de milieu. . . . Et si chacun s'en vient écrire comme il parle, combien de patois compterons-nous?"——A correspondent more versed in iconography than ourselves calls our attention to the fact that the portrait, in the September *Harper's*, purporting to represent "Caroline, wife of George IV.," is really a portrait of that king's mistress, Mrs. Fitzherbert, after the original miniature by R. Cosnay, now at Wortley Hall, Sheffield.

—A portion of the Boston publishers' fall announcements can be given as follows. Roberts Bros. promise 'Fragments of Christian History,' by Prof. Joseph H. Allen; 'Sanskrit and its Kindred Literatures,' by Laura Elizabeth Poor; a volume of poems by Edwin Arnold; 'Voyage Alone in the Yawl *Rob Roy*,' by John Macgregor; 'Round About a Great Estate,' by Richard Jefferies, and the same author's 'Gamekeeper at Home' in an illustrated holiday edition, with designs by Charles Whymper; 'Stories of the Sea, Told by Sailors,' by the Rev. E. E. Hale; a 'Memoir of Governor Andrew, with Reminiscences,' by Peleg W. Chandler; 'Modern Society,' Mrs. Julia Ward Howe's Concord paper; 'Certain Men of Mark'—living characters—by Geo. M. Towle (who will publish, by the way, through Lee & Shepard, his 'Marco Polo' for younger readers); Coquelin's 'Actor and his Art,' translated by Miss Alger; 'Verses,' by "Susan Coolidge," and new children's stories by this writer, Miss Alcott, Mrs. Louise Chandler Moulton, and Mrs. Juliana H. Ewing. A good turn is also done to little folks by new editions of Munroe & Francis's time-honored 'Old-Fashioned Fairy Tales' and 'Sandford and Merton.' For novels, Roberts Bros. offer 'The Head of Medusa,' by Miss Fletcher, the author of 'Kismet'; and 'By the Tiber,' by the author of 'Signor Monaldini's Niece.' James R. Osgood & Co. have nearly ready the first volume of their 'Memorial History of Boston,' and have undertaken a revision to the present time of Spooner's 'Dictionary of the Fine Arts,' edited by Mrs. Clara Erskine Clement. Estes & Lauriat have in press 'M. Guizot in Private Life, 1787–1874,' by Mme. de Witt; and 'Rural Bird-Life,' by Charles Dixon, to which Dr. Elliott Coues furnishes a preface. Dr. Coues, in turn, will publish through Lee & Shepard 'New England Bird-Life.' Houghton, Mifflin & Co. announce volumes of poetry by Longfellow ('Ultima Thule') and Holmes ('The Iron Gate'), the product of the last few years; each will be accompanied by a portrait. The indefatigable Mr. Moses King is engaged in bringing out a 'Dictionary of Boston,' and a kindred guide-book, 'The Back Bay District and the Vendome.'

—The recent Boston meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science was one of the most notable in the history of that body. To mention only some of the physical papers—Prof. Graham Bell's, "Upon the production of sound by light" (describing his marvellous new photophone, or mode of transmitting sound along a beam of light, in connection with the telephone); Prof. Alfred M. Mayer's description of his Topophone, and Mr. E. H. Hall's "New action of magnetism on a permanent electric current" (the last two discoveries already signalized to our readers), would give distinction to any scientific gathering. Never, perhaps, were the arrangements for the information and entertainment of members and their transportation on various excursions more satisfactory. Besides the general "Programme of the Twenty-ninth Meeting," the local secretaries published their daily bulletin or "Announcement," paged consecutively, with lists of arrivals, new members, papers filed, hospitalities offered, etc., etc. A handy card map of Boston peninsula, and a large folding map of the city and its environs, made sight-seeing easy, and a pamphlet, "Brief Account of Some of the Scientific Institutions of Boston and Vicinity," showed where the visitor should go. Finally, the custodian of the Boston Society of Natural History, Mr. Alpheus Hyatt, prepared a special edition of the introduction to his "General Guide to the Museum," for the use of members of the Association.

—A writer in the September number of the *International Review* does its readers a service in giving examples of the verse of a South Carolina poet whose work seems to have been less ample than one could wish, after making the acquaintance of these fragments of it. Though "Whittier has warmly commended him as the best of Southern singers," we are informed, his present celebrator is probably right in thinking that to most readers "the name of Henry Timrod will present the doubtful charm of novelty." For the sake of more illustrations we could easily reconcile ourselves to an abridgment of the writer's exposition, which, though enthusiastic and sympathetic, is scarcely critical, and to praise a poet indiscreetly differs little in effect from not praising him at all. From the examples given we should say Timrod's verse was overweighted rather than interpreted by confident comparisons with Tennyson, Heine, and Catullus; but it has an evident purity and fulness of meaning, so opposite to the just convention we all have in mind when Southern verse is mentioned as to be emphasized, perhaps, by its setting in prose less far removed from the conventional notion of Southern critical writing. His "greatest poem," we are told, is "too partisan" to quote, but Northern readers would, we think we may say, be quite as ready to tolerate its animus as to credit the unsupported assertion that it will "be ranked near to Dryden's 'Feast of Alexander' and Lowell's magnificent 'Commemoration Ode.'" Timrod was born in 1829 and died in 1867, after a life not empty of trouble and at the last full of pain, but sustained by a cheerful serenity not unaffectingly depicted here. An incomplete edition of his works was published by E. J. Hale & Son, of this city, in one volume, some seven years ago.

—The remaining articles of the *International* make it an unusually good number. M. Auguste Laugel contributes, in a paper on Lamennais, a distinct literary flavor not too common in current periodicals, and possible only to a writer withdrawn from current discussion in all its phases, and wholly given over to the pursuit of literature as an art. It is a portrait of the priest drawn in lines apparently purely descriptive, but having all the force, as one presently comes to see, of an impersonal critique. Whitefield is treated with less suggestiveness, though with fully as much explicit detail, by Mr. William Myall, of Paris, Ky., who has made the interesting article he could hardly fail to make with such a subject; it is, however, what it might easily have failed of being, candid and discriminating. "Few men," says Mr. Myall, "have succeeded in erecting so lasting a reputation upon so absolute a penury of everything in the human mind which is worthy of immortality." D. G. Hubbard examines with great elaborateness "The Myth of the Virgin in Painting and

Sculpture"; Edwin De Leon writes about "Nubar Pacha and the Armenian Christians" with the acquaintance his Egyptian experience affords, though in rather a rhetorical vein; Mr. John Jay discusses "The Presidential Election" at length, rubbing their war record into the Democrats with a fine remorselessness, arguing from it their profound untrustworthiness, and concluding with a deprecation of any attempt "to reopen the issues of the war and assist in unsettling the issues of the past." The leading article is on "Money," by Professor Bonamy Price, and is naturally a good deal more than the review which it purports to be of General Walker's book on the subject, though it is that too, and as such is none the less severe for its courtesy, which is marked. On the subject of bi-metallism he implies that General Walker has only enthusiastic conviction for a support, and commends by contrast Mr. Clairmont Daniell's pamphlet, 'Gold in the East.'

—The death of Mr. Sanford Gifford removes one of the most popular of the older American painters. Among these, too, his rank was high. He is to be classed with Mr. Church and the late Mr. Kensett among the followers of Cole; and perhaps it would be putting too fine a point upon it to say that his work was inferior to the dramatic panorama of the former or the mild sweetness of Kensett. On the other hand, it would be difficult to indicate clearly the real difference in value between it and such work as Mr. Whittredge's or Mr. Casilear's. It was thoroughly American, we need not say; indeed, it seemed to assert its nationality in a certain soft aggressiveness or placid imperviousness to ideas of painting current in the rest of the world. It was wholly hostile to anything like pertness or even vivacity, and shunned the obvious excellence of more modern methods with a dignity and poise in themselves pleasant to perceive. In pursuing this end it paid a penalty that has been rigorously exacted of it—we think not too rigorously, though the unmistakableness of its old-fashioned character and simple ideal was so great as to make it easy for critics incapable of appreciating either (if there were any such) to deride it ignorantly. The truth is that the canons to which such art as Mr. Gifford's subscribed have now to be recalled by an effort of memory. He did not paint nature as he saw it, and in all probability never essayed to do so. To him a "picture" was not only the different thing from a "study from nature" which it is acknowledged to be on all hands, but it was a transfiguration after some receipt perfectly known to him, rather than a selection and arrangement of natural material even. Light and air, those elusive objects of other than the older American landscape painters, he seemed not to be uneasy about striving for at all. They gave place to the relation known as "aerial perspective," which he sought with evident and ingenuous directness, and in doing so enshrouded all the objects of his pictures in a cadmium mist, by which his work became recognizable anywhere and always, and which seemed, at a certain stage of every observer's æsthetic development, very lovely to behold. As one got tired of it, it became clear that it was tiresome not so much because of its monotony as because of its lack of large significance, and that it was not so much a superficial phase of natural beauty as Mr. Gifford's notion of all beauty whatsoever. In the same way one outgrows a certain order of poetry well known to possess dignity and witness a refined nature. So that the sudden ending of his career is a loss to the body of American artists of a singularly fine and shy personality rather than an irreparable loss to American art.

—The study of early institutions, begun at Harvard under the guidance of Professor Henry Adams, fruits of which have already been laid before the public in the volume, edited by that instructor, called 'Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law,' has been further illustrated by the thesis on which, at the last Commencement, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was granted to Mr. Denman W. Ross. We speak of it here with reference to a review of the work, in the current number of the *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie*, by Von Inama-Sternegg, of Prague, a voluminous writer on political economy. Mr. Ross's pamphlet is called 'The Theory of Village Communities,' and his aim is to controvert the generally-held doctrine (of which the ablest English expounder is Sir Henry Maine) that private property in land arose out of the disintegration of tribal institutions, and is the final stage of a process of evolution of which village communities form the intermediate term. Dr. Sternegg begins his review with a sharp protest against "the ready-made application by the pseudo-romanticists of socialism" of the results of scientific investigation in this field, which has resulted, he says, in making the work of true students more careful and thorough than ever, and he hails Mr. Ross's work as "a valuable contribution to the conscientious study of historical political economy," which "causes double pleasure—first, because it treats one of the weightiest of social problems in a spirit entirely free from preconceived bias, and is based upon original investigation; second, because it testifies to a lively interest in these problems in the distant West." While the reviewer does not deem settled all the points raised by the essayist, he is of the opinion that "he has unquestionably made himself worthy of great praise in incontestably proving that, since the beginning of documentary history, the Germans have had individual property in land and a settled law of succession."

—The writer of the entertaining account of "A Reindeer Ride through Lapland," in the last number of *Blackwood*, makes the following statement in regard to the designs of Russia upon a portion of that country, which is "important if true." At a Norwegian settlement on the Tana he was present at the trial of the river-superintendent, who was accused of the intention of transferring the river to Russia, and was removed from his post on that account. The Tana for a considerable part of its course forms the boundary between Russia and Norway, but about thirty miles from its mouth the boundary-line turns sharply to the southeast, the river flowing due north and emptying into the Arctic Ocean through a fiord bearing its name. A "scientific frontier" would naturally follow its course, and this is what Russia very reasonably (in accordance with British precedents) desires. By gaining possession of the district included between the river and the sea Russia would not only have the valuable cod-fisheries of the Varanger Fiord, but in the island-town of Vardö would obtain a port which is open the whole year round. The importance of a naval station in European waters from which a fleet could be despatched at any time and to any quarter would be very great. Vardö is now an insignificant place of some twelve hundred inhabitants, but enjoys the distinction of being protected by the most northern fort in Europe. Of the ultimate success of Russia in obtaining this territory the chief official of the district had no doubt.

—The following discussion, excerpted from Mr. W. J. Stillman's Athens letter of last week, has a special antiquarian interest:

"While on the subject of the Acropolis I ought to say that German studies on the great staircase which Beulé excavated have recovered some more fragments of the Temple of Victory, and shown some confirmation of the view previously advocated—that the staircase is not ancient, but a Middle-Age construction. Émile Burnouf, indeed, in one of the latest publications on the Acropolis ('La ville et l'Acropole d'Athènes aux diverses époques'), attacks the whole of Beulé's researches with a vigor in which it is impossible not to recognize personal passions which have led that never too sound archæologist to neglect the plain common-sense arguments in the question to such a degree that he destroys his own demonstrations. Burnouf maintains, in brief, that the whole western wall and the gate which Beulé uncovered, with the staircase and everything dependent on it, were the work of the Florentine dukes of Athens, and that the so-called restoration of Valerian was really originally a work by Nerio Acciaioli, and restored by Antonio, his son, in haste on the approach of Sultan Amurath. There is not room here to follow all his argument, and it must be admitted that he has made several good minor points against Beulé; but it would not, I think, be difficult to show that in his eagerness to demolish his predecessor he has exposed himself to destructive criticism. So far as concerns the general plan of approach to the Propylæa and the probable character of that portion of the enceinte, I do not believe that Beulé's theory can be attacked; but Burnouf and the later German excavations show that the staircase *in its present state* is a mediæval work—probably, *me judice*, an incomplete and greatly-modified restoration of the original approach, without which *in some such state as is now indicated* the position and magnitude of the Propylæa (the structure that stood before the gates—*i. e.*, the nine gates) would be an architectural solecism, even an absurdity. It is clear that the staircase is not contemporary with the Propylæa; but Burnouf's ineffectual struggles to reconcile his hypothesis with the nine-gated approach alone suffice to show the untenableness of his theory, for there is not in the space he would dispose of—viz., that between the landing of the Propylæa and the foot of the present staircase—room to bestow nine gates without making them a weakening of the military defence, and the Pelasgi were too good engineers to put nine gates where three sufficed. The fact is that a sound induction from the Propylæa and its surroundings would lead an investigator to look for some such gate and some such staircase as long as the bastions which once covered the whole approach existed, and Beulé was the third who, following this induction, attempted to find what he finally succeeded in finding. It is indicated in the plan of the Propylæa. Nothing that Burnouf advances goes to weaken Beulé's reading of the existing walls and gate, but, on the contrary, the reading proposed by the former only shows his entire ignorance of antique wall-structure; and his hypothesis that Antonio Acciaioli, in haste to defend Athens against Amurath, had been so careful as deliberately to select the antique material, restore the antique form of the gate with its archaic slope of lintel, and replace the band of Eleusinian black marble, so as to be in keeping with the use of the same in the antique substructure of the Propylæa above, is whimsically absurd. The internal evidence is irresistible that the gate known as Beulé's was reconstructed on an antique model, while something of the old Greek methods, traditions, and reverence remained; and there is scarcely any escape from the further conclusion that this was the work done by Valerian, as history records. The repairs which Burnouf shows Antonio Acciaioli to have made were in preparation for an attack by the Turks, who were already in the Phocide! The slightest examination of the wall in which is Beulé's gate will convince any one who has experience in these matters that it is utterly impossible that it should have been constructed only about 1430, as Burnouf would have us believe—the more that, being in a very few years later completely cased in by the massive masonry of the Turkish bastions, no chance remained for the wear of time and weather which it shows to-day most unmistakably. But neither Beulé nor Burnouf offers any valid suggestion as to the position of the Enneapylæ, and if the excavation of the western slope of the Acropolis and the southern of the Areopagus does not disclose some indications of it we must regard it as lost. Burnouf's attempt to locate the Pelasgicon within the inner enclosure of the Acropolis is so wildly at variance with every known tradition that it becomes difficult to give him credit for ordinary archæologi-

cal acumen. On the whole, it seems to me, we must accept Beulé's conclusions as to the meaning of his own discoveries, as unmoved by any of the subsequent attempts to reconstruct the Acropolis."

—Apropos of De Gubernatis's Oxford lectures on Manzoni we remarked upon the scanty knowledge we possessed of the subject of the book. It was the first attempt at more than a mere biographical sketch, and, although unsatisfactory, was a distinct advance. Since then De Gubernatis has been fortunate enough to be allowed to publish the correspondence of Manzoni with his most intimate friend, the distinguished French scholar, Claude Fauriel. An Italian translation of the letters was published last year in the *Nuova Antologia*, and has recently appeared in book form and passed through two editions already. The title is 'Il Manzoni ed il Fauriel studiati nel loro carteggio inedito' (Rome: Barbèra. 1880). In this second edition the letters of Manzoni (fifty-four in number) are given in the appendix in the original French. The body of the work consists of an Italian translation of the same, accompanied by a commentary by the editor, and illustrated by other letters directed to Fauriel. At Fauriel's death his papers passed into the possession of Madame Mary Mohl, the widow of the distinguished Orientalist, who at one time desired Manzoni to write a life of her friend. This Manzoni, with his usual shrinking from publicity, was unwilling to do, as it would involve his own intimacy with Fauriel, and he was, of course, opposed to any publication of his own letters. They have, therefore, remained unpublished until now. They extend from 1807–1830, and give a great deal of interesting information about the composition of the 'Conte di Carmagnola,' 'Adelchi,' and the 'Promessi Sposi.' They also bear witness to one of the most beautiful friendships in literature, and honor equally the writer and the recipient.

GREEN'S 'HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.'—II.*

OF Mr. Green's deficiencies we have spoken plainly. They are to a great extent compensated for by his rare capacity for bringing into view the great phases of his subject. In nothing is this talent more clearly manifest than in his account of what he aptly terms "modern England," by which he means the period extending from about the accession of George III. (1760) to a date (1815) within the memory of persons now living. This term of fifty-five years has undoubtedly a unity which divides it at once from the preceding age and from contemporary history. By no writer have its features been, on the whole, better seized than by our author. The object of the present article is to determine wherein this unity from a political point of view (which is the only aspect we have space to consider) consists. In performing our task we make free use of Mr. Green's suggestive chapters, but he must not be taken as endorsing all our conclusions. On two accounts it is specially worth while to direct attention to the unity of an era which is both so near to and in another sense so far from the present day. The first is that the French Revolution broke the continuity of English progress, and there is, therefore, a special danger of missing the real unity of English development. The second is that, when the revolutionary movement storm abated, English political life resumed the path from which it had been forced, and the true key to English history since 1815 is to be found in the set of English policy from 1760 up to the time when it was, so to speak, warped by the force of the revolution.

Of the distinction between modern England and the preceding age (1689–1760) so much has been written that the topic, though interesting enough, is not one to which we care at the present moment to direct the minds of our readers. What is better worth notice is that the reign of George III. is marked by four different movements which are closely connected, and which from their combined influence have given a new turn to the annals of the English people.

First. The policy of Chatham had by 1760 permanently transformed Great Britain into a very different thing—the British Empire. It is this imperial character which gives a new impress to the public virtues no less than to the public vices of the generation which seized India and could not retain America. The sense of imperialism terminated the ill-will between Scotland and England, and enabled the genius of Chatham to convert Highland rebels into the best soldiers of the British army; it strengthened the nation to the endurance of defeat, and to exertions which just a century ago redeemed disaster from every tinge of disgrace. The feeling that Great Britain was the centre of a vast empire is seen from its better side in Goldsmith's conviction that Englishmen were "the lords of human kind"; it is seen from its worst side in the brutal determination to enforce to the utmost rights of sovereignty which fostered the pride of every Englishman. "We have been so very powerful and so very prosperous that even the humblest of us were degraded into the vices and follies of kings." Philosophers and statesmen may deplore the prevalence throughout modern England of the spirit of domination. But historians, whose province is to note facts rather than to moralize on the follies of mankind, must observe that the good and bad qualities which still mark English society were alike the sign and the result of the movement which produced the British Empire, and will probably last as long as that empire endures. It is at any rate noticeable that imperial sentiment in its best sense, and the vulgar parody of it which is now nicknamed "Jingoism," owe their birth to the condition of politics and society when George III. mounted the throne.

Secondly. The creation of the British Empire, which was itself mainly the offspring of commercial energy, went along with not only an immense extension of commerce, but also with an unprecedented development of the industrial resources of the country. Mr. Green's chapter on industrial England contains nothing which is absolutely new, but it brings into one view a lot of facts of which the effect is lost if they are not combined together. Brindley, Watt, Arkwright, and Crompton did much more than merely make ingenious inventions. Whether they knew it or not, the inventors who enabled Great Britain to make full use of her manufacturing resources as surely turned the current of English history as did the statesmanship of Chatham and Pitt, or the speculations of Adam Smith. It is at least an ingenious theory that the growth of industrialism fostered the religious and humanitarian movement which was characteristic of modern England as, it must be added, of modern Europe generally. It is not a theory but a demonstrable fact that the working of English coal-mines and the growth of English manufactures shifted the centres of population, and with them what may be termed the centre of power from the south to the north, and gave something like a permanent predominance to the mercantile and manufacturing classes. This silent revolution was hardly noted by even so acute a speculator as Burke, yet more than any one cause it was in the end fatal to the system of Whig aristocratic rule, which Burke considered the best form of constitutional government. In any case the imperialism and the mercantile spirit of modern England are closely connected, one might almost say intertwined, with each other. The conquest of India was the achievement of merchants who, unwillingly enough, were driven into the exercise of sovereignty as a means of preserving or extending their trade.

Thirdly. The acquisition by England of the Indian Empire will, to future historians, bear an aspect very different from that which it presented to contemporaries, and in all probability very unlike the ideas which it suggests to the men of to-day. It may well be seen in later ages to fix as truly the turning-point of English history as the extension of Roman dominion beyond the limits of Italy fixed the fate of Rome, or as the attempted conquest of Syracuse determined the fortunes of Athens. One matter is, however, now visible to all observers which naturally escaped the attention of the generation that witnessed the triumphs of Clive and of Hastings. The establishment of American independence and the conquest of India worked curiously together towards the same result. They caused English energy to shift from the west to the east. The ship of state, which had, up to 1760, been directed towards the western world, turned slowly but unmistakably eastward. More and more decidedly has England become an Eastern power. In the East Englishmen have performed their greatest exploits. Towards the East has flowed all that is most energetic in the English nation. As the interests of the country have centred in India, so Eastern questions have more and more engrossed English attention. "Where your treasure is there will your heart be also" is as true of states as of individuals. If any one wishes to see where the heart of England really is, let him compare, what often puzzles foreigners, English apathy about Continental or American questions with English activity and passion in Eastern affairs. The Crimean War was influenced by views with regard to the East; but even so the Russian contest called forth but half the strength of the country. So acute a critic as De Tocqueville fancied that English energy had declined. The Sepoys revolted. Europe expected the fall of the Empire; but the whole vigor of the nation revived, and the Eastern rebels were crushed by the same remorseless force which had, a century before, driven France both from the Western and from the Eastern world.

Fourthly. The new direction given to English energy, combined with the expulsion of French influence from all the fields which Englishmen were inclined to occupy, changed the relations between England and France. The date and extent of this alteration are concealed by the wars of the Revolution and the First Empire. They appear at the first glance to be the continuation of the old rivalry between the two countries. They are, in fact, an unnatural break in an almost irresistible tendency towards friendship which at any moment might become an alliance. The peace by which George III. put an end to the warlike triumphs of Pitt was no doubt the result of a court intrigue: it is difficult to believe that his Majesty saw in it anything else than an arrangement which favored his attack on the Whig leaders. But for all that it really marked a decisive crisis in the relations between the two neighboring nations. The War of Independence offered an opportunity which France could not be expected to miss; but it was popular enthusiasm for liberty, at least, as much as the policy of the Government which led France to aid America. The impulse which had formerly driven Frenchmen and Englishmen into unceasing contests was already dying out. The policy of Chatham,

* 'History of the English People. By John Richard Green, M.A., Honorary Fellow of Jesus' College, Oxford.' Vol. IV. New York: Harper & Bros.

though cut short, had so completely done its work that the reasons and interests which justified it had ceased to exist. That this was so was seen when Pitt routed the Coalition. It is the custom to draw a marked contrast between the warlike policy of Chatham and the pacific statesmanship of his son. The one needed, as was said, "an accompaniment of trumpets and trombones"; the triumphs of the other were achieved by successful finance and commercial treaties. The difference in the character of the two men told for much; but we may well doubt whether the difference of the times and the situation did not tell for a great deal more. Pitt came on the public stage as the heir of Chatham. The feeling that he was his father's representative was the source to which the youthful statesman owed half his power. Father and son alike were the heroes of the City. Each found his permanent support in the rising power of the mercantile and industrial classes; each alike had the interest and the honor of these classes at heart. If the father was the constant foe of France, and the son was so averse to a French war that he could only be forced into it by the demands of a nation maddened by the horrors of the Reign of Terror, it is surely reasonable to suppose that the difference in policy was based on something more solid than a difference of individual character. The cause is to be found in a general change of national interests and sentiment. Till 1760 France was a dangerous rival to the development of England's commercial empire. Hence French power was combated by English arms and English subsidies, and Frenchmen were held Britain's natural foes. After 1760 the rivalry ceased. French prosperity promoted the welfare of England, and the greatest English minister of the day cultivated the friendship of France. Change of interest brought, as it always will bring, a change of moral feelings. Every page of such a book as Young's 'Travels' shows, what is well enough known from other sources, that, in spite of French intervention in the War of Independence, there existed in the years immediately preceding the Revolution a lively feeling both in France and in England of reciprocal friendship and sympathy. The *entente cordiale* would have been fully developed before the end of the century had its growth not been interrupted by the violence of the Revolution and the wars of the Empire. When English officers can see without fear as without jealousy the formation of a gigantic naval arsenal at Cherbourg, and when the representative of England can during a parade of the French navy take the opportunity to point out that peace between the two ancient rivals has now lasted for over sixty years, we may be pretty sure that the secular conflict between France and England is at an end. There is no reason, however, for holding either that the Englishmen of the last century who waged constant war with France were fools or brutes, or that the Englishmen of to-day who would feel a breach with France almost like a civil feud are philosophers or philanthropists. It is wiser to observe that Englishmen of to-day are neither better nor worse than their forefathers; that each generation will be found to occupy the position naturally suggested by its interests; and that friendship between what, after all, are the two leading Powers of Europe is the natural result of the influences which have governed what we have termed modern England.

SYMONDS'S SKETCHES AND STUDIES IN SOUTHERN EUROPE.*

MR. SYMONDS'S volumes are of varying interest and value. The essays collected in them have been published heretofore separately and at different periods during the last dozen years, and have no particular association beyond the loose one suggested in the title. Most of them are about places of Southern Europe notable for their natural scenery, their history, or their artistic wealth. All are quite as remarkable, perhaps, for their "glowing, glittering" style as for their contents. Mr. Symonds's sentences have a sort of rhythmical flow that reminds one faintly of Macpherson's 'Ossian,' and, as the author often says about Italian edifices, "Every square inch is encrusted with mosaics"—of rhetoric. It would be difficult to find an equal number of pages of good English wherein adjectives abound with such "prodigious prodigality"—to borrow another expression from Mr. Symonds. Ideas that hardly strike one as needing any particular emphasis whatever are reinforced by an accumulation of phrases; *e.g.*, "No other poet who ever lived, in any age or on any shore" (i. 358). Alliterations are as frequent as in newspaper "display" headings; on the first page of the first essay a distant view "swam into sight from the shifting cloud," and the impression made upon Mr. Symonds was apparently permanent. "Airy azure," "cave of care," "gorgeous gloom," "golden gloom," "haunt of hives," "gaping gateways," "castled crags," "pearled promontories," we encounter in close succession. The descriptions of scenes and persons are further decorated by parenthetical allusions to other scenes and persons, which must be set down as ornament merely, and that of rather a rococo order. Sometimes these are the result of recollections confessedly singular. Thus (ii. 34):

"The traveller in Sicily, . . . crossing a broken bridge at night in the lumbering diligence, guarded by infantry with set bayonets, and wondering on which side of the river the brigands are in ambush, . . . suddenly calls to mind that this torrent was the ancient Halycus, the border between Greeks and Carthaginians, established of old and ratified by Timoleon, after the battle of Crimisus."

This, we should say, would depend altogether on who the traveller was, and how much of his classical dictionary he had in mind while in nervous ignorance as to which side the brigands were on. Mr. Symonds's imagination is a lively one, however. While looking at San Lorenzo, one winter day, "by one of those strange freaks of the brain to which we are all subject," he suddenly fancied himself "in the close of Salisbury on a perfumed summer afternoon." Then, in an instant, he was back in Perugia again, the vision having been "but a momentary dream, a thought that burned itself upon a fancy overtaxed by passionate images."

A writer who takes things so seriously may be imagined to be sufficiently impressed by the commonplace to make him in the main a trustworthy guide, rhetoric aside. This is true, to a considerable extent, with Mr. Symonds. Those portions of the essays devoted to art and artists, though invariably enthusiastic, and occasionally ecstatic, are generally of an ultra orthodoxy, the opinions expressed those which we all ought to entertain, and the emotions described those which we all ought to feel. Where a received opinion is called in question it is apt to concern some point on which, from the nature of the case, no definite conclusion can be drawn—*e. g.*, it is suggested in regard to the bronze equestrian statue of Bartolommeo Colleoni, at Venice, that too much praise is usually given to Verocchio, to whom the design of the work is attributed, and too little to Leopardi, who executed it, no reason whatever being given for the suggestion. So in more important matters we find an unsatisfactoriness resulting from the same cause. A considerable portion of most of the essays is historical. But before accepting any statement in the exact form in which it appears in Mr. Symonds's text the reader should look at the foot-notes, and in the absence of these he would do well to consult authorities more professedly historical. In the essay on "Rimini" the author says of Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta: "It is enough to mention that he murdered three wives in succession, Bussoni di Carmagnuola, Guinipera d'Este, and Polissena Sforza, on various pretexts of infidelity. . . . He died in wedlock with the beautiful and learned Isotta degli Atti, who had for some time been his mistress" (ii. 95). This is very positive; yet in a foot-note the author tells us that, in regard to his first wife, it admits of doubt "whether Sigismondo murdered her, as Sansorino seems to imply in his *Famiglie Illustri*, or only repudiated her," and in regard to his marriage with Isotta "there is some uncertainty." What a writer "seems to imply" is a rather slender support for a charge of wife-murder, but perhaps Mr. Symonds thought that in the case of such villains as the Malateste one wife-murder more or less was of little consequence. We may add that it admits of still graver doubt whether all the charges of infidelity were merely "pretexts." In the essay on "Athens" we read: "The Panathenaic pomp, which Pheidias and his pupils carved upon the friezes of the Parthenon, took place once in five years" (ii. 73). In a foot-note: "My purpose being merely picturesque, I have ignored the grave antiquarian difficulties which beset the interpretation of this frieze." But how are we always to know whether Mr. Symonds is to be understood literally or picturesquely? The Panathenaic pomp took place once in *four*, not *five* years, by the way, though we should think the error a misprint were not the force of the Greek word πεντετηρίς so often mistaken.

The longest essay in the collection is that on "Florence and the Medici," in which the author endeavors to trace the constitutional history of Florence and the means by which the Medici became "despots." But it is clear that political history is not Mr. Symonds's forte, and the reader may refute him in many places by consulting accessible authorities. On "Lucretius" a wealth of rhetoric has been lavished. The quotations from the 'De Rerum Natura' are numerous, but there are no translations. Some have references to book and verse, some have not. The characterizations of the poem, as a whole, appear to us strained and exaggerated, and the treatment of particular passages often mistaken and based upon a misconception of the poet's aim. One or two points may be particularly noticed here. The quotation at the bottom of p. 343, vol. i., commences in the middle of an indivisible clause; the omitted words are indispensable to the construction of the passage. The passage quoted, p. 349, to illustrate what the author calls "the Lucretian theory of conscience," breaks off in such a way as to leave an erroneous impression. Had he quoted one line more it would have given a different coloring to the whole passage.

Near the close of his essay (p. 365) we find:

"The exordia of the first and second books, the analyses of love in the fourth, the praises of Epicurus in the third and fifth, the praises of Empedocles and Ennius in the first, the elaborate passage on the progress of civilization in the fifth, and the description of the plague at Athens which closes the sixth, are noble instances of the sublimest poetry, sustained and hurried onward by the volume of impassioned improvisation."

* 'Sketches and Studies in Southern Europe. By John Addington Symonds, author of 'Studies of the Greek Poets,' etc.' New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880. 2 vols. square 8vo, pp. 394, 388.

The alliteration with which the sentence closes was a temptation Mr. Symonds could not resist. Unhappily it has no applicability. The last subject mentioned in this catalogue is the description of the plague at Athens. It consists of 144 verses, and is in great part a translation of the description of the same event given by Thucydides (ii. 47 *et seq.*) It gives us a high opinion of the Greek scholarship of Lucretius. In many places the translation is so exactly literal that the editors of Lucretius, in settling the text, make conformity to the Greek of Thucydides one of the chief tests by which their choice among various readings is determined. We submit that a careful metrical version of the text of a grave historian in a foreign tongue is not what people generally understand by an "impassioned improvisation."

In the essay on "The Debt of English to Italian Literature" the debt is esteemed much greater than most persons will be willing to admit. "Popular Italian Poetry of the Renaissance," "The Orfeo of Poliziano," and "Popular Songs of Tuscany" consist principally of translations designed to give, as far as is possible in an English dress, an idea of the form as well as the sense of the poetry. Mr. Symonds's accompanying remarks contain much that is instructive, and to most readers will be novel and interesting. "Antinous" is an enquiry into the history and *cult* of that canonized favorite of the Emperor Hadrian, and asks many questions to which it declares no satisfactory answers can be given. An "Appendix" contains a long essay on the history and characteristics of "English Blank Verse," a note on the text of the 'Orfeo' of Poliziano, and a translation of eight sonnets of Petrarch. Of Mr. Symonds as a translator the *Nation* has already spoken in the review of his 'Studies of the Greek Poets.' We have carefully compared with the originals some of the translations from the Italian and the Greek contained in these volumes, and we are acquainted with none better. But when we turn from those essays which professedly consist in great part of translations to the multitudinous quotations from foreign authors with which his pages are interspersed, it is impossible to discover by what principles the author has been guided. Sometimes he tells us where his quotations come from, sometimes he does not. Sometimes he gives only the original, sometimes only a translation, sometimes both the original and a translation, sometimes the same passage in the original in one case and a translation in another, sometimes one original passage with and another without a translation, both on the same page; and all this in such a way that, in the majority of cases, we can see no reason why he should have taken one course rather than another. The proof-reading has been remarkably accurate, a matter alike important and difficult in a book pedantically studded with quotations from different languages, living and dead.

LARNED'S WINDHAM COUNTY.*

THE slow growth of tolerance is perhaps the most valuable, if it be not also the most striking, lesson of the later as of the earlier history of Windham County (see the *Nation* for June 15, 1876). We read on p. 129 how, during the excitement caused by shutting up the port of Boston in the summer of 1774, "Mr. Francis Green, of Boston, one of the 'addressers' and adherents of Governor Hutchinson, having ventured into Connecticut to collect debts and transact private business, was forcibly expelled from Windham town and Norwich." This outrage led Colonel Eleazar Fitch, a French-war veteran, high-sheriff of the county, to assert "that the Norwich and Windham people had acted like scoundrels in treating Mr. Green as they did." His age, services, and the general respect for him saved his person from mob violence, but the people came together and hotly resolved "that they would administer tar and feathers to any blacksmith, barber, miller, or common laborer, 'who should aid said Fitch in any way,' and so his wheat and grass were left standing, and 'the whole of a considerable trade withdrawn from him.'" A few months later, the Rev. Samuel Peters, of Hebron, in an adjoining county, having been mobbed in his home, with the aid of Windham patriots, on account of his toryism, retired to Boston, preparatory to sailing for England. By two friends who accompanied him to that city he sent back two letters, one to his mother and one to Dr. Auchmuty, of New York, containing menacing predictions of what would overtake the traitorous inhabitants of Connecticut. These letters were intercepted and read, and the luckless carriers of private correspondence were made, in default of whipping at the town-post, to run the gauntlet in Windham Village—not quite the Indian gauntlet, but well equipped with kicks, cuffs, and insults. In the same village, while the Non-Importation Agreement was in force, "Jeremiah Clark, a most useful and industrious citizen, had opened a little trade with Newport, exchanging butter and domestic commodities for sugar, molasses, or other articles, by means of two deep boxes put into a bag and laid across the back of his horse. Whether with or without cause, suspicion was aroused that he was *smuggling tea* into the town; whereupon the neighbors assembled with tar and feathers, intercepted him on his way homeward, and only released him after they had made sure by thorough search that no contraband goods were included in his budget." At the close of the Revolution the Tories of Windham County joined perforce in the general exodus, and with them went Colonel Fitch, to whom life had become hardly tolerable. "It was difficult for him to obtain needful supplies for his family. Ardent Sons of Liberty had decreed 'that no mills should grind for, no merchant sell goods to, a Tory.' He was insulted, watched, guarded, subjected to vexatious and ruinous prosecution."

Exactly fifty years after this unfortunate old man had been forced into exile, the spirit of intolerance showed itself in similar but far more aggravated form, and directed not against a military veteran but against a Quaker girl. The story of Miss Prudence Crandall is too well known or too accessible (in May's 'Recollections of the Anti-Slavery Conflict' and elsewhere) to need lengthy rehearsal here. Her offence began by the admission to her select school for young ladies of a young colored woman, a church member, and unexceptionable but for her complexion and her consequent social disabilities. When Miss Crandall lost by this means all her white pupils, she converted her school into one "for young ladies and little misses of color," and the people of Canterbury not being able to persuade her to remove it to some other locality, a town meeting was called (March 9, 1833) to denounce it. This, too, proving vain, a warrant was served upon one of the pupils from Providence, under an old pauper and vagrant law, "warning her out of town unless her maintenance was guaranteed; 'to be whipped on the naked body not exceeding ten stripes' in default of satisfaction or departure."

"While waiting for legal power to break up the school, Canterbury did its best to make scholars and teacher uncomfortable. Non-intercourse and Embargo Acts were put in successful operation. Dealers in all sorts of wares and produce agreed to sell nothing to Miss Crandall, the stage-driver declined to carry her pupils, and neighbors refused a pail of fresh water, even though they knew that their own sons had filled her well with stable refuse. Boys and rowdies were allowed unchecked, if not openly encouraged, to exercise their utmost ingenuity in mischievous annoyance, throwing real stones and rotten eggs at the windows, and following the school with hoots and horns if it ventured to appear in the street. Not only was Miss Crandall herself assailed with threats of coming vengeance and ejection, but her father in the south part of the town was insulted and threatened."

The desired law was obtained of the Legislature, and the news of its passage welcomed in Canterbury "by the ringing of bells [church bells, of course], firing of cannon, and every demonstration of popular delight and triumph." Sustained by equally intrepid friends, Miss Crandall resisted the law, even going to jail, and on the last appeal succeeded in maintaining herself. Then an attempt was made to burn her house down, and finally, in a night attack, the lower windows were simultaneously dashed to pieces with iron bars. This proved too much for the nerves of the inmates, and the school was shortly given up.

It is impossible to read the accounts we have here summarized without being impressed with the light they shed on the Southern temper and behavior towards Northerners and the freedmen since the war. To judge from the denunciations of the Northern press, one would sometimes conclude that the Southern people were alien to American soil and institutions, a race different from and almost incompatible with our own. Yet, taking into consideration existing circumstances, it cannot be denied that Samuel Hoar's expulsion from South Carolina in 1844 was more excusable than Mr. Francis Green's from Windham in 1774; that it would be hard to match the non-intercourse to which Colonel Fitch was subjected with any similar treatment of *post-bellum* Northern settlers at the South; that the rifling of mails for anti-slavery documents was less outrageous than the punishment of "Peters's spies"; and that no white teacher of the freedmen has had an experience at all comparable in malignity, inhumanity, and unrelenting persistence to that of Miss Crandall. The truth is, and 'A Fool's Errand' should not make us forget it, that the intolerance which connects the two epochs and sections has a common explanation: the human mind was not free. If you ask what is the essential difference to-day between the civilization of Connecticut and of any Southern State, the answer must be the degree of freedom attained. For a test of this let us take, on the one hand, the fact that communications to the Northern press from the South on public occurrences are almost invariably anonymous by request, from alleged motives of prudence, and, on the other, the following extract from a recent letter to a Baltimore paper. The writer, Dr. Bagby, is a Virginian, who is avowedly studying "New England by the Back Door." In his progress he reaches Litchfield, Conn., whence he reports:

"I am dumb. Here I have been in Yankee-land for a fortnight, not looking for but fully expecting to see something or hear somebody to 'get mad at,' but have neither seen nor heard anything of the kind. Nobody has insulted me, made mouths at me, or so much as pried into my business. Truth to tell, there is less curiosity in these villagers than among our own; the bump of inquisitiveness on the Yankee head seems to have caved in. They are accustomed to strangers, I suspect."

We have left ourselves little space to enumerate the readable features of the present instalment of this laborious and highly deserving work. Eccle-

* 'History of Windham County, Connecticut, By Ellen D. Larned.' Vol. II. 1760-1880. Brooklyn, N. Y.: Royal Paine, 654 Monroe Street. 1880.

siastical affairs continue to fill a large portion of the narrative, and to furnish their share of amusement and instruction. The singularly benevolent and humanizing ministry of the late Rev. Samuel J. May is depicted with considerable detail, as was most proper, and Miss Larned's sketch of him makes what amends it can for a biography of this admirable man, which has yet to be undertaken. Putnam is the military hero of the Revolutionary era, but is seen besides in various humbler rôles—as a compromiser of church squabbles, an inn-keeper in self-defence, a bell-ringer, even—and is followed to his end in a happy old age. Another leader, General Samuel McClellan, whose portrait, like Putnam's and some of the clerical and political worthies, is given, was the great-grandfather of General George B. McClellan. Nathan Hale came from Windham County, and so did General Nathaniel Lyon, who fell early in the rebellion in Missouri. Godfrey Malbone also figures here as a Tory churchman who manages to escape the popular indignation. To him are ascribed the enquiry: "How much are you sorry?" and the reply: "Well, I'm sorry twenty dollars." From Windham went Manasseh Cutler, one of the chief promoters of the Ohio Company and of the Northwest Ordinance; and General Cleveland, founder of the city bearing his name. The Burleigh brothers, reformers, teachers, and writers, were natives of Windham County; and their co-worker, Theodore D. Weld, was brought up there. The great temperance movement of the second quarter of the century is traced by Miss Larned within her chosen bounds. The transformation and redemption of the county by the rise of manufactures form a graphic chapter of extraordinary interest. It is stated on p. 590 that of the foreign population attracted by the varied industries of the county the French operatives, who form more than half, "with scarce an exception, take their savings back to Canada, and make no attempt to assimilate with the Yankees." They therefore appear to be the Chinese of Connecticut, and should be looked after by the local Kearneys. Miss Larned has enlivened her text with numerous anecdotes, like that of the Windham wife who, her husband having been brought home drunk, thanked God he was not a blood relation; or of the good sister who half filled her pastor's cup of tea with molasses, adding "another souse" when he remonstrated with her, and the flattering explanation—"Clear molasses an't too good for Mr. Russel."

XXII Ballades in Blue China. By A. Lang. (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.)—Mr. Lang's verses are undeniably clever, but they have the defect—for trifles a serious defect—of being a little uninteresting. The reader speedily comes to the conclusion that either this sort of thing can be done by one clever man as well as by another, or Mr. Lang has no special aptitude for sonneteering. We hardly need the dedication to Mr. Austin Dobson to remind us that the former notion is untenable, but the absence of any palpable blemishes in Mr. Lang's *ballades* suggests caution in too quickly inferring the latter. Formally they are admirable. Now and then a line is overrun in cases that betray indolence; more rarely there is a metrical halt—*e. g.*, in the *ballade* on the Jesuits, where one has to shift the accent of "Escobar" from the penult in the refrain to the ultimate in the text. But in general they are attentively rounded, the sentiment of the theme is summed up in the *envoy* after the approved model, the diction smooth and tripping, and the rhyming felicitous. The thought, however, thus set seems satisfied with attaining respectability, and can scarcely be called poetic; it is much, indeed, if it avoids the distinctly prosaic note which in such circumstances rarely escapes commonplace. The daintiness of significance does not keep pace with the daintiness of form; and where substance and form are closely interblended the result witnesses the universality of the law in such matters which prescribes a reduction of the whole to the lower level. The prettiest conceit in the volume is perhaps the *envoy* of the "Ballade of the Book-Hunter":

> "Prince, all the things that tease and please—
> Fame, hope, wealth, kisses, cheers, and tears—
> What are they but such toys as these:
> Aldines, Bodonis, Elzevirs?"

It would be churlish to insist on the banality of the moral; but Mr. Lang is perhaps overfond of repeating it at this date, and when it is a balladist's best, the reflection that his inspiration is not too spontaneous is irresistible. The range of these lyrics is worth pointing out as well as their execution, but their range also illustrates the facility of the clever amateur, and the very evenness of their excellence testifies to an essential artificiality that is at bottom the true source of their lack of interest and makes them hard reading for trifles. It is in a line with this to note that the translations are better, in the sense of having more meat, than the purely original pieces. It cannot, however, be denied that both show a nice susceptibility to poetry and a sympathetic regard for the minor strains of literature; but Mr. Lang's agreeable prose has shown these qualities abundantly, and his verses are not likely to do anything beyond confirming the fact.

God's Acre Beautiful; or, The Cemeteries of the Future. By W. Robinson, F.L.S. 8vo, pp. vii.-128. Illustrations. (London: The Garden Office; New York: Scribner & Welford. 1880.)—Mr. Robinson considers the subject of urn-burial in this volume from the side of æsthetics and of sentiment, adding, however, an appendix in which the sanitary objections to the ordinary method of interment are pointed out. After discussing the deformity of crowded graveyards, and showing that in or near great cities at least they do not afford a final place of rest, but are, on the contrary, violated, sooner or later, to make room either for new occupants or for new constructions, the author describes the "cemetery of the future" as he would have it. "Permanent and inviolable it must be, with ample space for open green lawns. It is to be a national garden in the best sense; safe from violation as the *via sacra*, and having the added charms of pure air, trees, grass, and flowers." Mr. Robinson's plan for a metropolitan cemetery requires a massive architectural wall and covered way, "as lasting as rock," for the *columbarium* to contain the niches for the greater part of the urns. It should be far enough within the boundary of the land occupied to be completely screened from the adjacent region, except where a fine prospect could be had, by avenues of tall trees. The entire structure should enclose a garden and the necessary supplementary buildings. Nearly adjoining the great covered way ornamental tombs for urns should be provided, after the Roman custom, in which a single tomb served as a family burial-place.

"In old Roman cemeteries beautiful tombs may yet be seen, with the urns within them in as good order as when placed there two thousand years ago. The expense which is now spread over a variety of graves, head-stones, and the purchase of ground, would build a tomb which might endure for ages. What a contrast between the noble Roman woman, surrounded by her maidens and friends, herself bearing her husband's ashes to the tomb, and the black array, the paid mutes, and the hideous box in which the remains of humanity are nailed up for a decay as needless as it is odious! These buildings would save all inscriptions and memorials of the dead from the ravages of time and weather—a gain which no one will undervalue. The buildings within and near the covered way, with their accompanying groves, should not occupy more than a fourth of the whole space. The covered way should not be the work of one man or period."

Within, as well as without, the wall of the *columbarium* there would be room "for much noble tree-planting," care being taken that the larger trees be not planted so near the tombs as to risk the disturbance of their foundations by the growth of the roots. Evergreens, and the dwarf flowering, weeping, or columnar trees, should be placed near these buildings; and in the central spaces would be found opportunity for the most skilful landscape gardening. "The open central lawns should be preserved from the follies of the geometrical and stone gardeners." At the entrance to the whole should stand a church or a classic temple.

Mr. Robinson points out that urn-burial would have the advantages of being practicable "in churches and city graveyards to any extent"; that it would lead to the preservation of large cemeteries now in use, of which the fate, after they are filled and closed in, is always doubtful; and that it would lead to the beautifying for this purpose of open spaces in cities. He does not approve the ancient method of shroud-burial, or the basket-burials recently advocated, finding in them, and justly, in cases where the risk exists of air or water contamination, an added danger in the greater rapidity of the chemical resolutions. Of his defence of cremation it is not necessary to say much, the arguments, for better and for worse, being mostly those with which we are all familiar. We may note two of the errors which he makes in common with most of the advocates of cremation. He underrates the rapid and powerful disinfectant action of fresh, dry earth—an action so potent that if all the dead could be buried in properly-chosen country soil there would be no need of cremation for sanitary reasons. As a consequence, Mr. Robinson fails to distinguish quite as clearly as the subject requires that it is in towns and cities that the value of cremation, whether for sanitary, economical, or even sentimental reasons, is great; while it is much less in the case of country interments. To the most serious argument that is brought against the adoption of the practice, that it would give immunity to poisoners, Mr. Robinson replies, with Sir Henry Thompson, that "the evil, in the shape of disease and death, which results from the present system of burial in earth is larger than the evil caused by secret poisoning is or could be": and, somewhat more cogently, with M. Lavel's argument in favor of a greater strictness in the matter of the death-certificate.

We venture to quote a part of Lord Ronald Gower's version, given in Mr. Robinson's appendix, of "a somewhat rare brochure" which describes the violation of the royal sepulchres at St. Denis during the French Revolution:

"The work of destruction commenced early in October, 1793, and lasted all the month. The first corpse found was that of Henri IV., the once beloved Henri de Navarre. Some curiosity, if not affection, still seems to have lingered even among those body-snatchers, and the Béarnais was propped up against the church wall in his shroud, and became quite an attraction for the crowd. One of the republican guards even condescended to cut off the king's gray, upturned moustache and place it on his lip; another removed the beard, which he declared he would keep as a relic. After this . . . the body was thrown into a huge pit filled with quicklime, into which followed those of its ancestors and descendants. On the next day the corpses of Henri IV.'s wife, Marie de Médicis, Louis XIII., and Louis

XIV. were added to this. The body of the Sun King (as Louis XIV.'s courtiers loved to call him) was as 'black as ink.' . . . By a strange chance, on the very morning that Marie Antoinette's sufferings came to an end in the Place de la Révolution, the body of another unfortunate queen again saw the light of day. On the 16th of October the body of our Queen Henrietta Maria, who died in 1669, was taken from its coffin and added to the ghastly heap in the 'ditch of the Valois,' as the pit into which these royal remains were hustled was called. That of her daughter, the once 'Belle Henriette,' came next; then in quick succession the bodies of Philippe d'Orléans; of his son, the notorious Regent; of his daughter, the Duchesse de Berri; of her husband, and of half-a-dozen infants of the same family. . . . The resurrectionists began by the Bourbons and had still to disentomb all the Valois, and further back, up to the Capetian line, and are not content until the almost legendary remains of Dagobert and Madame Dagobert reappear. After Louis the Well-Beloved had been disposed of, came in succession, like the royal ghosts seen by Macbeth, Charles V., who died in 1380, whose body was one of the few well preserved, arrayed in royal robes, with a gilt crown and sceptre, still bright; his wife, Jeanne de Bourbon, who still held in her hand a decayed distaff of wood," etc.

But we must not linger, even upon a theme which casts the interest of Mr. Robinson's proper subject into the shade. His book is the most attractive of recent contributions to the subject of cremation and urn-burial. The illustrations are charming pieces of wood-engraving.

Deep-Sea Sounding and Dredging. By Lieutenant-Commander C. D. Sigsbee, U.S.N. (Washington: Government Printing-Office.)—This book, which is the first extended treatise on the subject ever published, describes the methods and appliances, chiefly from a mechanical standpoint, used on board the Coast Survey steamer *Blake*, while under the author's command, and is destined to provide a guide for those who may hereafter have charge of deep-sea work. The sounding-machine used on board the *Blake* was the invention of Lieutenant-Commander Sigsbee, a modification of Sir William Thomson's original machine for sounding with wire. The improved machine gave such admirable results that "in two thousand fathoms' depth the *Blake* (of three hundred and fifty tons measurement) was enabled, in nearly all weathers, to sound and obtain serial temperatures continuously, day and night, with a probable error in sounding not exceeding one-quarter of one per cent. of the depth, even during moderately heavy gales." Nearly all the apparatus for sounding and dredging used on board the *Blake* was new, or modified from previous forms, and was peculiar to that vessel. Sigsbee's water-cup, which is the first and only instrument of its kind, is an ingenious invention by which specimens of water can be obtained from any desired depth; and a more recent invention of the author's, which has been tested this summer and given satisfactory results, enables the naturalist to get specimens of animal life from any depth between the surface and bottom. With a complete outfit of this kind the *Blake*, under the command of Lieutenant-Commander Sigsbee, was engaged for four years in the physical survey of the Gulf of Mexico and Gulf of Florida, and systematic and perfectly-recorded observations were made, with the object of investigating depths throughout the Gulfs of Mexico and Florida, temperatures from surface to bottom over the same area, character of the bottom and of the water from surface to bottom, surface and under currents, and animal life from surface to bottom; the whole yielding "valuable results towards a more definite conception of the flow, mass, and direction of the Gulf Stream." During a part of the work Mr. Alexander Agassiz was embarked on board the *Blake*, and superintended the dredging and trawling. At his suggestion wire rope was substituted for hemp in the dredging-machine; he has already made public some of the results. After four years' service, Lieutenant-Commander Sigsbee, having fitted the vessel for another season's work, was relieved by Commander Bartlett. With regard to the work performed by the *Blake*, the Superintendent of the Coast Survey says:

"Without specifying the great results obtained from this continuous research, I may be pardoned in referring with some gratification to the fact that in the small steamer *Blake*, of only three hundred and fifty tons burthen, under the energetic and skilful commands of Lieutenant-Commander Sigsbee and Commander Bartlett, with a full complement of forty-five, including officers and crew, more rapid work was done than had been accomplished with the old methods and appliances by the *Challenger*, a vessel of over two thousand tons burthen, with a complement of twenty-nine naval and civil officers and a correspondingly large crew."

A noticeable and important feature of the work is the exact navigation of the *Blake*. On the correctness of the ship's observed positions the whole value of a line of soundings with the attendant observations obviously depends. The most precise methods were used in the navigation and record, and the comprehensive scope of what is known as Sumner's method—a method but little in use among practical navigators—is very clearly shown in this volume. It should be added that a large number of illustrations, most of them heliotype plates of the apparatus, accompany the text.

Journals and Journalism; with a Guide for Literary Beginners. By "John Oldcastle." 1880. Price three shillings and sixpence. (London: Field and Tuer, ye Leadenhalle Presse, E.C. 16mo, pp. 141.)—This is a handbook to journalism as a profession. It is calculated for the meridian of Greenwich, but its advice is sound for those who count from the meridian of Washington. Its aim is to show the beginner how to begin, and to give him elementary information about the methods of the newspaper and the unwritten laws thereof. It would be of slight use in any of the schools of journalism of which we used to hear so much, for it is not concerned with the perfection of the would-be journalist; it takes the more characteristically British course of indicating merely the ways of disposing of whatever the beginner may write. The successive chapters discuss "Literary Amateurs," "Introduction to Editors," "How to Begin," "'Declined with Thanks,'" "Pounds, Shillings, and Pence," "Journalism as a Career," "In an Editor's Chair," and a few kindred topics. The "ten commandments" promulgated by the author for the government of the literary beginner prescribe the use of black ink and of small sheets of paper (and only one side of them), legibility, punctuality, and the like. Unlike most authors of primers for professional novices, he does not overrate the advantages of journalism as a calling, setting forth both sides fairly. He gives interesting particulars of the rates of pay on the leading English reviews and magazines; and if his figures are accurate, as we have reason to believe them to be, the reward of the magazine writers is less in England than it is here. At least, we infer that the best American magazines pay their best writers better than do the corresponding English publications, though the average pay of literary labor is probably as high in England as with us. Those who were interested in the series of instructive confessions which appeared not long ago in the Contributors' Club of the *Atlantic Monthly*, as to the pecuniary rewards of various American writers, will find in this volume somewhat similar revelations in regard to literary profits in England. Pertinent quotations are made from leading journalists, and personal references—wholly inoffensive—are frequent. Variety is given to the page by the introduction in the margin of the facsimile autograph of the literary man whose name may have been mentioned in the text, and most of the leading English journalists of the day are thus commemorated. Nearly forty pages are filled with a useful "Dictionary of the Periodical Press," and a list of the chief English publications, with a running commentary of information and anecdote.

The make-up of the volume is odd. The paper is an old-fashioned tint; the type and initials are antique; and the book is half-bound in vellum, with catgut stitching boldly in view; the corners are calf; and the sides—where in an ordinary half-bound book the paper would be—are thin sheep, on which, however, the title is printed in black.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*	
Allen (Prof. W. F.), Introduction to Latin Composition	(Ginn & Heath)	
Agricola of Tacitus	"	
Bulkley (Dr. L. D.), The Skin in Health and Disease	(Presley Blakiston)	$0 50
Cooley's Cyclopædia of Practical Receipts, 2 vols	(D. Appleton & Co.)	
Dickens (C.), The Mudfog Papers, etc	(Henry Holt & Co.)	1 00
Flagg (Prof. I.), Hellenic Orations of Demosthenes	(Ginn & Heath)	
Hale (Dr. Amie M.), Management of Children	(Presley Blakiston)	50
Jones (C. H.), Short Life of W. E. Gladstone	(D. Appleton & Co.)	
Katscher (L.), Bilder aus dem englischen Leben, swd	(W. Friedrich)	
Knox (Mrs. N. L.), Elementary Lessons in English, Part I	(Ginn & Heath)	
Kirkman (M. M.), Railway Expenditures, 2 vols	(*Railway Age* Pub. Co.)	
Lang (A.), XXII Ballades in Blue China	(C. Kegan Paul & Co.	
McDonald (Gen. J.), Secrets of the Great Whiskey Ring	(Belford, Clarke & Co.)	2 00
McLaughlin (Louise), Pottery Decoration under the Glaze	(Robt. Clarke & Co.)	1 00
McPherson (E.), Hand-Book of Politics for 1880	(James J. Chapman)	2 00
Moore (Rev. D.), The Christian in his Relations to the Church, the World, and the Family	(Cassell, Petter & Galpin)	75
Morris (E. P.), The Mostellaria of Plautus	(John Allyn)	1 25
Müller (Prof. F. Max), Sacred Books of the East, vols. iv., v., vii	(Macmillan & Co.)	8 75
Murdoch (J. E.), The Stage	(J. M. Stoddart & Co.)	2 00
New Graft on the Family Tree	(D. Lothrop & Co.)	1 50
Newton (C. T.), Essays on Art and Archæology	(Macmillan & Co.)	4 00
Octagon Club: a Tale, swd	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)	50
Paterson (J.), Liberty of the Press, Speech, and Public Worship	(Macmillan & Co.)	4 00
Poste (E.), Skies and Weather Forecasts of Aratus	" "	1 25
Pulling (F. S.), Sir Joshua Reynolds	(Scribner & Welford)	1 25
Racinet (A.), Le Costume Historique, Part IX	(J. W. Bouton)	4 50
Rau (E. A.) and Hervey (A. B.), Catalogue of N. A. Musci, swd	(Taunton, Mass.)	50
Rawlinson (Rev. G.), Historical Illustrations of the Old Testament	(Henry A. Sumner & Co.)	
Robert (K.), Charcoal Drawing without a Master	(Robt. Clarke & Co.)	1 00
Rosa (C.), La Famiglia Educatrice, swd	(Ernesto Aurelj)	
Sainte-Beuve (C. A.), Nouvelle Correspondance, swd	(F. W. Christern)	
Schmidt (H.), Tate's Modern Cambist	(Effingham Wilson)	
Schwegler (A.), History of Philosophy	(D. Appleton & Co.)	
Scoones (W. B.), Four Centuries of English Letters	(Harper & Bros.)	2 00
Skeat (Rev. W. W.), Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, Part III., Lit-Red, swd.	(Macmillan & Co.)	
Spencer (H.), Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical, swd	(D. Appleton & Co.)	50
Stacke (L.), Deutsche Geschichte, Part II., swd	(L. W. Schmidt)	
Stephens (F. G.), Sir Edwin Landseer	(Scribner & Welford)	1 25
Symonds (J. A.), New and Old: Poetry	(J. R. Osgood & Co.)	
Van Wagenen (T. F.), Manual of Hydraulic Mining	(D. Van Nostrand)	
Vago (A. L.), Instructions in the Art of Modelling in Clay	(Robt. Clarke & Co.)	1 00
Very (Lieut. E. W.), Navies of the World	(John Wiley & Sons)	7 50
Walton (G. A.), Report of Examinations of Schools in Norfolk County, Mass., swd	(Lee & Shepard)	
Winans (S. R.), Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates	(John Allyn)	1 50
Wylie (Rev. J. A.), History of the Waldenses	(Cassell, Petter & Galpin)	1 25
Zola (E.), Albine, swd	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.)	75

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1880.

The Week.

DURING the week the value of foreign gold which arrived here exceeded $4,000,000, and foreign exchange still rules at rates which warrant further imports, although at the close of the week the tone of this market was firmer. The New York banks have difficulty, however, in maintaining their reserve, although in addition to the foreign specie arriving the Treasury continues out of its receipts to return more than $2,500,000 to the loan market each week, by purchasing bonds for the sinking fund. The loans and discounts of the banks of this city now amount to $313,700,000 against about $257,000,000 a year ago, when speculation in every market was "booming." There is now an absence of "boom" in any quarter, but the volume of legitimate business is enormous, as is shown by Clearing-house returns, by the receipts of transportation companies, and by the nearly unanimous reports of business men in a position to speak intelligently. At the Stock Exchange the tendency of prices was upwards until the Maine election, when there was a halt in the "bull speculation," which was followed by depression and what the brokers call a "feverish market." The prominence of the Greenback party in the vote, together with the willingness of the Democrats to stand on the Greenback platform, at least for this election, gave to the victory of the "Fusionists" a financial significance not at all pleasant to holders of securities. U. S. 4 per cents, however, did not decline, although other issues of the Government receded a fraction. The floating stock of U. S. bonds in Wall Street is very small. Silver was very steady in price here and in London; and the bullion value of the "buzzard dollar" at the close was about 87¾ cents.

The Maine election has resulted in the success of a single officer on the Fusion State ticket—the Governor—by a majority of about one thousand, the choice of a Republican Legislature, and the maintenance of the existing complexion of the Congressional delegation. Mixed as is this result, it has cast a damper on the Republican spirits, in spite of the reflection that at the November election it is more than likely that the vote of the State will be given for Garfield. In the moral aspect it appears at first sight shocking that there should not have been a decisive reaction against the frauds exposed last winter, but several considerations will serve to encourage those who lament the decline of New England integrity. In the first place, a certain number of prohibitionists, sufficient, no doubt, to turn the scale, voted for Plaisted, the Fusionist and ex-Republican, with the distinct object of punishing Governor Davis for his want of loyalty to their cause. In the next place, a motive must be found for the continued exile from the party of the eight thousand Republicans who, between 1876 and 1879, went over to the opposition. If part of these were tinctured with the Greenback heresy, another and a very respectable part are known to have been disgusted with Republican management and "magnetism." Governor Davis is a part of the machine which Mr. Blaine still controls, and to it and them there is naturally no diminution of repugnance, whose intensity is shown by its temporary alliance with folly on the currency question and the fraudulent spirit of the Garcelonites. This, it must be confessed, is a much more comforting as well as more plausible theory than that the majority are rascals; and yet we have no doubt that good Republicans generally would prefer to believe Mr. Blaine's explanation, in a despatch to General Garfield, that bribery did it, and that "such scenes were never before witnessed in Maine."

The "news from Maine" is said to have spread a panic among the office-holders in Washington, and no wonder. It has probably spread a panic among them all over the country, because it makes it more likely than ever that they will lose their places. Their case is peculiarly hard owing to the fact that the heavy income-tax levied on them by the Republican Committee differs from an ordinary tax authorized by law, in that it promises no certain return. For the ordinary legal tax the taxpayer is sure to receive the equal protection of the laws and security for the fruits of his industry; while the office-holder's income-tax resembles money put into a lottery ticket, or into the margin of a stock speculation, or into a racing pool. It is in the nature of a bet made on an extremely uncertain event, and the worst of it is that the unfortunate speculator makes the bet against his will. He is somewhat in the position Mr. Belmont's clerks would be if their employer forced them to back his horses out of their salaries. Nay, it is much worse; for the clerks, if the horses were beaten, would only lose the amount they had laid on the race, while if the Federal officers lose they are deprived of their means of livelihood. The time will come when the American people will look back with horror to their permitting or authorizing the agony of suspense and anxiety in which tens of thousands of persons in their employ pass the six months previous to the Presidential election. The mere barbarity of the thing, even if it worked no injury to the state, ought to condemn it in the eyes of any Christian, or even civilized, people. No government which allows an efficient and upright servant to be tortured before every election in order to make the politicians' game more exciting ought in our day to call itself enlightened—without a certain bashfulness of manner, at all events.

The Republican majority in Vermont turns out to have been just about 25,000, and the net gain over the majority of 1876 somewhat more than 1,300. The Greenback vote has thus pretty much been recovered, and we do not know that the election has any other "moral" unless it be the proverbial tenacity of parties in this country—the grand division remaining substantially the same, under changed names, from generation to generation. The latest intelligence from Arkansas leaves it doubtful whether the repudiating amendment has been defeated, though such is probably the case. Nothing seems to have given the better class of Democratic organs more joy lately than this unexpected honesty in a State which long ago flung good faith to the winds. The Boston *Post* thinks it "a noticeable fact that this noble position was taken and emphasized coincident with a splendid Democratic majority on the State ticket"; but unhappily the ticket was carried by 60,000 majority, while the amendment is doubtfully defeated. Nor is the nobility of Arkansas's present position so obvious. The amendment was passed by a Democratic legislature in accordance with the recommendation, by public resolution, of a Democratic Convention in the summer of 1878, and restrains the General Assembly from ever paying principal or interest on some three millions of funding bonds issued in 1869–70. Moreover, the prohibition merely confirms the past and actual repudiation, so that the creditor of the State, as of the various municipalities which have followed its example, finds not the smallest consolation in the recent election, even supposing the amendment to be rejected. The returns, by the way, are as yet too meagre to permit of their furnishing any test of the probable accuracy of the census. The Republican strength should be, in the absence of a separate ticket, measurable to a degree in the vote on the amendment, as compared with the straight Democratic vote.

General Logan is the only one of the Bosses attached to General Grant's fortunes who has as yet taken any part in the canvass. Mr. Cameron's health continues delicate. Mr. Conkling's attitude puzzles even the inner circle of his henchmen. He was in the same hotel with General Garfield at New York but did not call upon him, and kept himself so close that the committee did not know his whereabouts, and were telegraphing all over the country for him, when he was under the same roof. Since then he has written a letter in which he makes no mention of the Republican candidates, and his intimate friends are not yet able to say whether he will make a speech or not. He probably will make one speech, as in the campaign of 1876. This is all the more curious considering the eagerness he showed at Chicago to bind the delegates in advance to the support of the nominee of the Convention

whoever he might be, on pain of expulsion. It of course raises a good deal of doubt whether the nomination of General Arthur was not a blunder after all; that is, whether the expected price will be paid for it. It is not at all unlikely that Mr. Conkling prized it simply as an outward and visible sign of his triumph over his enemies, and cares nothing whatever about its effect on the election. If he should now "go back" on the shrewd men who made it, it will be a veritable contribution to the cause of reform from one of its worst enemies. General Garfield's letter of acceptance was undoubtedly also a bid for "the Chieftain's" support, and the contempt with which the Chieftain treats it is not wholly regrettable. No one ever successfully plays any rôle in public or private life which is not natural to his temperament. General Garfield's proper line is the bluff, frank one, and in trying shrewdness on the old masters of the art he naturally exposes himself to the fate which overtakes amateurs who try to outwit horse-dealers. A horse-dealer, unless an uncommon knave, is usually disarmed by a frank confession of ignorance or simplicity, but has no mercy for those who profess to be a match for him in his own game.

Mr. Sherman, in a speech at Richmond, Indiana, last week, defending General Garfield against an attack made on him by Mr. Hendricks touching his action as a visiting statesman at New Orleans in 1876, said:

"Now, I was present with General Garfield at New Orleans on the occasion referred to, and I, with more knowledge of the facts than Governor Hendricks has, deny that the Returning Board made returns against the men who were elected, and for the men who were not elected; but, on the contrary, the Returning Board, in pursuance of the plain provision of the law of Louisiana, did reject from the election returns those from parishes and districts that were controlled by fraud and violence, and in doing so did their plain duty in strict accordance with the law."

This is not a candid statement of the case. The Returning Board was a judicial body empowered to pass on disputed facts, and it acted in this instance with the knowledge that its decision would determine the result of the Presidential election, or, in other words, would award the Presidency. The law provided that both parties should be represented in the Board, each by at least one member, who should participate in the secret deliberations by which the Board formed its judgment. Secretary Sherman knows that this provision of the law was disregarded in 1876—that the Board was composed exclusively and illegally of Republicans, and these Republicans men of poor reputation and violent partisans; and when he says that in rejecting the election returns from certain parishes which gave Democratic majorities the Board "did its plain duty in strict accordance with the law," he asserts something which he does not know to be true, and something which the established presumptions of the jurisprudence of all civilized countries make probably untrue. The decision of an illegally constituted tribunal, composed of men sitting in their own cause and giving judgment by which they expected greatly to profit, and, as a matter of fact, did profit, is, all over the world, presumptively a corrupt decision. The burden of showing that it is not corrupt lies on the tribunal and its friends. General Garfield is a moralist, which Mr. Sherman does not profess to be, and we hope and believe would not now attempt such a defence as this of the Louisiana doings of 1876.

Mr. Bayard's speech at Columbia, S. C., on the issues of the campaign contains nothing that is very new or original, but deserves attention on account of its characteristic difference from ordinary stump-speeches. It consists mainly of an "arraignment" of the Republicans for their insincerity in pretending to be friends of the negro and of the maintenance of the public credit. How can they be friends of the latter, Mr. Bayard asks, when they make alliance with repudiators in Virginia, and when they are the same party which twenty years ago gave the greenback its legal-tender quality? How can they be friends of the former when they give negroes suffrage in the South while refusing them office in the North, and when they actually take away their votes altogether in the District of Columbia? These arguments have a rather old-fashioned sound, and remind the Northern reader of the days before the war when statesmen of the South used to unmask the pretences of the hypocritical Free-soilers. The insincerity of the Republican party might be better shown in a variety of ways than in those selected by Mr. Bayard. It may be pretty conclusively established, for instance, that a party which insists upon the "Southern question" as the only important one before the country, and at the same time proposes no practical solution of it, must be tainted with insincerity. The affairs connected with the Freedman's Bank also constitute a more serious taint upon the philanthropic record of the party than the fact upon which Mr. Bayard dwells, that the blacks do not get themselves elected to office in Massachusetts or Minnesota. Mr. Bayard's audience seems to have been a good one, and a considerable amount of disappointment has been caused in many newspaper offices by the general calmness of the occasion. There are no accounts of red-shirted men with their belts full of pistols and knives occupying the front seats or platform, and there is almost nothing in the remarks of the orator of the day that will work up well into short sensational campaign paragraphs. It was, like all Mr. Bayard's speeches, addressed chiefly rather to the minds of his hearers than to their passions, and we all know what an odious stumbling-block a speech so addressed is to the paragrapher.

One of the select number of Republican orators who, as we have noted from time to time, take account in their speeches of topics which both parties in Congress ignore, is Mr. S. B. Chittenden. At a large meeting held in the Brooklyn Academy last week he insisted on the main issue being whether Southern statesmanship should again rule the country. An ordinary Stalwart declaimer would have justified his opposition to such a consummation by talk about the undoing of the constitutional amendments, the division of Texas into five States, the payment for the slaves, and the satisfaction of untold Southern claims. Mr. Chittenden did nothing of the sort. He only asked, "Shall the loyal States now surrender to the solid South and New York City the supervision and revision of the national credit, currency, tariff, internal revenue and civil service?" From the repudiation practices of the Southern States he argued the danger of entrusting the national credit to the control of the same section. As to the currency, he said, what is perfectly true, that "the South has held the balance of power and practical control of the House of Representatives for nearly six years, and during all that time has supported with great force the wildest and most inflammable currency projects"; adding, "I can count on the fingers of one hand the Southern men in the House who, in these late years, influentially opposed inflation and favored specie payments." Moreover, "the South in Congress is crazy on the silver question," about which Mr. Chittenden had some timely remarks. If in these he failed to reproach his own party for their share in the present silver inflation, it was evidently by oversight. "The South," he continued, "is confused and impracticable in respect to the tariff and internal-revenue laws. So is the North; so is the New York Chamber of Commerce. . . . But the argument against putting this business into the hands of the solid South is strong and unanswerable in proportion to the difficulties and importance of the subject." Finally, "the solid South and Tammany fairly abhor the faint glimmer of civil-service reform begun in good faith by President Hayes to meet a manifest danger, and promise to substitute for it a system of spoils for the victor." Here again Mr. Chittenden was candid: "It is but fair to admit that some Republicans also ridicule civil-service reform. Nor do the most intimate friends of the President boast much of his success." Nevertheless, "if this work of reform is to go on, the Republicans must push it."

The "exposures" of the week have not been numerous or important. The *Tribune*, however, has managed to show up a Democratic Congressman, named Beltzhoover, who wrote a letter regretting the hostility of the present Democratic House to pension bills, and subsequently denied having done so. E. W. Curriden, it seems, wrote to Beltzhoover, asking him to introduce some such bill, and received in reply a letter in which Beltzhoover used the following striking language: "With the present Democratic House pension bills do not have much favor," adding that "the Rebel general who is at the head of the Pension Committee in the Senate is still more averse to allowing any such bills to pass." This letter having found its way into the columns of the *Tribune*, Beltzhoover denounced it as an "infamous forgery," basing his denial apparently upon an immaterial suppression of a sentence

at the close. This enables the *Tribune*, first, to show that Beltzhoover "lies, knowingly and wilfully"; second, to use the letter as an admission by a Democratic Congressman that the Democratic party is opposed to pension bills, and, inferentially, that the Democrats hate Union soldiers; thus providing a strong argument why the "soldier vote" should not be cast for Hancock. Curiously enough the Democratic newspapers, instead of retorting that there are many good reasons why pension bills as a class should be closely scrutinized by Congress, seem to be utterly at a loss for any answer, except that Curriden must be a very mean sort of person to let the cat out of the bag; which is true but irrelevant. There is no doubt that the Democratic conscience on the subject of Union soldiers is very sensitive.

We need not call attention to the reply, on another page, to the speech of our friend the Republican emissary at the South. Its moderation and humor will commend it even to those who feel how much still remains to be said on both sides of the debate. For our own part, we could ask no better illustration of the crying need of civil-service reform than our correspondent furnishes in showing how the maintenance of the present Federal office-holders in his State, under the existing political system, handicaps one party in State and municipal elections, with which, of course, these functionaries have no proper concern whatever. Precisely the same thing is true in South Carolina, under the auspices of the Treasury Department, represented by the corrupt Elliott. Now, we have never recommended tolerance of such abuses, but we have insisted that it is more important to change the system than to change the men, and in this we are glad to see that we have the support of a "Virginia Democrat," whose letter immediately follows Mr. Hilton's.

The approaching Democratic Convention to nominate a candidate for the vacancy in the Court of Appeals of this State is of unusual importance, and it is greatly to be hoped that the Bar will make some effort to force the politicians into nominating a good lawyer. The Court at present, though it disposes of business quickly, has a very crowded calendar, and can hardly be called a strong court. Public confidence in it was never very greatly shaken by the political attacks made upon its decisions at the time of the Tweed litigation; but it cannot be denied that the late chief judge was too much of a politician for the perfect discharge of judicial duties. Judge Rapallo has announced in a very frank way that he is a candidate for the vacancy, and, whatever objections there may be to him, his positive professional qualifications for the position are of the first order. He is, in fact, a very excellent judge, whose opinions not only display absolute freedom from political influence, but unusual judicial ability as well. If the Democrats can find any one who would be even probably an improvement upon Judge Rapallo they will be very fortunate. If the Bar does not make some effort in the matter they are not likely even to take the trouble to attempt it.

Mr. Fawcett, the present Postmaster-General in England, has proposed an ingenious and probably very useful supplement to the post-office savings-banks. The number of post-office banks is still limited. In some counties there are only a few, and of course in the country districts they are at some distance from the homes of depositors, and they take no deposits under a quarter of a dollar. Consequently, a great many pence are wasted, simply because the owner does not happen to have enough for a deposit, or, if he has enough, is not willing to take the trouble to go to the office. Mr. Fawcett now proposes to supply forms gratis, to which penny stamps can be attached, and when a form bears twelve stamps credit will be given at the post-office for one shilling to the owner. A man can in this way really make deposits of a penny at a time by buying stamps from any one who happens to keep them. The importance of this lies in the fact that the English laboring population is confessedly the least thrifty in Europe. Foresight and frugality seem to have been killed outright amongst them by the Elizabethan poor-laws, and it will take much time and fostering, both by legislation and education, to restore them.

The conflict of the French Government with the religious orders seems to have entered on a new phase, through a speech of M. de Freycinet, at Montauban, in which he announced that the decree of expulsion would be enforced against the Jesuits only, and that with regard to the others nothing would be done until the passage of a general law regulating the status of all the religious societies. The original arrangement was that all orders, except the Jesuits, would have to submit their rules for the approval of the Government, and their fate was to depend on their doing this and obtaining the approval. M. de Freycinet's announcement has caused a vehement outcry from the Radical Republican and the reactionary press, both of which treat it as a retreat, and the severe criticism bestowed on it by the *République Française*, Gambetta's paper, has led to the report that Gambetta is so much opposed to the new programme that it will have to be abandoned; but this is stoutly denied.

The issue of a ukase by the Czar, some weeks ago, dissolving the High Commission to which the Government was committed during the Nihilist excitement, and suppressing the famous "Third Section" of the Imperial Chancellery—which had charge of the secret police, and whose mandates overrode all law—transferring the control of the police to the Minister of the Interior, and making General Loris Melikoff Minister of the Interior, appears to be accepted by the Russian press as the close of the late troubles. What is most gratifying about the situation is that it has been brought about in the main by conciliation, and that the Government in abolishing the "Third Section" has not been afraid to acknowledge that the malcontents had some reason in their complaints.

The Prussian National-Liberal party has been sadly demoralized of late by the manner in which Prince Bismarck has turned his back on it. Part of it has continued to support him, rather through habit than from conviction; but the main body has been greatly discouraged and perplexed. An open split has now taken place in its ranks. The secessionists, who refuse to make any terms with the Government, have issued a manifesto at Dantzig, in which they declare that they will support the right of the national representation and labor to found and uphold, both in Prussia and Germany, real parliamentary government, will advocate in the field of public economy the policy of free-trade, and will oppose all modifications in the Falk laws, either as regards the relations of church and state or education and ecclesiastical discipline. This is really the original programme of the party, which its right wing has abandoned in the vain hope of getting the best of a new bargain with the Chancellor. Some of its members he has of late been luring on with hopes of high office, but he has taken care to keep them in a state of expectancy thus far.

The Powers are still trying to get Turkey to surrender Dulcigno to the Montenegrins, and Turkey is still trying not to do it, but is, nevertheless, apparently somewhat nearer doing it than a week ago. The Turkish troops have seized one Albanian position and repulsed an attempt to retake it, which is a good sign as far as it goes. The combined fleet has at last assembled off the coast, so that the naval "demonstration" has begun, but how far it will go—that is, whether it will end in the actual use of force—appears to be still uncertain. There are rumors, and likely ones, that the French ships have orders to retire as soon as a shot is fired. It is hoped that this display of force will satisfy the Sultan's religious scruples, and those of his Mussulman subjects, about surrendering part of the soil of Islam, which the Sacred Law forbids except under overwhelming necessity. He probably hopes to fare better on the Greek question, as in that the fleet can do nothing, and he trusts that the Powers will never agree sufficiently to land troops. The only advance made in the solution of the reform problem in Asia Minor is the presentation of a collective note, which "criticises" severely the account recently given by the Porte of the state of things in Armenia. The Porte is, however, prepared to submit to the most destructive criticism of its state papers, being in fact quite used to it, as long as no attempt is made to embody the criticism in action. We are glad to see our State Department is pressing for the punishment of the murderers of Dr. Parsons, the American missionary. But it must be prepared for a long siege. The murderer of Colonel Commeraoff, the Russian, though convicted months ago, has not been hanged yet.

THE TARIFF IN THE CANVASS.

THERE is nothing on which the two parties now in the field come so near joining issue as the tariff. The Democratic platform declares the party to be in favor of a tariff for revenue only, while the Republican platform declares the party to be in favor of a tariff for the protection of native industry. The difference is a very important one, and we might fairly expect that it would lead to a great deal of discussion of the tariff on the stump. As a matter of fact, there has been hardly any discussion of it at all. "A tariff for revenue only" is a term of uncertain meaning, but no Democratic orator has attempted, so far as our observation has gone, to fix the sense in which the Democratic party uses it. It may mean, and in Democratic mouths probably does mean, a tariff of low duties on all or nearly all the articles now dutiable, leaving the required amount of revenue to be made up by the increase of importation. But it may also mean a tariff like that of Great Britain, which would raise the required revenue on a very few articles, partly of luxury and partly of prime necessity. Either of these modes of raising the revenue would involve changes which would very seriously affect most of the industries now in operation, and for which the country could only be prepared and ought to be prepared by very full and minute discussion. Of any such discussion we do not hear a word from any Democratic orator. We know of no Democratic politician who appears to have given any special attention to the subject, or, indeed, to be particularly interested in it, or whom the public, if won over to the change, would be willing to trust to draft legislation for the purpose of bringing it about.

"A tariff for protection" is also a term of very vague import. The present tariff was not enacted as such a tariff. It was, as originally imposed, a scheme devised in haste, in a time of great national anxiety and distress, for raising the largest possible amount of money by any means which came to hand. Accordingly, it consisted of a string of duties clapped on everything of which the legislature could hear or think as likely to be brought for sale to this country by foreigners. It bore, in fact, in the beginning, the appearance of an attempt at that general prohibitory protection under which every branch of native industry received the same amount of encouragement from the state and was forbidden to deal with foreigners; and the growth of trade was thus left dependent on increase of population by immigration and by the surplus of births over deaths. It has since then undergone some slight revision, both by the reduction of duties on some articles and the addition to the free list of articles from which practically no duties were received. But it still remains in the main a war-tariff, framed without any careful or effective preparation for the function of protection. As long as the great government expenditures lasted, and the currency continued to expand, and vast additions to the working capital of the country were made by foreign loans for railroads, its defects as a protective tariff were concealed from the public. When these stimuli were withdrawn, seven years after the war, it was found that the tariff did not protect—that is, it kept out foreign goods, but it did not keep native industry from languishing. No worse years of depression have been witnessed since 1837 than the six years following the panic of 1873. No branch of industry escaped. In fact, the failure of the tariff as an instrument of protection—*i.e.*, of support and encouragement—seemed so complete that the leading free-traders came forward in every direction to point to the condition of the country as a demonstration by experiment of the soundness of their position, and very few protectionists had the courage to gainsay them. No protectionist picture of the probable consequences of free-trade was more woful than that which the country actually presented after thirteen years' experience of as high a tariff as any protectionist called for. The iron manufacture, the cotton manufacture, and all their tributaries and dependencies were utterly prostrated. Capital lay idle in great masses in all the great cities, and the newspapers teemed with exhortations to the city population to go back to agriculture, in sheer hopelessness about the near future of manufactures and exchange. The revival which has since come about cannot have been due to the tariff, according to the received laws of thought, because the tariff was in operation when the depression came. It has doubtless been due to the increased stability of the currency; to the growth of population acting on the vast untouched resources opened up by the new railroads made before the panic; to the extraordinary demands for agricultural produce created in Europe, partly by bad harvests in that region and partly by the increased and increasing cheapness with which improved means of transportation enable the American producer to supply European markets. We have thus had a demonstration that the tariff as it stands is not a defence against overwhelming commercial disaster, and that in fact it is not an efficient protective tariff, because the object of a protective tariff is not to prevent foreigners, as such, from selling in the home markets, but to make the home markets profitable for natives, no matter who sells in them.

It would seem to be a fair and plain enough deduction from all this that the tariff as it now stands is by no means a perfect instrument, and will bear considerable revision in the direction of providing a foreign market somewhere which will prevent the recurrence of the tremendous collapse of 1873–9. For that collapse there was apparently no cure but the general growth of the country. The home market having failed the American manufacturer he had no other in reserve to help him out of his difficulty, because the tariff as it had existed from 1861 had cut him off from all relations with foreign countries, civilized and barbarous, so completely that even American ships, like the Chinese junks, were confined to the coasting trade of their own country. There is already a large and increasing exportation of agricultural products to Europe, but the foreign market for American manufactures is still small. What there is is so much talked of mainly because there was previously none at all, but it is undoubtedly capable of being fostered and enlarged by a readjustment of the tariff with reference to the cheap production of goods, rather than to the taxation of them simply. There is probably no industry of the world growing more rapidly than the carrying trade, owing to the opening up of the whole globe to traffic of one sort or another; but in this we have now no share whatever, except along our own coast, although there is capital and enterprise enough in the country to give the United States the second, if not the first, place in it. A revision of the tariff in the interest of real protection—that is, as an assistance to American citizens in getting much profit out of any lawful business—would give the United States this place very rapidly, but the only change in this direction as yet proposed by Republican politicians is the plan of having the Government pay people salaries for engaging in the shipping business. There is, indeed, no talk from that quarter on the stump of any possibility of improving the tariff in any way, or of revising it or adapting it to the new conditions of trade created by the changes of the last twenty years. Many industries are now willing to admit that they do not need so much protection; others have been proved to stand in no need of it at all; others, again, have shown they do not deserve it; others still are ready to show that with some slight shifting of the incidence of taxation they can flourish instead of languishing. But one gets no indication of this state of things from the Republican stump. Although it is only one year since the country arose from a deep and prolonged season of depression, the orators all talk as if nothing of the kind could occur under our present fiscal arrangements. The world changes rapidly, and has changed prodigiously since 1861, but they make little change in their wares, and offer us "the Solid South" and the tariff of 1861 as good old stand-bys which time cannot wither nor custom stale.

RUMANIA BETWEEN THE KAISERS AND THE CZAR.

A WEIGHTY rumor has got abroad, and confirmations of it are repeated, that at the recent princely and diplomatic meetings at Vienna, Ischl, and Friedrichsruhe an agreement was matured, under Bismarck's auspices, by which Rumania formally joins the alliance between the Emperors of Germany and Austria-Hungary, and is in return guaranteed integrity and independence, besides being raised to the dignity of a kingdom. Italy, too, is said to be ready to enter the alliance, having arranged with Austria their mutual external relations in regard to the territories of the Balkan Peninsula bordering on the Adriatic. Servia, wedged in between Rumania, Hungary, and Bosnia —which Austria now holds—must, voluntarily or not, place herself under the protectorate of the chief allies, and Russia is thus completely shut out from the Peninsula, as her only communications by land with the Slavic populations she has delivered are through Rumanian terri-

tory, and her connections through the Black Sea are highly precarious. If the reiterated statements are true, and Italy is to make the affair a quadruple alliance, this contrivance of Bismarck has more than one aspect, and its bearings will be gravely considered in Paris no less than in St. Petersburg. If only a triple alliance has been formed, or is being formed, the move is exclusively directed against Russia, yet its significance and importance are unusually great. It cannot fail to aggravate the tension already existing between the governments of the Czar and the allied Kaisers, and it can easily push matters in Eastern Europe to a violent crisis. The Polish question is looming up as another complication of incalculable gravity between Austria-Hungary, backed by Germany, on one side, and Russia on the other. In this article, however, only Rumania's position and probable or possible attitude will receive a cursory consideration.

Rumania, which consists of Moldavia, Wallachia, and the recently added Dobrudja, but to the chief component parts of which formerly also belonged Bukowina, annexed a century ago by Austria, and Bessarabia, taken by Russia in 1812, owes her deliverance from the Turkish yoke to the wars of the Czars against the Sultans, and her unity to the influence of the late Emperor of the French. The treaties of peace which Russian arms forced Turkey to conclude at Kainarji in 1774, at Jassy in 1792, at Bucharest in 1812, at Akerman in 1826, and at Adrianople in 1829, all secured autonomous rights to the Christian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the last-named peace even deprived the former masters, the Turks, of the right of permanent abode in them. The same treaties, however, also gradually established a Russian protectorate over them; and that the policy of St. Petersburg contemplated deliverance and protection first and annexation to Russia next, nobody doubted at Jassy or Bucharest any more than at the Foreign Offices of Vienna, Paris, or London. Austrian and West-European diplomacy checked the efforts of the Czars to break up the Ottoman Empire, and Russian diplomacy and armed intervention, in their turn, stifled the repeated attempts of the Moldo-Wallachian patriots to achieve a union of the Principalities and constitutional liberty. The Hospodars were by turns tools and opponents of Russia. The people were grateful to the Czars for freeing them from Moslem oppression and Fanariote extortion, but feared and often felt their despotic rule, and, though Orthodox Greek Christians like the Russians, they trembled at the idea of being absorbed by the latter, with whom they had no national affinity, while both their Romanic blood and liberal aspirations made them turn their eyes toward France. Finally, Napoleon III., having humbled Russia at Sebastopol, and being as anxious to erect a Latin barrier against Slav predominance in the East as he afterwards showed himself to strengthen the Latin race against the Anglo-Saxon by creating the throne of Maximilian in Mexico, took up the cause of Rumanian union, and under his auspices the Principalities became formally united, as a semi-independent state, in 1861. Alexander Couza, however, who was the first Prince of Rumania, was driven from his throne by a revolution in February, 1866, and was succeeded by Charles of Hohenzollern, a protégé of Bismarck, to whose royal master he was related, and a brother of the prince whose candidature for the Spanish throne was in 1870 to drive Napoleon to his fatal declaration of war against Germany. Her complete independence Rumania purchased at the price of blood profusely shed in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, at the reduction of Plevna. That their timely aid rendered that reduction possible, and saved Czar Alexander from failure and disgrace, the Rumanians probably deem a full equivalent for the services rendered them by that monarch and his predecessors—not without selfish ulterior purposes—and they now undoubtedly feel morally free to choose friends and allies according to their own interests exclusively. Besides, they were, at the end of the war, badly wounded in their national pride, by being forced to cede to Russia that portion of Bessarabia which, by the Treaty of Paris in 1856, had been incorporated with Moldavia, and to accept as a compensation for that Rumanian district non-Rumanian Dobrudja.

Whether or not Rumania can, without a breach of gratitude, renounce her friendly relations with Russia and join an alliance purposely formed against that Empire, she would undoubtedly—as nations generally act—heed only her own interests, if these were clear and uniformly appreciated by her statesmen and people. This is, however, far from being the case. The Rumanians are agitated by considerations both of the future security and independence and of the future greatness of their country, and these considerations lead them politically in opposite directions. Their Principality of five million inhabitants, of whom nine-tenths are Rumanians, is now threatened in its integrity and independence only by the constantly-expanding Empire of the Czars, which, if it ever realizes its purpose or dream of uniting under its sceptre all the Slavs of Europe, including Bulgarians and Serbs, must necessarily, though perhaps involuntarily, crush and absorb Rumania, a Latin oasis in the midst of the Slavic world. The only empire which can save her from this fate, if the Panslavic struggle is to rage, is the neighboring Austria-Hungary, whose leading nationalities, the German and Hungarian, are equally threatened by the Slavic expansion. What is more natural, then, for Rumania than to seek the powerful protection of allied Austria and Germany, and, until Russia's ambition is curbed, to form a bulwark of the non-Slavic world between the invaders and their natural friends and helpers, such as the Magyars form on their side of the Carpathians? This policy, however, demands the giving up by the Rumanians of their long-cherished expectation of some day—perhaps in a not remote future—founding a great "Dacian" realm, a main component part of which is to consist of Transylvania and the adjoining parts of Hungary proper, together inhabited by more than two million Rumanians. These provinces—such is the plan as long ago formed, and zealously urged, both in Bucharest and Moscow—are to be torn from the domains of the Hungarian crown by insurrection and invasion, with the aid of Russia. If successful, such a revolution would break up Austria-Hungary, destroy the Magyar nationality, establish Russia's Panslavic reign, and leave her generous enough to tolerate the existence of an independent Dacian kingdom of eight millions. The execution, however, of this vast scheme must meet with immense obstacles, the principal of which are the backing of Austria-Hungary by Germany, the desperate resistance which the Magyars will offer to attempts on their national existence, their known bravery, and the stupendous rampart of the Carpathians which encircles their kingdom and fatally separates the Rumanians of Transylvania from their brethren in Rumania—just as the Pyrenees separate the Basques of France from their brethren in the Basque Provinces of Spain. To attain security from a peril which may any day become imminent, Rumania must rely upon Russia's natural enemy, Austria; to win the prize of greatness at some future day she must become the tool of Russia against her own natural protector. Regard for safety points one way, national ambition points the other. Each policy has its zealous adherents in the Principality. There is a Russian and there is an anti-Russian party, as there have always been, though under banners and with aims different from those of the present.

Between the supporters of the two diametrically opposite tendencies stand men of a third party, the party of neutrality. Correctly appreciating the position of Rumania, between the great Slavic empire in the East and the Germanic powers of Central Europe, to be perfectly analogous to the position of Belgium between France and Germany, and considering at what immense price of blood and virtual dependence their nation must buy security on the one side or additional acquisitions on the other, if it is to share in the great strife to come, they see the only rational course in a consistent and firm neutrality, like Belgium's. Such an attitude, even if not secured by treaties, might serve to prevent the storm from passing over Rumania; if too feeble to oppose, it would still allow her to re-erect herself after it had passed and live in peace with the victors. Though too weak for self-aggrandizement, she could become prosperous and influential through commerce and agriculture, as Belgium has become through industry. And as for Transylvania, there are still the varying chances of the future. Wars and revolutions might, without Rumania's initiative and peril, throw it into her lap, if the laws of geography permit it. This is the counsel of moderate men, and such counsels, whether the wisest or not, one would have expected to prevail with Prince Charles's Government. It was hardly presumable that he would adopt the revolutionary schemes of the Chauvinists of Moscow and Bucharest, and cast in his lot among the fanatical foes of his own nation for the sake of a distant object which may prove to be entirely visionary; but neither could his influence have been deemed strong enough to give a direction to the popular will completely at variance with its national and religious prejudices, leanings,

and aspirations, however conformable to far-seeing statesmanship and the dictates of the present arbiter of Europe's destinies, Prince Bismarck. If Prince Charles has, in fact, persuaded his Cabinet and people to follow him definitely in the latter direction, his personal abilities and statecraft must have been greatly underrated, and a great movement has taken place on the diplomatic chess-board of Europe, the importance of which may speedily develop itself—outside of Rumania, which will merely rise in rank.

ENGLISH JOURNALISM.—V.

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH.

LONDON, August, 1880.

THE *Daily Telegraph* in 1880 will complete the twenty-fifth year of its existence. It is, with one exception, the youngest of all the London morning newspapers. Its growth has been rapid, and its success, as a commercial enterprise at least, is without parallel since the period at which the *Times* became the leading journal of Europe and of the world. Like its older contemporary, the *Daily Telegraph* made a false start and had a ricketty infancy, in which extinction seemed more than once probable. Its originator was a certain Colonel Sleigh, one of those military men who for some mysterious reason exchange soldiering for literary and commercial adventures, in which they often lay the foundations of enterprises upon which more fortunate speculators build a large and substantial superstructure of success. The *Daily Telegraph* was set on foot by Colonel Sleigh in 1855, under the title of the *Daily Telegraph and Courier*. Colonel Sleigh was almost always borrowing money when he was not spending it, and among his creditors there happened to be at a certain time Mr. Joseph Moses Levi, a printer and the proprietor of a Sunday newspaper, which still exists, oddly enough devoted, like most Sunday newspapers, to sporting and to theatricals, and known by the name of the *Sunday Times*. Colonel Sleigh's debts were usually bad debts, and in discharge of one of them he made to Mr. Levi what would then be considered the bad payment of the *Daily Telegraph and Courier*. The paper in its new hands underwent many vicissitudes, and was more than once in danger of coming to a stop for want of resources. But the difficulties were tided over, creditors were paid as Mr. Levi had been paid by Colonel Sleigh, by means of shares in the paper, and found themselves in the course of a few years deriving incomes which it is a mistake to call princely, but which many princes would willingly exchange for their own revenues.

The *Daily Telegraph* was started as a twopenny paper, but Mr. Levi had the sagacity to reduce its price to a penny. Its present position is to be attributed entirely to the sagacity and energy of a single family. The journalistic faculty which Mr. Joseph Moses Levi possessed was simply the faculty of business management, but it was what modern art critics would call supreme, and it has been handed down with the addition of considerable literary perception to his son, Mr. Edward Levi Lawson, who is now the editor and manager of the *Daily Telegraph*. Mr. Lawson and his predecessor and associates in the conduct of the *Daily Telegraph* afford the most striking English illustration of a phenomenon common enough in Europe, and probably in America, too, of Jewish ascendency in all the arts in which success depends upon the skilful management of men and manipulation of opinion. Mr. Lawson is to journalism in England what Lord Beaconsfield is to statesmanship, what the Rothschilds are to finance, and what the late Lady Waldegrave (the daughter, as it may be remembered, of the Jewish singer Braham—originally Abraham, shortened) was to society. "The snub-nosed Franks," as Lord Beaconsfield has called the English people, are no match for their Oriental rivals in those arts of which journalism is one. The Orontes did not flow with a stronger current into the Tiber than the Jordan has flowed into the Thames. The subtle and sympathetic, and yet not sensitive, Hebrew character enables it to throw itself with promptitude and with completeness of transformation, or at any rate with consummate dramatic art of impersonation, into the moods of the people among whom the chosen race finds itself. The Jews in England, in France, and in Germany are more English, French, and German than the English, French, and Germans themselves. They exaggerate, as actors on the stage do, the passions and the purposes which they simulate, and the extravagances of art are more potent in their appeal to the public feeling than the modesty of nature would be. The *Daily Telegraph*, which was not Liberal, but simply Gladstonean, under Mr. Gladstone's administration, was not Conservative, but simply Disraelite, under Lord Beaconsfield's. It casts itself into the current of personal and popular feeling which may be flowing most strongly for the moment, and it has done so with a success which has never been surpassed in the records of journalistic pliancy since the earliest triumphs of the *Times* were won.

But the success of the *Daily Telegraph* has not been due solely or even principally to its political tactics. To it belongs the distinction of having enlarged, legitimately or otherwise, the sphere of journalism. It included in its descriptive articles and in its social leaders a range of topics which were thought to be below the level of newspaper cognizance. The old absurdity about the dignity of history, which Macaulay and Carlyle, in England, and Michelet, in France, exploded both by precept and by example, had its counterpart in journalism. As historians thought it would be a disparagement to their vocation to describe anything below the lives and deaths and actions of kings, the debates and councils and the wars of nations, so newspapers, being of the high-and-dry order, used to confine themselves to solemn leading articles upon political topics, to reports of proceedings in Parliament and in law-courts, and to foreign correspondence dealing with topics abroad as topics at home were dealt with. A school of historians arose which found in the daily life of the people, in their sufferings and amusements and vicissitudes, a worthier theme than in the formal records of the fortunes of kings and the rise and fall of statesmen. The *Daily Telegraph* did more than any other newspaper to effect a similar development in journalism. It was the business of the stage in Shakspere's time, or at any rate in Shakspere's conception, to hold the mirror up to nature. It is now the business of the newspapers to hold the mirror up to the world and to society. Their material, like the farrago of Juvenal's book, consists of everything that men do. Descriptions of the people in their homes and taking their pleasure, sketches of low life and high life, pictures of men in their several abodes and pursuits, of the crowds which fill the streets or the solitude of rural life, of trades and professions, of churches and theatres, of royal ceremonies and the people who frequent them, of military reviews and popular tea-gardens, public rejoicings and public executions, of eminent men and notorious criminals—these are but a fragment of the subjects and illustrative examples of the topics with which daily newspapers, following in the main the example of the *Daily Telegraph*, now deal. It cannot be doubted that the change is immensely for the better. The future historian, if we are to take account of a person who may perhaps be very well left to take care of himself, will find a great deal more for his purpose in the columns of the modern and cheaper press than in those of journals of the older and severer type. Even the descriptions of eminent persons, the accounts which are given of the dress which statesmen wear, the gestures which they use, the attitudes in which they sit, the incidents which give meaning to the dryness of ordinary parliamentary reporting, possess a value which only stupid pedantry will disparage. Mr. Carlyle would give anything to know as much of the manners and appearance, the clothes even, and the daily ways, of the subjects of his history and biography as the descriptive reporter tells the morning newspaper reader of Lord Beaconsfield or Mr. Gladstone. The images by which the distinguished men of former days lived before us are made up mainly of these despised details. The slender figure and stooping attitude of Tiberius, the blotches and the plasters which disfigured his face, were elements in the image of that mysterious character of which Tacitus did not disdain to avail himself. He used them without sneering, as our superfine lovers of the dry bones of contemporary history are prone to do, at the contemporary observers who supplied them. This is merely an illustration, to which it would be easy to add others. It shows that modern journalism in what are thought to be its excesses and extravagances of personal and social description is simply erring, if it errs at all, in the way in which the greatest historians of the past and present have erred, and in which the historians of the future will be grateful for the opportunity of erring.

Of course when a new feature or principle is introduced into journalism, or anything else, it is apt to be pushed to excess, and descriptive reporting has no doubt been occasionally, and it may even be said habitually, overdone in the *Daily Telegraph*. There has been often too much of a disposition to hold up to vice its own image, and to take it for granted that things which are necessarily done may therefore be fittingly described. The mirror which is held up to nature and to the world ought to be a discriminating mirror. There are things which it should decline to reflect; and the line has not always been correctly drawn. But the *Daily Telegraph*, it must be admitted, commenced a healthy reformation. In regard to society and to politics it was, as compared with the older form of journalism, what a naturalist of the fields and of the woods is to the naturalist of books merely and scientific memoirs. It brought itself into close relations with statesmen and political leaders at home; its correspondents found their way into courts and ministerial ante-chambers abroad, and dealt directly with foreign rulers and politicians. The intimate relations which during the Second Empire existed between the late Mr. Whitehurst, who was the resident correspondent of the *Telegraph* in Paris, and the court of Napoleon III. are an example of the tactics which the *Daily Telegraph*, in its dealings with great persons at home and abroad, has pursued with some success and with some rebuffs and failures, but on the whole with a decided advantage to itself and to its readers.

The newspaper genius of Mr. Levi and Mr. Lawson has been shown in an eminent degree in their selection of the persons to whom they have confided political and literary work on their journal. Probably the writer to whom the *Daily Telegraph* owes as much as any other is Mr. Edwin Arnold, a gentleman from whom have proceeded most of those extravagances of phrase and of sentiment which have gained for it the admiration of tens of thousands

of readers and the scorn of a handful of critics. Mr. Arnold adds the experience of a traveller to whom the East and Europe are alike familiar, respectable scholarship of the Oxford type, and the imagination and eloquence of a rhetorician who is almost a poet. It is he who has sung in dithyrambic strains of sincere and passionate though fleeting conviction the praises now of Mr. Gladstone and now of Lord Beaconsfield. It was he who, Mænad-like, flung the torches of a fiery Jingoism, and performed the wild dances of an almost demoniac inspiration, during the crisis and agony of the Eastern Question. But Mr. Arnold is capable of writing quietly and gracefully upon subjects which touch the home-life of the English people, and even, it is said, of illustrating scientific discoveries with a graphic and almost poetic pen.

Next to Mr. Arnold, and perhaps some would say even more than to Mr. Arnold, the *Telegraph* owes its popularity to the leading articles of Mr. George Augustus Sala, who discourses in its columns of everything under the sun, and contributes from a copiously-stored memory and commonplace-book facts and fancies, anecdote and learning, to throw light upon the incidents and whimsicalities of the day. Perhaps, however, Mr. Sala's brilliant style, his remarkable powers of observation, of description, and that penetrating good sense which is the real basis of all these exterior gifts, are more conspicuously shown in the letters which he has written to the *Telegraph* in and from almost all nations of the Old World and the New. Mr. W. H. Russell, whose reputation is more closely associated with the *Times* than with the *Daily Telegraph*, is a newly-gained recruit to the latter journal, who brings to it something more than the fame of past performances. Among the political writers for the *Daily Telegraph* mention must be made of Mr. George Hooper, a civilian whose writings on military history possess a strategical and tactical value which military critics have been the first to acknowledge. Like Cassio, and like a good many closet-soldiers, Mr. Hooper knows only the "bookish theoric" of the art of warfare, but then his acquaintance with it is probably greater than that which many professors in military colleges can boast. The editor of the *Globe* in its better and Palmerstonian period, Mr. Hooper adds large political knowledge to his more special acquirements in military art. Another of the leader-writers for the *Daily Telegraph* is Mr. Wilson—the Wilsons swarm on the London press—who divides the labors of the Gallery leader-writer with Mr. Hooper. Other writers of leading and descriptive articles are Mr. Phil. Robinson (the author of 'Our Indian Garden'); Mr. Drew Gay, lately its correspondent in the East; Mr. Godfrey Turnor; and Mr. Clement, who is its dramatic critic. The musical critic of the *Daily Telegraph* is Mr. Joseph Barnett. Nor ought the name of the Hon. Frank Lawley to be omitted, an accomplished writer, sportsman, and man of business, who began as private secretary to Mr. Gladstone during his earlier Chancellorship of the Exchequer.

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT'S LETTERS TO HIS BROTHER WILLIAM.

BERLIN, August, 1880.

YOU will probably remember the great sensation which, twenty years ago, was created by the publication of the correspondence between Alexander von Humboldt and Varnhagen von Ense. Full of interesting gossip, rich in slanders of persons in high life, independent in its sovereign critique, and attractively interwoven with important questions of a scientific character, the book could not fail to be translated into almost all modern languages and to find hundreds of thousands of eager readers. A young and enterprising firm of your city, Messrs. Rudd & Carleton, in spite of a London translation, published a translation of their own. While engaged in his work their translator received repeated calls from prominent New York gentlemen, historians, poets, and travellers, who were eager to learn whether Humboldt had really made disparaging statements about their personal characters and their writings. Grim old Count Gurowski had repeated over and over again, in some of the New York clubs, that Humboldt had exposed the utter hollowness of several American authors. Of course, not a word of Gurowski's insinuations was true, but the excitement caused by them was great.

Comical as this incident in New York may have been, the book produced a very deplorable effect in Berlin. The then Prince Regent, the present King and Emperor William, was just about to sign a decree directing the purchase by the Prussian Government of all the property, including books, collections, and manuscripts, of Humboldt, in order to keep it in its old place in the Oranienburger Strasse, in Berlin, and to make it the nucleus of a great natural museum, to be called the "Humboldt Museum." Just at this moment the correspondence with Varnhagen was published, and a courtier hinted to the Prince that Humboldt had very disrespectfully made mention of him, several times alluding to him as a very insignificant, if not stupid, drill-sergeant, who was entirely unqualified for his high position. Upon this information the Prince did not sign the decree, and the Humboldt estate was sold under the hammer. It would, of course, have been much better if the Varnhagen correspondence had never been published, the more so as its literary value is not at all extraordinary.

The present collection ('Briefe Alexanders von Humboldt an seinen Bruder Wilhelm, herausgegeben von der Familie von Humboldt in Ottmachau: Stuttgart, J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung. 1880') is of a far greater calibre; but, as it gives little or no personal gossip, it has been less noticed than its predecessor of 1860, to which, nevertheless, it is in every respect superior. It thus meets with the fate of former valuable and more discreet publications, containing Humboldt's letters, such as: Correspondence and Conversations of Alexander von Humboldt with a Young Friend (Friedrich Althaus), 1871; Correspondence with Berghaus (1863); Letters to Pictet, in the eighth volume of *Le Globe* (1868); Scientific and Literary Correspondence published by De la Roquette (1869); Letters to Bunsen (1869); Correspondence with Count Cancrin (1869); Letters to Friedrich von Raumer (1869); Correspondence with Goethe (1876), with J. H. Campe (1877), and with Gauss (1877). While all the letters of William von Humboldt to Alexander are missing, and are supposed to have been destroyed by the latter, Alexander's letters number not more than sixty-three, and, written partly in German, partly in French, begin with Puerto de Orotava, June 20, 1799, while the last is dated St. Petersburg, December 9, 1829. These thirty years thus cover Alexander's American travels, his residence in Paris, and his last great journey, which, at the request of the Russian Emperor, he undertook to the Ural. They contain nothing new on natural science or historical events, to which they only here and there allude. It seems as if in 1822 William's wife, Caroline, *née* Dachroeden, had complained of this sterility, but Alexander answered that they could not be too careful, and that, instead of dilating upon the great convulsions of the world, they had better confine themselves to their personal affairs and family talk, as all their letters, even those which were forwarded by royal couriers, were repeatedly opened by order of the distrustful governments.

Humboldt does not think it worth while to characterize a single one of the diplomatists of the Congress of Verona, where, by the special invitation of the King of Prussia, he occupied a position equal to that of the most prominent participators. Only here and there he expresses his disgust at the royalty of the time, which he had ample opportunity of observing closely. He feels tired of that shallow society, and whenever he mentions men and things he speaks of them with utter disdain.

"I have just returned from the gardens of Giusti," he writes, October 31, 1822, "where we were alone with all the sovereigns to receive the King and Queen of Sardinia. These solemn entrances of the monarchs between a hedge of bayonets are the only spectacles which the Congress offers. In all other respects I feel perfectly at home, and live in noble retirement. In the evening the diplomatists gather at the Princess Lieven's, who wishes me to inform you that she daily deplores your absence in London. I often go there late in the evening. Prince Metternich is a friend of this society. I have learned there how to make maccaroni, how the lazzaroni get rid of their vermin, and other things equally instructive."

Humboldt longed to breathe in a purer atmosphere, and to rejoin his brother. "What a moral excitement," he laments, December 10, 1822, "have been these last three months. The mosquitoes of the Cassiquiare did not trouble me as much." Of only one man, whom he had met accidentally in the Tyrolese mountains, does he give a quite amusing sketch. It was the celebrated German geologist, his friend Leopold von Buch. He thus writes, October 11, 1822, to William:

"I have been seen by Leopold von Buch, who, armed with umbrella, cloak, and a whole library of books in his pockets, has been wandering for five months on foot and without a guide amongst the mountains of Tyrol. He did not recognize me sufficiently to stop my carriage, but followed me to Verona, where I spent five days with him in the most interesting mineralogical conversation. I have shown him a part of my essay on geognosy, which is printed but not yet published, and have had the satisfaction of seeing that he is very much pleased with it. I left again immediately to make a tour afoot with him in the surroundings of Verona, to the basalt valleys of San Giovanni and Ronca, viz., Stanghelini, Monte Bocca, where the basalt has killed the fishes in the caves of San Ambrogio. Von Buch, undoubtedly one of the first geognosts of our century, will always be a remarkable psychological phenomenon. It is scarcely possible to unite greater oddity with so much genius and nobility of character. The voluntary isolation in which he has always lived has so increased his love of independence and his nervous irritability that the mere thought of taking a guide enrages him. I have patiently marched hours with him; he consults his map; we do not find a village where to spend the night; it is raining heavily; we meet a vine-dresser; you immediately become the most detestable man in his eyes if you dare to enquire the way, or show any disquietude about the route selected. He is fifty years old, and walks fourteen hours daily. 'Talking continually' fatigues him most, as he says. He is all alone, and speaks very loud. He argues on mineralogy with his antagonists (and has the mania to believe that his merits are not appreciated). He argues alone, and this exhausts him. Sometimes he stops walking, rubs his hands together with increasing rapidity, lifts them towards the sun, and, with half-opened mouth, his spectacles on his nose, and head thrown back, 'enjoys the sun of Italy.' He always has a fixed idea, to which he incessantly recurs; but while gazing on the granite and euphotides he, nevertheless, likes to repeat the tales which his brother (the court marshal) relates about the adventures of the ladies of the late queen. He is

par métier an aristocrat and ultra, and the small red ribbon, of which he often thinks in the midst of his enjoyment of nature, gives him a pleasure which is not at all philosophical."

In spite of all this, Leopold von Buch was to Humboldt, as he wrote Varnhagen von Ense on being informed of his death (1853), one of the few men of a distinct individuality ("Einer der wenigen Menschen die eine Physiognomie haben").

If a further proof had been required that the cruel policy of the Holy Alliance was repugnant to Humboldt's feelings, and that it made him even think of emigrating to America, it is furnished by a plan the details of which, a week later, he laid before his brother. It is, in my opinion, for your readers the most interesting letter of the whole collection, and reads as follows:

"I have a great plan of calling into life, in the city of Mexico, a central scientific society for all those parts of America which have become independent. The Emperor of Mexico, whom I know personally, is going to be dethroned; there will be a republican government, and I have decided to end my days in the most agreeable and useful manner for science, in a part of the world where I am extremely cherished, and where everything seems to promise me a happy existence. It is the best way of not dying without glory—uniting around one's self many learned men, and enjoying that independence of opinion and sentiment which is necessary to my happiness. This project of founding a society in Mexico for the purpose of exploring more than nineteen-twentieths of the country, which I have not yet seen (the volcanoes of Guatemala and the Isthmus), does not exclude a trip to the Philippines and Bengal. It is quite a short excursion, and probably the Philippine Islands and Cuba will form independent states and confederate with Mexico. In France four or five million francs are being collected to reorganize the working of the Mexican mines. I shall have no responsibility whatever in this great monetary affair, but it will be very useful to me, for all the most distinguished and scientific men who, like me, wish to leave Europe, are to be employed by those who advance the funds, and who will gladly follow all the advice I may give them. For this society, which the Mexicans wish so ardently, I count on Kunth's and Valenciennes's assistance. By this voyage I could enrich the museums of the King immensely, the zoölogy of Mexico being quite unknown here. How many plants could be introduced into our forests and cultivated in the open air! Perhaps you will laugh at the ardor with which I cling to this American project, but when one has no family and no children to care for, one must think of embellishing one's old age."

So, not for a short time, not for a few years, but for ever, Humboldt intended to leave Europe. What his brother thought about his "great plan" does not appear from the letters; but he probably did not disapprove of it, for, two months later, in a letter dated December 17, 1822, Alexander makes remarks about the Incas, especially about their language, and then continues: "About all these matters I shall make the closest researches, as soon as I shall have established my great society in the Spanish Colonies, and as soon as a lively correspondence between Buenos Ayres, Chili, and California arises." Not until the year 1824 was "the great plan" definitively abandoned, but only because in a country continually disturbed by revolutions there was no longer any prospect of carrying it out according to Humboldt's intentions.

The last nineteen letters of the volume were written in Russia, from April to December, 1829. Humboldt, who, in 1827, at the request of the King of Prussia, returned to Berlin, where henceforth he remained until his death, extended his Russian scientific explorations to Siberia. He was received everywhere with marks of the greatest distinction; but this extraordinary welcome tendered to him by all classes of society annoyed him much, and prevented him from following more closely his observations. "The noble hospitality of the Russians," he writes to William, "the throng of curious admirers, and the constant necessity of being presented, of answering and making addresses, deprive me, in a great measure, of a real enjoyment of people and country. I long for free air far away from the cities. These eternal introductions—a very hard necessity of my position—are very tiresome. In Petersburg, from eight o'clock in the morning till late at night, I have been driven from house to house."

While on this tour he was informed by his brother William that the King of Prussia intended to make him (Alexander) director of the Berlin Museum. The mere idea of such a plan excited the traveller to the utmost.

"Is it possible," he answers, "that you can really imagine me the director of a museum? Your words, 'I apprehend that you cannot well decline that office,' frightened me and deprived me of last night's sleep. Have I given up my residence in Paris and returned to my fatherland to become director of a picture-gallery, to busy myself with things which are diametrically opposed to all that has given me some reputation in the world? I would rather leave my country again than to submit to such a humiliation. I shall neither accept this position, nor the presidency of a permanent commission, nor any other office. Tell the King that I am at his command in everything that is only temporary. Even if my appointment should be published in the official paper, and if this commission should be endowed with the most extraordinary privileges, I nevertheless should flatly refuse, and request you everywhere, in my name, to declare this to be my resolution."

Those to whom outward appearances and a rich income are the most desirable objects in life will probably laugh at the fear of the great scholar, the more so as the office was expressly to be created as a kind of sinecure for Humboldt. In order better to appreciate this blunt refusal one must bear in mind that he had spent his whole fortune on his travels and on his costly description of them, and that he was often in great need of money. But far above a brilliant position in the eyes of the world he valued his personal independence—*i. e.*, the freedom of his time and of his intellectual powers, and the right to dispose of them according to his own judgment. It strikes me that just this part of the correspondence would be excellent reading matter for your politicians during and immediately after the present Presidential campaign.

On the whole, these letters of Alexander von Humboldt form a very important contribution to a clearer understanding of his character, and should be read wherever his writings have become household works. Besides, they are eloquent witnesses of the harmony of the personal feeling as well as the literary lore of the two brothers, and furnish an extraordinary instance of noble love and friendship, in which the sacredness of nature was steadily intensified by the affection and devotedness of genius and sentiment. ??

Correspondence.

THE ALABAMA CENSUS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: My attention is called to a charge in the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, upon the alleged authority of J. P. Southworth, Esq., former United States District-Attorney for the Southern District of Alabama, but now of New Orleans, La., to the effect that the census of Alabama and Louisiana had been "swelled twenty-five per cent." The gentleman in question is well acquainted, personally, with the supervisor of the census in this district. If he had any evidence to sustain his charges, I can only express my surprise that he did not in some way bring the same to that supervisor's notice. That, up to this day, he has failed to do this, is proof either that he has no evidence or that the *Inter-Ocean* misrepresented him.

If such a statement has been made, I do not hesitate to pronounce it without foundation in facts, so far as applied to the Third Alabama District, comprising the counties of Baldwin, Choctaw, Clarke, Dallas, Greene, Marengo, Mobile, Monroe, Sumter, Washington, and Wilcox. I venture to add, from my knowledge of the practice in appointing the census enumerators, that all these stories of fraud in the census enumeration in Southern States are simply incredible. In this district the one hundred and seventy-five enumerators were selected out of fully double the number of applicants. Their names, together with the respective applications of each, executed in his own handwriting, and stating the principal facts of his education, public positions then or formerly held, and present occupation, were forwarded to the Superintendent at Washington for approval. No person knew the result of his application until he received, through the mails, a blank form of oath and his commission. Except in two cases in Mobile County, no one in this district received his commission and oath before the 20th of May. Before that date no enumerator knew who his co-laborers would be, even in his own county, and after that date he only learned by hearsay, having no information from this office.

Any one acquainted with the difficulties of correspondence by mail in interior Southern districts, and with the general immobility of the population therein, can easily estimate the probability that these one hundred and seventy-five enumerators became acquainted with the fact of each other's appointments, and reached a common understanding to deliberately make false enumerations, between the 20th of May and 1st of June. After the latter date they were in the field, moving from farm to farm, and distant from post-offices. It is simply incredible that even the dozen enumerators of any one county could have had an understanding to make fraudulent returns. If wrongs were committed, they must have been the result of individual crime in each case, and free from every element of a conspiracy.

From my personal knowledge of the appointees in this district I feel that I can safely assert that the charge of swelling the census made against them is absolutely false, and challenge the production of any evidence to support it. Therefore I also said, at the outset, that, from my practical acquaintance with the methods of the Census Bureau, I am led to believe that all similar charges against other Southern census districts are equally baseless with those made against the Alabama districts.—Very respectfully,

Frederick G. Bromberg,
Supervisor.

Office of the Supervisor for Third Alabama District,
Mobile, Ala., Sept. 6, 1880.

SUPPOSED REPLY TO THE SPEECH OF THE "REPUBLICAN EMISSARY" FROM THE NORTH.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: At a supposed meeting in Tallahassee, Florida, the following supposed rejoinder was made to the supposed speech of a Republican emissary (see the *Nation* of Sept. 2):

"My Democratic friends: I am gratified at the attention and respectful hearing which you have given to the gentleman, sent out from the North by the Republican National Committee, who has just now taken his seat. A hearing equally attentive and respectful, let me assure him, he will receive whenever and wherever, during the present political campaign, he may ask it from the Democrats of Florida. But neither he nor you will fail to note that, while the white portion (nearly all Democrats) of the assemblage have thus listened to him, I no sooner rise to reply than all his colored Republican auditors, under the counsels of their white leaders, publicly given in this city a few weeks since, *to listen to no Democratic speaker*, have taken their departure.

"One other preliminary remark, due to us, due to our visitor: he is mistaken in saying he comes among us an 'odious and suspected person because wearing the name Republican.' No Republican coming here from the North is either suspected or odious because of his party name. We know too well the wealth, worth, patriotism, and intelligence of the great body of the Republican party of the North to entertain any such suspicion. In my political addresses to the people of Florida I have again and again done full justice to the Republicans of the New England and other Northern States by showing that there was nothing in common between them and the mongrel crew of varied political antecedents and nationalities who, flocking here like foul harpies for our spoliation, had disgraced the name of the party of Lincoln, Adams, Andrew, Seward, and Trumbull; asserting, in all places and on all occasions, that these creatures while plundering the South had dishonored the North.

"He does us only justice in conceding that none of us desires the re-establishment of slavery. For myself, I go further and assert that, instead of regretting that slavery went down with our short-lived Confederacy, in the first agony of my disappointment the abolition of slavery was the *one* thing that reconciled me to our fate. Many things have since combined to do it. But more than this I will say, and our friend, I hope, will repeat it when he returns North, as the matter seems to be causing some anxiety in the minds of Mr. Sherman and others there: we take not the least stock in any scheme for the payment of Southern war-claims. And, as for the payment for our slaves, while the three or four hundred thousand ex-slaveholders might not object, yet any proposition to that end, submitted to the white people of the South alone, would be voted down by an overwhelming majority. The only form having any claim to popular favor in which the proposition has been presented was that of a Republican candidate for Congress in one of the Southern States where negro voters were numerous, whose plan was to have the United States pay for the slaves, *the money to be equally divided between the emancipated blacks and their former owners!* The cunning aspirant was elected, but I believe never introduced into Congress his bill, and on the expiration of his term did not offer for re-election.

"I am sorry to have to tell him, I need not tell *you*, that our visitor's brilliant picture of Southern prosperity is greatly overcolored. Florida is, I suppose, doing as well as her Southern sisters, and yet Florida shows a loss of 60 per cent. of taxable values as compared with 1860, and a large per cent. since 1867. True, the entire cotton crop of the South has increased in the twenty years from 1860 to 1880 about 20 per cent., but the increase for the preceding twenty years, say 1840 to 1860, was 100 per cent. But be our present prosperity what it may, it must be remembered that none of these States has been for four years, most of them not for six, under Republican rule. What is saved from the wreck we enjoy not through but in spite of that party, as known here. When it is considered that the losses suffered by the South from the carpet-bag and negro governments are estimated (and I take the figures as given by an able and impartial Northern authority) at two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, it is not strange that Southern prosperity, even under home rule, is of slow revival.

"But our visitor tells us 'if we had promptly accepted the *inevitable*—the negro as a citizen with a vote—the friction, bitterness, and hardships [of reconstruction] would have been vastly diminished.' Perhaps so. If our *foresights* were as good as our *hindsights* it would save us a great deal of trouble in other fields than politics. But how were we to know that suffrage for the negro, wholly uneducated as he came out of slavery, was one of the *inevitables* which the Republican politicians of the North had in store for us? We did know that in several Republican Northern States, where he had long enjoyed the advantages of public schools, and where his weakness in numbers as compared with the whites would make him, in any event, as a voter absolutely harmless, the ballot was withheld from him. We knew that Gen. Grant had asserted that to put it in his hands in the South would be disastrous; while Senator Morton was on record to the same effect. The late lamented Mr. Greeley's panacea for our ills was not universal amnesty and universal suffrage, but universal amnesty and impartial suffrage. And I concede that if Congress in its reconstruction acts had granted the former it would have been wise in the South to have conceded the latter, fixing, however, as in most of the Republican States of the North, an educational qualification for all voters, whites and blacks.

"Could we reasonably have supposed that the Republican politicians would have been so remorselessly vindictive as to inflict upon us such a punishment (in the consequences of which the whole nation must share) as to commit the government of more than a third of the Union to the voting power of absolute ignorance? Why should they do this? Was their purpose the preservation of order and the protection of persons and property? This could have been done with infinitely less loss to us by holding these States as conquered provinces until by schools, established and maintained at public expense, the negro could have been educated up to the duties of a citizen. If, on the other hand, their purpose was to make Republican States in the South, nothing would have been easier in the then general odium in which the Democratic party was held here, without disfranchising anybody, if the Republican leaders could have conquered their prejudices and shown as politicians, not to say statesmen, a very small modicum of practical wisdom. If they had made their appeals to the leaders and members of the old Whig party, the supporters of Bell and Everett in 1860, and to the minority in the South who had remained true to the Union all through the war; had given them the Federal offices which might reasonably have gone to one-third of the States—judgeships, cabinet places, foreign missions, appointments as collectors, postmasters, and the rest—the result would have been the making of most of these States as steadfast in Republicanism as Massachusetts or Vermont. I say this most confidently and disinterestedly, as my antecedents would have fixed me with the minority of *outs*, not with the majority of *ins*.

"I am aware that there is a prevalent opinion North that we might have saved ourselves from the disastrous consequences of the Reconstruction Acts by actively participating in the early elections thereunder; instead of which, it is supposed, we sullenly and sulkily stood aloof, leaving things to take their course. I assure our visitor that nothing is further from the truth. A large number of us at the first of these elections (1868) were disfranchised—could not vote, could only work and talk. This we did, and, running a popular ticket for governor and Congressman (Florida was entitled then to but one representative to Congress), and the Republicans, carpet-baggers, and negroes being divided into the support of two tickets of nearly equal strength, the Conservatives (as we called ourselves, to escape the odium of the Democratic name) undoubtedly polled a plurality of votes—all that was necessary to elect. But the other party, or, rather, one wing of it, did the counting, and counted in its own men, all carpet-baggers—Read, of Wisconsin, as governor; Gleason, of Wisconsin, as lieutenant-governor; Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, as Congressman. At the next election (1870) of Congressman, lieutenant-governor, and legislature, all political disqualifications having ceased, we again carried the State, electing lieutenant-governor, Congressman, and a majority of the legislature. Again the other side did the counting, reversing the popular verdict. As regards the legislature there was no remedy. Our lieutenant-governor elect appealed to the Supreme Court, our Congressional candidate to the House of Representatives at Washington; and though the court was Republican and the Congress Republican, each of these tribunals was compelled by the facts to decide in favor of the Democratic contestant. These facts our friend, if he is curious in the matter, will find in volume xiii. Florida Supreme Court Reports, in a case reported under the title of State *ex rel.* Bloxham *vs.* Board State Canvassers. The facts, I say, are to be found in the report of that case; though it is also true that, with characteristic rascality, after the court had ruled the principles which gave Bloxham the office, the Republican leaders, to defeat the ends of justice, by changing the State Canvassing Board gave the court an excuse for not pronouncing, in that case, a final judgment in his favor. So that his lawyers had to begin again, not by *mandamus*, whose proceedings are expeditious, but by the dilatory action of *quo warranto*, in which, after the lapse of some eighteen months, he obtained a judgment of *ouster* against his usurping opponent. The Congressional case was that of Niblack *vs.* Walls, decided in favor of the former—only, however, a few days before the expiration of the term for which he was chosen.

"And so the voting went on at every election, State and national (save, perhaps, the Greeley fiasco), the Democrats doing the electing, the Republicans the counting, up to and including the memorable contest of 1876. Once more the Democrats elected their candidates—governor, Congressmen (now two), Presidential electors, and a majority of the legislature; once more their candidates—governor and Presidential electors—manifestly chosen, were counted out by our model Returning Board, braced and backed up by ex-Governor Noyes, now minister to France; General Lew Wallace, now Governor of New Mexico; John A. Kasson, now minister to Austria—but

not, I am gratified to say, by General Barlow, ex-attorney-general of New York, who *did not*, while the others *did*, get office from Mr. Hayes. The claims of the Democratic candidate for governor were, as in the previous case of their lieutenant-governor, taken before the State Supreme Court, two of the three members of which were Republicans, who, under the rulings already made in the Bloxham case, compelled the Canvassing Board to reverse their action. The result was the inauguration of the governor whom the people had elected. Not so, however, fared the Tilden electors. The Eight-to-Seven Commission, Mr. Garfield one of the Eight, shut its eyes to the fraud perpetrated by the Canvassing Board, and declared four men whom the people of Florida had not chosen Florida's Presidential electors. From this brief review it will be seen with how little justice our people can be charged with standing aloof in the political contests of the Reconstruction period. It is rather a matter of surprise the persistence with which they repeated, year after year, the struggle at the polls, with the chances all in favor of the popular verdict being nullified by a fraudulent count.

"But our visitor would have us forget the past. *How can we?* The record of its wrongs is burnt into our souls. We can't if we would, we ought not if we could forget them. We must remember them, not to avenge, but to guard against their repetition. I concede that he is right in saying that the Republicans of the North, for whom he speaks, 'do not desire the restoration of the carpet-bag governments in the South, and if successful we are absolutely secure against any attempts to set up our governments on a foundation of which the Federal Army and Navy constitute an essential part.' But he forgets that the contest here is not for the choice of Presidential electors and representatives in Congress alone, but for governor (who under our carpet-bag constitution appoints all State officers above the dignity of constable) and legislature as well; so that the success in Florida of the party calling itself Republican in November next will be, *ipso facto*, the restoration of carpet-bag rule over our people. Its leaders now are the same men who led it four and eight years since; its followers the same, its purposes the same now as then.

"We are told most impressively 'the Republican North will never be indifferent to State governments maintained by fraud.' Whether it will or not, will depend, if one may judge the future by the past, on the fact whether the State governments thus maintained are Republican or Democratic. State governments brought into being, as well as 'maintained,' precisely in this manner, existed for years in Louisiana and Florida, but professing to be Republican the Republican North beheld their existence, it seems to me, with considerable composure. Nothing is more notorious than the 'intimidation' for years, and now, brought to bear by their own race on colored people of these States to prevent them from casting Democratic votes—unless it is the 'frauds' by which their Returning Boards were able to convert minorities into majorities, and *vice versa*. But the victims being Democrats, I fancy the average Northern Republican thought they got just about what they deserved. And less than four years since (our friend will see I am not going back twenty or ten or even five years), when by one of the most memorable of these frauds, not by any means greater than its predecessors yet undeniable, the Presidency was given to the defeated candidate, was the Republican North very much grieved? Was it not, upon the whole, rejoiced? And though my favorite paper, the *Nation*, said in substance Mr. Hayes could not as a man of honor accept the office at the hands of the scamps composing the Louisiana Returning Board, he nevertheless did accept it at their hands; more: he rewarded the scamps for giving it to him, as he did quite a number of distinguished Northern Republican visiting statesmen who helped the scamps to give it to him. General Garfield, one of the 'statesmen,' for his participation in the work, or despite thereof, is, by a solid Republican North, if it can be made solid or nearly solid, to be rewarded with the succession to Mr. Hayes.

"Can our visiting friend put his hand upon his heart and say he verily believes the governing spirit of the Republican North would discountenance a resort to intimidation, whether among Southern negroes or Northern Democrats, if thought necessary to the success of their Presidential nominee? Let me read to him the following extract of a letter dated four days since, from an intelligent Southern woman summering North, written from Pottstown, in the midst of the iron-works of Pennsylvania. Pottstown is, I believe, the home of that most seeming virtuous Republican judge, Mr. Justice Strong, of the Supreme Court of the United States, whose influence should be potential there: 'They may talk of bulldozing in the South, but it is nothing to what they do here. All of the hands in the iron-works here are informed that if they vote the Democratic ticket they can leave. And so it is all over the North.'

"It will be gratifying to be assured that all reports like this are unfounded, that nothing of the kind is known, or at worst only to a very limited extent, in the establishments of the Republican manufacturers and capitalists of the North, and that the stupendous frauds charged as characterizing each succeeding election in Philadelphia, the second in population of all our American cities, are but a myth. I speak thus intending to justify no electoral fraud and no intimidation of voters perpetrated by Southern Democrats. Neither the one nor the other has marked our Florida elections to the extent of changing the result in favor of the Democrats; while the latter have been, as already shown, repeatedly the victims of both.

"In conclusion, let me notice what the speaker has said about the Federal office-holders in the South. Admitting that 'many of the incumbents are unworthy,' he thinks they should, nevertheless, be retained in their places. That there can't be anything very wrong about them, else we have been 'singularly derelict in making known our grievances.' Well, as Mr. Greeley used to say, let us ventilate this matter a little. The chief actor in one of the most monstrous political frauds ever perpetrated in Florida or elsewhere, that of 1870, above mentioned, by which the returns from *seven* Democratic counties were rejected, was then Deputy-Marshal of the United States *and* Attorney-General of Florida. By that fraud he earned his promotion, and *was* promoted to the office of Marshal, and held it at the time of the inauguration of General Hayes. A member of the Florida bar, State and Federal, of fair standing, thereupon wrote to Mr. Devens, the newly-appointed United States Attorney-General, courteously asking, in the interest of civil-service reform, that the marshal be removed; assigning his participation in this fraud as the ground of the request. The communication was not even acknowledged, and, of course, no removal made. About the same time the same gentleman, in like courteous manner, addressed a letter to Postmaster-General Key, calling his attention to the postmaster at Tallahassee (a negro of very little education, an active and aggressive partisan, thoroughly inflammatory and incendiary in his political harangues to the ignorant masses of his own race), asking that he be removed, and some intelligent, non-partisan, white man be put in his place. This communication met with the same favor as the other. Of course no such person would be allowed to hold the same office at the capital of any Northern State for a day.

"Our visitor is mistaken in supposing that it is because we covet the emoluments of the Federal offices that we desire so earnestly a change in the incumbents, and to have their places filled, not necessarily by Democratic partisans, but by men whom we shall not have to fight at each succeeding election. He cannot readily appreciate, nor, I fear, with all his liberality, be able to do justice to our feelings in this matter; for the reason that, coming from a State where both parties are reasonably intelligent, their leaders fairly honest, their candidates usually reputable and well qualified, it can be there a matter of no serious consequence, at any ordinary election, which side is successful. How different here! where on the issue of the vote is dependent the question whether those who are to make and administer our laws shall come from the class of the community having most, and nearly all, of the intelligence, virtue, honesty, property of the State, little as it may be; or from the other class, embracing the ignorant, the vicious, the degraded, who, paying almost no taxes themselves, gloat in the prospect of levying them on others, and of revelling in and squandering them when collected. Left to themselves they are not dangerous, either as a party or otherwise; but organized into trained bands by active, cunning, and unprincipled Federal officers distributed throughout the State, though the Democrats have unquestionably a majority in the number of qualified voters, yet every election is *one of peril* to our most vital interests. I use no figure of speech in saying this: we can conceive of no greater calamity—not famine, not pestilence, nothing with which the Almighty ever visits a sinning and sinful people—more direful than the restoration to power of the men whom four years since we hurled therefrom.

"As he shall mingle with us, as he is cordially invited to do, our visitor will perceive with what intense interest, anxiety, even apprehension our people, not Democratic office-holders alone, nor expectants or aspirants, but the people, the taxpayers, the property-holders, anticipate the result here in Florida in November next. And surely it is no trifling matter to any community that it should for several months preceding each succeeding election-day be doomed to the anxieties, perils, and apprehensions of such a crisis. With deliverance from the horde of busy, active, unscrupulous, partisan carpet-bag and negro office-holders and retainers now in the pay of the general Government would come deliverance from all this. Hence we work and pray for the election of General Hancock in the hope that from him we shall obtain the deliverance for which we so earnestly yearn. And even should it chance to turn out, as our visitor tells us—though Mr. English, who is understood to have considerable stake in the country, thinks differently—that a change in the Federal office-holders North will 'breed corruption and jobbery in the public offices,' involving evils the effects of which the whole country will feel, what are these evils, though actual and appreciable, and not merely conjectural and imaginary, compared with those which I have already described, as to the existence of which here there can be no mistake and is no denial?

"No. The evil we fear is not official changes throughout the North, the effects of which, good or bad, may or may not reach us; but the indefinite continuation in their places of power and influence here in Florida of a set of pestilent mischief-makers and evil-doers supported at the public expense."

After a brief rejoinder by the "Emissary" the meeting quietly adjourned, leaving me to report the above reply for the *Nation*. R. B. HILTON.

TALLAHASSEE, FLA., September, 1880.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Any one who saw at the beginning of Hayes's administration how demoralized whole communities of our State were by the bare hope of getting an office, could not, it would seem, help becoming a civil-service reformer. There are, from whatever cause, a good many in our State besides myself who would like to belong to a civil-service reform club. But if any good is to be done in Virginia, the organization must support neither Garfield nor Hancock. Out of respect to the feelings of those among whom I shall have to work, I may even hope that the central committee will not long be the Independent *Republican*.

There is no better field for civil-service reformers to work in than the South. There are too many like R. B. Hilton (*Nation*, No. 786), who "desire, so far as this section is concerned, a 'clean sweep.'" They ought to know that the present incumbents would, under a good system, make better officers than any Hancock could put in under the "spoils system." The incompetent would, by the very nature of the reform we are striving for, be weeded out. I, for one, am willing to try the present office-holders, though our postmaster, for instance, does not spend in the post-office ten minutes a week, and one of the assistants has been in the office but once since Hayes was inaugurated. We must not wait till our party hold the offices to denounce rotation in office. We Democrats must not forget, either, that we began this mischief, and that reformed mischief-makers cannot better prove the sincerity of their conversion than by suffering for their principles.

A Virginia Democrat.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I approve of the idea of your correspondent "F. W. H.," and can promise ten subscribers to the Publication Society. At the same time, the advisability and utility of a conference seem to me questionable. Too many conferences without result have been held already in the campaign, and more are promised. If the Independent Republican Committee of New York would at once assume direction of the movement, and extend it by correspondence to other States, I am convinced that those interested in the reform would be satisfied, and there would be at least the hope of accomplishing something this autumn. That committee has already demonstrated its ability to conduct successfully a campaign for principle.

As neither General Garfield nor General Hancock represents distinctly civil-service reform, our efforts must be directed to furthering the election of Congressmen who will help to secure it by legislation. Open letters signed by any considerable number of Republicans and Democrats, addressed to candidates for Congress, asking a distinct expression of their views upon the subject of the civil service, and pledging the votes of the signers, independent of party connections, to the candidate from whom most could be expected, would compel attention to the issue, and would probably call out replies from candidates. Silence, at any rate, would naturally be construed as hostility to reform. In closely-contested districts, where the evils of the present system are apt to be greatest, by a happy dispensation of Providence our votes are most effective, and ought to be decisive. Action, however, must be undertaken at once, as Congressional nominations are being made every day and public sentiment is being formed, which, once settled, can be turned with great difficulty. In New York State the issue might be carried into the choice of Assemblymen. No Independent Republican, I take it, will support a candidate for Assembly whose vote by any possibility might help to send to the United States Senate Mr. Thomas Platt, or any of his kind. C.

Albany, N. Y., Sept. 10, 1880.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I belong to that class of Young America spoken of lately by a writer in the *Nation* as somewhat distrustful and sceptical in their views of America, of their countrymen, and of themselves. Though, on the whole, hopeful for the future and not despondent as regards the present, they are inclined to think that some things may be mended in our political and social life. They believe that on the whole America is the best country, and the Americans the greatest nation, on the foot-stool, but they are not so cock-sure that something may not be learned from "abroad." They are not very fond of marching in torchlight processions, nor do they greatly care for listening to the harangues of loud-voiced though rather harmless demagogues at the raising of ward-wigwams. They are generally pretty busy with their own affairs, but still they are not unwilling to give some time and energy to politics, if they could feel that their efforts were of any account.

The front of the Independent movement is largely made up from this class, and that they are not altogether without influence is evident from the real rancor which the stock politicians manifest towards them here and elsewhere—a very different thing from the hostility which the former assume for the sake of appearances against those of the opposite party, but which is hardly skin-deep.

The plan of a Civil-Service Reform Publication Society I find meets with quite general approval from Young America of this type, and many whom I know will be glad to help on the cause in a quiet way. At the same time with this I send to the Independent Republican Committee the names of seven men besides my own who can all be counted on for subscriptions of from one to five dollars. I think I could, without much difficulty, obtain a dozen more. Let a few other readers of the *Nation* take hold of the matter in the same way, and the Society will soon be under way. R. S.

Buffalo, Sept. 11, 1880.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have for years regarded fixity of office-tenure the most important reform question to be brought to the careful attention of our people. I am therefore glad to see that a society will probably be formed to use all proper methods to accomplish the desired end. If each of the 8,400 subscribers to the *Nation* would subscribe thereto, a sufficient fund would be forthcoming at once, and, as one of them, put me down for five or ten dollars, as may be needed; and, as the work can't be done in a year, I expect to be a yearly subscriber until the good fight is won.—Truly yours, C. D. Ritchie.

N. W. cor. Thirty-fourth and Hamilton Streets,
Philadelphia, Sept. 11, 1880.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: There is no greater pleasure than to see the best minds and hearts in the nation suddenly breaking out into print and earnestly advocating principles and methods of action which one has been preaching for years in private and doing one's utmost to propagate. This thought is suggested by the numerous letters of approval you publish to the proposal to found a Civil-Service Reform Society to print documents and educate the masses in those principles which must eventually conquer if the Republic is to continue to exist.

But the question arises whether the letters you publish really indicate the wide-spread feeling they seem to suggest. I question it, and for this reason: Nearly a year ago I wrote a long letter to the most prominent civil-service reformer in the country, advocating this very plan, speaking of the utter ignorance of the people at large as to the nature of the question of reform, and advising the formation of a society to publish pamphlets, leaflets, and tracts, and send out speakers to explain to the mechanics and farmers how this question *touched their pockets* and concerned their prosperity and happiness. I suggested also the formation of branch societies all over the country, like the anti-slavery associations of thirty years ago, and I urged the gentleman in question to put himself at the head of this movement, saying our motto should be "Organize, organize, organize!" I offered in conclusion to begin such a society among the workingmen in my own neighborhood, and to contribute $100 toward the general fund. His reply, although extremely kind and courteous, was very discouraging. He said in effect that the time had not come to begin the good work, and that the people would not recognize the same deep moral question involved as in slavery. He did not, in fact, believe in the plan, and, although urging me to continue to preach these doctrines in private, discouraged all present action.

The name of this gentleman is so identified with civil-service reform, and his opinions so respected, that his declining to have anything to do with such a movement as a leader prevented my making public in your columns my proposal or organizing a club myself. I mention all this because your correspondents' hopeful letters fill one with pleasure to see others planning and longing to see fulfilled such a noble purpose, and yet with a half-despair as he thinks how our natural leaders are lacking in enthusiasm and determination. The letter from this eminent gentleman (which I would publish had I the right to do so) makes me fear that it is only in the unknown privates that readiness to work and to sacrifice exists, and that the generals remain passive-souled and sluggish.

Can you not call on them to come forward and head this movement? I repeat my offer of $100. I wish it could be multiplied tenfold, for as a patriotic American and as an intense Yankee I yet feel that our future depends more on the settlement of this question than on any other point. God speed the work which will remove America from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, and separate her from the methods of the "unspeakable Turk"!—I remain, etc., A. M. S.

New York, Sept. 13.

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF ATHENS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Having spent the whole of last winter and spring in Athens, occupying my time almost exclusively in the study of the remaining antiquities of the city and neighborhood, I cannot but associate myself heartily with Mr. Stillman's strictures upon the management of the Archæological Society of Athens which appeared in his letter published in your last number. Not only

is the Society slow about pushing on the excavations, as Mr. Stillman states, but it fails to protect those remains of the ancient city which are not preserved from injury, at least, by the earth which has accumulated over them.

The western slope of the Museum Hill, a great part of the Pnyx, and the whole of the Hill of the Nymphs, are—or, rather, were—covered with very perfect and interesting remains of the old city. We find here, both within the walls of the city proper and between the Long Walls to the Piræus, foundations of houses, flights of steps, cisterns, alleys, and streets deeply marked by the chariot-wheels—all cut in the solid rock. A great part of these remains upon the Hill of the Nymphs has perished, the hill having been used, without opposition, as a quarry by the ignorant populace of the neighboring quarter of the modern city. Fortunately, there is an exact plan of this part of ancient Athens, made some years ago by M. Burnouf.

A large piece of the summit of Lycabettus has been blasted off in the same way, to obtain building-stone, although stone may be had in abundance at a little distance from these historic hills—sites which are the world's property, and should be protected by the united influence of all antiquarians, without regard to nationality. Since leaving Athens I have received information that a great part of the Museum Hill has been bought by a private individual —I fear for no purpose in the interest of archæology and art. But it would take too long to enumerate all the instances of that Society's neglect of the priceless treasure committed to its keeping; to tell how half of the "white hill of Colonus" has been blasted away, like Lycabettus and the Nymphæum; how the arch is permitted to remain over the cella of the Theseum, which it is gradually deforming by its thrust; how the tops of steles and other funereal monuments are seen projecting from the ground around the gas-works upon the Sacred Way to Eleusis, just outside of the Dipylon Gate.

However, I cannot sympathize entirely with Mr. Stillman's views about the Greek law relating to the exportation of antiquities. The resources of the Archæological Society are so small that, even if well expended, they could not make very rapid progress; and it seems to me that we ought not to complain too much, for the present, if the Society would but protect what it has. And the ignorance of the people, owing to their recent emancipation from the most degraded slavery, is unavoidably so great, especially in matters relating to archæology and art, that, were it not for the law above alluded to, Greece might soon be compelled to send her students abroad to study the antiquities of their own country. As it is, a beginning, at least, has been made in the right direction. In the Varvakeion Museum the collection of vases and terra-cottas, though still awaiting classification, is excellent, and in the Patissia Museum (chiefly for sculpture), among many interesting and beautiful statues and bas-reliefs, are two statues in particular—a Meleager and an Apollo—which are, perhaps, equal to any ancient statuary remaining to us, except the Parthenon marbles. I cannot but think that the Elgin marbles—though it was, perhaps, well to remove them to London in the beginning of the century—would now do more service if they could be returned to their native Acropolis. Many of the pieces—the Southern metopes, for instance, so barbarously torn from their places—could easily be restored to their original positions in the Parthenon; while the others could take the places of the plaster casts which now fill the little Museum on the Acropolis. Athens is now so easy of access that all true lovers of Greek art would be amply repaid for the labor of the journey by the increased advantage and interest of studying those noblest productions of ancient art under their own pure sky, and, so far as possible, in their original positions, and in connection with the glorious monuments which they were designed to complete and to adorn.—I am, yours very respectfully,

THOMAS W. LUDLOW.

No. 14 East Sixteenth Street, New York,
September 7, 1880.

Notes.

THE first volume of Surgeon J. S. Billings's 'Index Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, U. S. A.' (A–Berliński) has just appeared. Three years ago (*Nation* No. 568) we noticed the "Specimen Fasciculus" of this stupendous work, and gave some description of the scheme of it. We shall hope to return to it again. The present instalment fills 888 pages, large octavo, in double columns, with the catalogue proper; while 126 pages additional are required for a list of the medical periodicals whose contents are here indexed, and the abbreviations by which they are designated.——Part XI. of Grove's 'Dictionary of Music and Musicians' (Macmillan) has perhaps not been rivalled by any other in average quality, for it embraces very few titles besides Opera, Oratorio, Orchestra, Orchestration, Organ, Overture—all themes of the first importance—Pacchierotti, Paganini, and Palestrina (unfinished). Under Orchestra is given a list of the instruments used by fourteen of the most celebrated orchestras of the present day; in these, while the bass drum is always a unit, the violins range from eight to ninety-two in number. Under Organ we find a number of curious and useful cuts, and a history of the great English church and cathedral organs *seriatim*. Landseer's rough sketch of Paganini serves in lieu of a more serious portrait. An article is devoted to the career and works of Mr. J. K. Paine, the Boston composer.——D. Appleton & Co. have reprinted in two full volumes the sixth English edition of 'Cooley's Cyclopædia of Practical Receipts, Processes, and Collateral Information.' With its balsams, decoctions, draughts, drops, electuaries, essences, extracts, infusions, pills, spirits, syrups, tinctures, waters, and wines, it recommends itself especially to apothecaries. Its scope will otherwise be indicated by such titles as alcoholometry, blacking, bread, cements, cupping, electrotype, enamel, enemas, filtration, fritters, gargles, gems, glass, ink, pastry, phonograph, proofs (printer's), salicylic acid, sewage, soaps, soups, still, telephone, urine, etc., etc. Some of the articles, *e.g.*, stoves, are inadequate for American use.——J. R. Osgood & Co. send us 'Perkins's Congressional-District Vote Map,' intended to show by parallel bars of color, on a given scale, the relative strength of parties as indicated by the vote of 1878. It seems to us to have few advantages over the figures on which it is based, and which are printed in the margin.——'Studies from the Great British Authors,' by H. H. Morgan (St. Louis: G. I. Jones & Co.), is a compilation of extracts from the works of the principal English writers from Chaucer to Macaulay, and consequently comprises, as a matter of course, much excellent reading. The editor's work in every respect, however, is such as almost any one could have performed.——Henry A. Sumner & Co., of Chicago, issue in two volumes a third edition of 'Essays in Biography and Criticism,' by Peter Bayne, M.A. The first has a preface, and to the second is prefixed a short but enthusiastic notice of the author, and we need only remark upon the publication that, since prefaces are rarely read, and in view of the faults common to youth (faults in some degree outgrown by Mr. Bayne) in which the essays are steeped, it would have been fair to have appended to these a date indicating how long ago the first edition appeared. Whether this time was recent or remote, however, cannot make the resurrection a matter of importance.——The official records of the war of the rebellion, now being prepared under the direction of Col. Robert N. Scott, will be issued in four series, viz., (1) formal reports of military operations, with correspondence, orders, etc., and an atlas—Confederate accounts of any event immediately following the Union—in all, 80 volumes octavo, of some 800 pages each; (2) correspondence, etc., relating to prisoners—4 vols.; (3) other correspondence, etc., Union—8 vols.; (4) ditto, Confederate—4 vols. ——The happy contagion of examples of public spirit is nowhere better manifested than in Cincinnati, where Mr. Charles R. West has just offered to give $150,000 towards building an art museum, if a like amount is raised. This will certainly come to pass.——Sampson Low & Co., London, have in press 'Forty Years' Recollections, Literary and Political,' by a Chartist leader, Mr. Thomas Frost.——A sequel to his 'Caliban' has been lately begun by Renan in the Paris *Temps* as a feuilleton, under the title of "L'Eau de Jouvence" (Water of Youth).——'De la Législation du Théâtre en France,' by M. Albert Guichard (New York: F. W. Christern), is better adapted than any of its immediate predecessors for giving the foreigner an exact idea of the principles which govern and regulate authors, actors, and managers in France. M. Guichard's treatise is laid out with logical accuracy, and in each of its divisions is a historical summary, leading easily up to the statement of the present state of the law. Literary quotations are apt and frequent, and the book abounds in facts and figures not easily attainable elsewhere.——Good maps of South America are still far from abundant. Notice may therefore be taken of the maps of the upper course of the Uruguay in Brazil, and of the river district of Peru, in No. 87 of the Berlin Geographical Society's *Zeitschrift* (New York: L. W. Schmidt). For the first time, we believe, a chart accompanies the *Verhandlungen* of the same Society (vol. vii., No. 4, 5) showing the route of Nordenskiöld's expedition from the Baltic to Yokohama.

—We continue our abstract of fall announcements with the list of G. P. Putnam's Sons, which includes 'Unbeaten Tracks in Japan,' by Isabella Bird; 'Holland and its People,' by Edmondo de Amicis; 'Portugal, Old and New,' by Oswald Crawfurd; Viollet-le-Duc's 'Learning to Draw' (Young Designer), translated by Virginia Champlin; a new edition, revised, of Leslie Stephen's 'History of English Thought in the 18th Century'; 'Art Suggestions from the Masters,' by Mrs. Susan N. Carter; 'The Comprehensive Atlas,' 122 maps, folio; new and cheaper editions of Frothingham's 'Life of Theodore Parker' and 'History of Transcendentalism in New England'; 'A Doctor's Suggestions to the Community,' by Dr. Roosa; and 'My Investment on the Mississippi,' by George C. Benham—a Northern cotton-planter who, had he not persevered to the end, might have thought his a "fool's errand." Messrs. Putnam will also publish for the Society of Political Education a "library" beginning with Nordhoff's 'Politics for Young Americans,' Johnston's 'History of American Politics,' Perry's 'Introduction to Political Economy,' and McAdam's 'Alphabet of Finance,' and to be sold only in sets.

—The difficulty of making good text-books is apt to be in due proportion

to their importance, though the undertaking is too often considered a humble part of literary journeyman work. Three works before us illustrate in varying degree, however, that the difficulty is greatly increased in the case of art text-books. In art an hour's personal instruction may almost be said to be equal to a week's study of written directions; and the more elementary the aim of these the more necessity—generally absolute, we should be inclined to say—of a master's guidance. Such books as Couture's lectures or Hunt's 'Hints' are not addressed to beginners, and have the value of suggestiveness without being hampered by explicit elementariness. 'Modelling in Clay," by A. L. Vago, with an appendix on modelling foliage, etc., by Benn Pitman (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co.); a translation of Karl Robert's 'Le Fusain,' being "a complete practical treatise on landscape-drawing in charcoal" (same publishers); and 'Handbook of Drawing,' by William Walker (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons), on the other hand, are designed for persons who know nothing of the subjects treated. After examining them we feel justified in concluding that none will be of much practical use to the beginner, the first especially, in which little more is attempted than to describe tools and insist on phrenology. The case is somewhat different with charcoal-drawing, which it is possible to describe more or less adequately to a draughtsman, and it is well enough done by Robert. But even here we question if the information conveyed is not already possessed by those to whom it can be of value. As for Mr. Walker's book, it is, like the others, very explicit in mechanical directions, and much more comprehensive, instructing the reader about art in general, and taking him as far in detail as technical perspective. We cannot refrain from giving one example of its convincing manner of enforcing important truths. Concerning the value of observation, it says (p. 8): "If a person were to travel, say, from Liverpool to London, and hold a looking-glass so as to have all the objects reflected in it as they were passed, on arriving in London there would be nothing left on the glass but the last image—perhaps the station; all the other myriads of objects would be gone. It is just so," etc., etc. All three books irresistibly recall such works as 'The Banjo without a Master,' and treatises purporting to teach legerdemain and ventriloquism in a few lessons, which it is well known to ingenuous youth are snares and delusions. We suspect the service done by all such is generally limited to the awakening or quickening of an interest in the subject.

—The permanence of American political institutions is a subject of public speculation considerably out of proportion to the private alarm which the question excites, but the discussion of it by a publicist such as Prof. Dwight, of the Columbia College Law School, is worth notice. It formed the subject of an address before the Hamilton College alumni last June, which has just been reprinted in a small pamphlet. Following the plan of such addresses, it is perhaps rather elaborate and elementary, and much of it might have been addressed to the author's law classes, but it recalls principles which do not just now receive the attention they deserve. The physical configuration of the country, and the unity in management demanded by the unity of nature, as well as the complicated system of government made necessary by a diversity of climate and productions; our inheritance of English political ideas and institutions, especially English parliamentary and criminal law, and of an English respect for court decisions; a popular conservatism, to which even modern England affords no parallel; the absence of powerful neighbors to force us to modify our theories, with the accompanying circumstance that our political and social life is thoroughly American and not international; the persistence of the religious sentiment, unaffected by modern theories of science and profoundly respected in America; the general prevalence of political virtue, "with due abatement for persistent office-seekers and people of that ilk"; "the readiness of the people to respond to appeals of a moral nature in the management of their public affairs"; the subdivision of land, and the facility of its acquisition and transfer; American systems of primary and secondary education, which are by no means perfect, but improving every decade; the growing interest of "our best citizens" in philanthropic schemes, whereby the latter are not devolved upon the Government; finally, the element of publicity, are reviewed by Prof. Dwight with confidence, but, it is to be said, without the neglect of qualifying considerations which renders a writer open to the charge of optimism. His explanation of American conservatism, we may add, is, first, the great variety of interests, and the difficulty of so innovating as to win the support of a majority; second, "the sentiment that there is nothing left for us to conquer," all great questions being settled, politics being now mainly administrative, and existing problems considered of too little consequence to awaken universal interest.

—Rhode Island's priority, in either hemisphere, in establishing the liberty of religious opinion among the bases of government, is a favorite theme with her writers. They cannot well treat it, nor are they particularly anxious to do so, without drawing an invidious comparison with Massachusetts, and it is natural for them to identify precedence with cause, and to attribute to Rhode Island the present degree of religious toleration throughout the United States at least. Among the local historians whose blood is still stirred by the circumstances which drove Roger Williams into the wilderness, is Dr. Henry E. Turner, of Newport. A paper read by him in February before the Rhode Island Historical Society has just been printed (and very badly printed) by the Newport Historical Publishing Co. Its title is, 'The Settlers of Aquidneck and Liberty of Conscience,' and it is occupied first with tracing the steps which compelled certain heretical Boston deputies to remove from the colony in March, 1638, to the northern end of Rhode Island, then known as Pocasset, and since as Portsmouth. The speedy division of the new colony and the founding of Newport; the subsequent reconciliation and political concord of the two settlements; and the careful preservation by statute of the principle of toleration in Providence, Warwick, and Rhode Island, are next successively illustrated from the records. "What do not Christianity, commerce, science, and the arts," concludes Dr. Turner, "owe to the three little communities which were driven from Massachusetts for nonconformity," etc. The way in which the obnoxious Boston deputies were rejected by the Massachusetts General Court in April, 1637 (which "found a means to send them home again, for that two of the freemen of Boston had not notice of the election"), seems to Dr. Turner to differ from the Maine frauds of last year only in having the decency of a plausible excuse. In general, however, this writer renders full justice to the Puritan character.

—Almost coincidently with the session of the American Association at Boston were held the meetings of the French and British Associations, the former at Rheims and the latter at Swansea. Judging from the meagre accounts that have as yet come to hand, it would appear that the French scientists were content with discussing subjects more of a special than of a general character, scarcely entering into those broad topics which it has of late been customary to associate with the addresses of their sister naturalists across the Channel. The presidential address of Prof. A. C. Ramsay, successor to Sir Roderick Murchison, as Director-General of the British Geological Survey, is a carefully elaborated statement of what might be termed chronological geology, setting forth the epochs and localities at which certain well-known physical phenomena have repeated themselves during the period of geological history. From the occurrence of metamorphism, volcanism, glaciation, and other geological "incidents" throughout almost the entire series of formations from the Laurentian to the Post-Tertiary, it is assumed to be shown that the forces operating these phenomena, as well as the phenomena themselves, differ neither in kind nor intensity from the similar forces and phenomena with which we are now more or less familiar. Prof. Ramsay, who is one of the few surviving geologists of note who can claim in their labors intimate relationship with nearly all the master minds of geological science from its foundation by William Smith to the present day, is strongly anti-cataclysmal in his views, and therefore a firm upholder of the Lyellian doctrine of uniformity. His conclusions, which are shared by the vast majority of living geologists, will probably not be considered as final by those who still delight in having recourse to unknown and visionary forces; and, indeed, it must be confessed it would be difficult from the examples furnished in the address to prove that, even if past and present forces and phenomena were equal in kind, they were likewise equal in intensity. The address of Dr. Günther, president of the biological section, treats of (scientific) museums, and ought to be carefully considered by all who are interested in the proper maintenance of institutions of this kind. It will be found very opportune in this country, where, in addition to the National Museum at Washington, there are at present a number of other museums which are in course of construction, or which have but lately been completed.

—Ole Bull died at his home on the island Lysö (Isle of Light), near Bergen, Norway, on Tuesday noon, August 17. He was born on the 5th of February, 1810, and ever since his remarkably successful appearance in Bologna in 1834, as a substitute for Beriot, his name has been before the public. His father, who was in very comfortable circumstances, wanted the boy to study theology, and had he acquiesced in his parent's wishes he would, no doubt, have been saved from many of the pecuniary embarrassments which troubled him in his early days. At the age of four or five years he could reproduce on a small violin all the songs he heard his mother sing, and at the age of eight he played the first violin at the Bergen Theatre. At the age of eighteen he was sent to the university, but failed in his examinations. In Christiania he also played at the theatre, and by the help of friends he was enabled in 1829 to go to Germany to seek instruction from the celebrated violinist Spohr, in Cassel. On Spohr's invitation he accompanied him to Nordhausen, where a concert was to be given. Here he heard Spohr and others play, but found their execution so cold that he left the concert overwhelmed with despair, thinking he must have mistaken his calling. He now joined some jolly students, who were returning from a Harz Mountain tour, and for the next two months there was "ein lustiges Leben" around Ole Bull's violin in Göttingen, where he made a pretence of studying law. After a visit to Norway, he next betook himself to Paris, and fared hardly for a year or two. When the cholera drove him from the boarding-house which

had been found for him by the Swedish-Norwegian ambassador, he chanced to get lodgings with a lady who saw in the young man's countenance a striking resemblance to her son, who had recently died, and Mr. Bull himself became deeply attached to the lady's granddaughter, Alexandrine Félicité Villeminot, whom he afterwards married. On the 18th of April, 1832, he gave his first public concert in Paris, assisted by Ernst and other artists, and with a net profit of 1,400 francs. From this time we find him making rapid progress and giving a number of successful concerts in Switzerland and Italy, until he finally, in 1834, made his grand triumph at Bologna. In 1835 he played in Casa Lepre at Rome, where, after the performance of his famous "Polacca Guerriera," the sculptor Thorwaldsen sprang upon the stage and embraced him in the presence of an audience wild with enthusiasm. A few months later "the wild man from the North," as Jules Janin termed him in some extravagant eulogy in the *Débats*, was playing at the Opéra in Paris. In 1843 he first visited this country, creating a *furore* which is still remembered by many. In 1850 he built a theatre in Bergen, but soon got involved in litigation with the city authorities, and the theatre passed into other hands. In 1852 he bought a tract of land in Potter Co., Pennsylvania, on which he tried to form a Norwegian colony, but discovered that the parties who had sold him 120,000 acres did not own a foot of it. He again lost a large sum of money in useless litigation, and had to return to his violin. It was Ole Bull who found Jenny Lind, a girl of eighteen, ruining her voice in the Royal Opera in Stockholm. He laid the matter personally before the king, and succeeded in getting her sent to Paris, where she rapidly made her way to fame. Though always unlucky in his financial enterprises, he did not get out of tune with the world, but to the last was a man of a genial, cheerful nature, always ready to lend his professional services for charitable purposes. On one of his last visits to New York he played for the benefit of the Irish sufferers.

—It is true, however, that Ole Bull outlived his reputation, and that his later performances gave more distress than pleasure to connoisseurs. His own compositions were seldom written down, and the orchestra which accompanied him saw only its own score. His obituary biographers have fallen into numerous errors, owing mainly to their having followed the account of his life in Appleton's 'Cyclopædia.' No man was ever "killed" by Ole Bull in a duel. He never tried to "commit suicide by throwing himself into the Seine." He never "took part in a campaign in Algeria against the Kabyles with Gen. Yusuf." He never "established any national schools of literature and art in Norway." Nor does the 'Cyclopædia' state the facts correctly in regard to his Pennsylvania colony. His second wife was not "a German woman," as stated by most of the papers, but a Wisconsin lady, whose parents were born in New England. Her maiden name was Thorp, and with her he leaves not "a son," but a daughter nearly ten years old. Two children by his first wife are still living, a daughter and a son, Alexander, who, like his father, is an excellent violinist.

—Perthes, in Gotha, has just published a third edition of the 'Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen,' by Johann Gustav Droysen, a work the reputation of which is familiar to all students as the standard modern life of Alexander, and perhaps the best known work of this eminent historian (New York: B. Westermann & Co.) Droysen's point of view is that of the admirer and sympathizer, not as one dazzled by military successes, but as seeing in the career of the conqueror a great and wholesome plan, and an important epoch in history. It appears to him that the *Particularismus* of Greece had proved wholly incapable of remedy; with all admiration for the part which Athens had taken in the earlier struggles and national development, and with all recognition of the greatness and sincerity of Demosthenes and his compeers, he yet holds (p. 22) that their success at this juncture could have resulted only in a renewal of the old Athenian league, or the establishment of an Athenian empire, neither of which could build up a real unity of the Grecian states. The Macedonian leadership could alone unite Greece and conduct its united forces against Asia. In this conquering expedition, again, the historian sees conceptions and aims of the highest statesmanship. He does not attribute to Alexander (p. 221) the desire to carry out Aristotle's view, that the Grecian was formed by nature to rule over the barbarian, but a far more generous idea, to carry freedom and progress to the barbarians. It was with this view that, in his intercourse with the Asiatics, he assumed Asiatic dress and manners, while still meeting his own officers and soldiers in his old way. But this policy of placing the two nationalities on an equality offended his old officers. Hephaestion and Krateros comprehended and sympathized with it, but Parmenion was alienated; hence his downfall, which, by the way, the historian does not attempt to justify. There are five maps (plans of Granikos, Issos, Gaugamela, and the campaign against Poros, and a large map of Alexander's campaigns); but no index and only a very insufficient table of contents.

—Of the Sacred Books of the East, published by the Oxford University under the editorship of Prof. Müller, have just appeared three new volumes, numbered as iv., v., and vii. of the series (Macmillan). The two first concern the religion of Zoroaster: iv. is a translation, by the young French scholar, James Darmesteter, of the Vendidad, as first division of the Zend-Avesta; v., by E. W. West, gives a version of the Bundehesh and other documents, in Pehlevi, of the modern period of the religion. The remaining volume is a translation, by Prof. J. Jolly, of Würzburg, of the 'Institutes of Vishnu,' one of the Hindoo law-books of a class of which Manu is the leading and best-known representative. All are enriched with long and elaborate prefaces, which will be found of high value by scholars as well as by general readers. The one of widest interest, doubtless, is that of M. Darmesteter, which contains an account of the discovery and interpretation of the Avesta, of its formation as a collection, and of the origin and history of the religion. Some of the author's peculiar views—as the orderly and natural development of Zoroastrianism out of the primitive Indo-Iranian faith, and the non-historical character of Zoroaster—are opposed to those now prevalent, and will meet, as they have met, with much question and opposition; but no one will deny the ability with which they are put forth and supported.

DEXTER'S CONGREGATIONALISM.*

THERE is little risk in venturing the assertion that no work has issued from the American press for many years embodying the result of more diligent and intelligent research than this massive volume. On every page it bears abundant evidences of the painstaking labor that only follows from long and enthusiastic devotion to a particular subject. For the task which he has so zealously performed Dr. Dexter seems, to borrow a phrase of Milton, to have been "solemnly elected." He is a striking example of what his New England fathers would have termed foreordination. Born, he tells us in his preface, within ten miles of Plymouth Rock, with the blood of the earliest annalist of the old Colony coursing through his veins, it has been with him from childhood a filial duty to study the history of the Pilgrims, and in repeated visits to the Old World he has made it his aim to collect ample materials for further elucidating it. The present work, consisting of lectures given at the request of the authorities of the Andover Seminary, presents some of the results of those researches, yet is regarded by the author as merely preparing the way for the main work of his life. But while Dr. Dexter modestly terms the volume before us a mere episode, it is, in fact, an original contribution, of great importance, to our religious history. Though at first sight it might seem that the ecclesiastical annals of New England had been so thoroughly explored that nothing of value could be left to reward the most diligent research, yet it is a fact that some of the most curious and valuable material has not been brought to light until a very recent period. The manuscript of Governor Bradford's 'History' was only discovered, it will be remembered, a quarter of a century ago, and following, apparently, the useful hint that this discovery suggested, Dr. Dexter has been able to avail himself of sources to which none of the earlier historians of Puritanism had access. It is certainly an odd circumstance that to the zeal of some of the predecessors of the present Archbishops of Canterbury and York we owe the preservation of some of the most curious memorials of the early Separatists. But for the accident that in their libraries have been stored up many treatises, whose authors were either exiled or hung, we should be destitute of the most authentic material for tracing the early course of that religious movement in which, Dr. Dexter asserts, New England Congregationalism had its origin. The restrictions which for a long time closed these collections to historical students have been removed, and the author of this volume has enjoyed free access to works for which Neal and Cotton Mather sighed in vain. As a consequence, we are now placed in possession of a survey of the writings of the early advocates of the Congregational Church polity which, for exactness and comprehensiveness, has, so far as we know, nothing that can be compared with it.

With this abundance of new material, so intelligent and independent an enquirer as Dr. Dexter could hardly fail of arriving at some novel conclusions. Thus, he does not hesitate to claim a new hearing for Robert Browne, of whom he was fortunate enough to discover, among the treasures of the Lambeth Library, a sort of spiritual autobiography, and whom he pronounces, on the whole, a good and singularly clever man, though eccentric and probably insane. Respecting the authorship of the famous Martin Marprelate pamphlets he also advances a new theory, holding that they were the work, not of Job Throckmorton, as recently maintained by Arber, but of Henry Barrowe. Dr. Dexter, who has been the first to gain sight of the entire collection, is inclined to place a much higher estimate upon these tracts than the writers who have preceded him, but he surely forgets Piers Ploughman when he says "that they furnish the first instance in the English tongue of the employment of satire as a successful weapon against ecclesiastical wrong." Another instance of the author's willingness to run counter to popular opinion is found in the decided manner in which he argues that the

* 'The Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years, as seen in its Literature. Twelve Lectures delivered in the Andover Theological Seminary, by Henry Martyn Dexter.' New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

famous saying reported of John Robinson had no such meaning as has been ascribed to it. The Leyden pastor, according to Dr. Dexter, did not speak after the manner of an "advanced thinker" of the present day, but had in mind simply the existing differences about church polity. With regard to the Congregationalism that came afterwards to be set up in New England, the author also presents some conclusions that do not accord precisely with commonly received opinions. New-Englanders as a class have been much inclined to exalt the faith and principles of their fathers, and no one has been more generally regarded as the head and front of New England Congregationalism than the famous John Cotton, the first minister of the Boston Church. But, according to Dr. Dexter, this is a mistaken notion, and the founders of New England did not clearly apprehend their own principles. For the first hundred years of its history Congregationalism, he assures us, was not consistent with itself, being, in fact, a modified form of Presbyterianism derived, not from Robert Browne, but from Henry Barrowe. In the opinion of Dr. Dexter, the true founder of Congregationalism, upon its pure democratic foundation, was John Wise, of Ipswich, whose reply to the "Proposals" of the Boston clergy embodied the first clear and cogent argument for unmixed popular rule as the only legitimate government for church or state. The author discusses with great fulness the functions of ecclesiastical councils, and undertakes to define the precise meaning of Congregationalism.

While disposed to recognize most heartily the unwearied research which this volume evinces, we must still be permitted to doubt whether the result which the author reaches is at all commensurate with the pains he has taken. Dr. Dexter is a zealous Congregationalist, and his evident aim throughout these lectures is to exalt the polity to which he is so sincerely attached; but we cannot resist the conclusion that he has been far more successful in establishing his own reputation as a learned and sagacious historical enquirer than in setting forth the attractiveness or the advantages of the ecclesiastical system whose origin and history he so faithfully explores. We cannot imagine that a Congregationalist, accustomed to dwell with pride upon the names that have rendered New England illustrious, will have his complacency much increased by the assurances that his ecclesiastical polity had its origin in the crude fancies of a man who lived to disavow his own opinions, and respecting whom the most charitable supposition that can be made is that he was mad. Nor is one who is not a Congregationalist likely to be persuaded of the advantage of that polity by the picture which Dr. Dexter gives us of the wretched bickerings of the exiles in Holland, who seem no sooner to have escaped persecution at home than they fell into most discreditable differences with one another. The controversy about Mrs. Johnson's gown is surely not calculated to heighten our respect for those early Separatists. Nor is it altogether pleasant to have the researches of Dr. Dexter strip John Robinson of the sole claim to distinction that raised him above the dead-level of his age. We respect the frankness with which the author of these lectures lays before us the results of his researches, but we fancy that the impression left on the minds of his more intelligent readers will not be precisely what he intended. As an exposition of Congregationalism as a system, this volume cannot be accepted as very satisfactory. Dr. Dexter's strength lies much more in laborious investigation than in philosophical exposition. He is more successful in ascertaining a fact than in estimating its significance, and possesses the aptitudes of an antiquary rather than a historian. Hence, when he undertakes to lay down general principles, he is not always consistent with himself. Thus, he makes Congregationalism consist essentially of two things, the complete autonomy of the local church and its relation to other churches by means of councils. By this definition the Independent churches of England have no claim to be called Congregational, yet he does not hesitate to insert an elaborate chapter on Congregationalism in England. Again, in his eagerness to deny to Unitarian churches the title of Congregational, he argues strongly that Congregationalism is not only a polity but a creed; yet the English Congregationalists not only have no formal creed, but the fact is notorious that they could not adopt one, that an immense majority of their ministers are only moderately Calvinistic, and that by many the doctrine of eternal punishment is no longer held. Dr. Dexter has a curious way of changing his tone. He claims for Robert Browne a place "among the great thinkers of Liberalism," yet resents it as a wrong that Robinson should be reckoned among "advanced thinkers." The reader is left somewhat puzzled with regard to the system which he so fondly presents as a type of the millennial church.

THE "POLICY OF PALMERSTON."*

DURING the elections in England many respectable Liberals tried to define their attitude in reference to foreign affairs by expressing their approval of the "policy of Palmerston." The formula meant, or was intended to mean, something. It was pretty well understood to imply that the candidate who used it did not endorse the policy of Lord Beaconsfield; it was supposed, further, to hint that he did not entirely approve of the peaceful and humanitarian tendencies attributed, whether rightly or not, to Mr. Gladstone. But, though this phraseology was not absolutely without signification, we may conjecture that its main merit was a certain sonorous vagueness which, while it impressed the audience, did not commit the speaker to the support of any very definite course of action; and, further, that even those Liberals who expressed with genuine fervor their admiration for a leader whose name is still popular with his countrymen, did not accurately define to themselves what, if any, were the peculiarities of Palmerston's statesmanship. Ideas, however, which are neither accurate nor well defined have often great weight with mankind, and persons engaged rather with the theoretical than with the practical aspects of politics may find a good deal of interest and instruction in studying the shorter and improved edition of the 'Life of Lord Palmerston,' with a view to discover (if may be) what were the essential traits of a policy which commanded the approval of the English nation.

The first and most salient feature of Lord Palmerston's statesmanship is, if one may be excused something like a bull, that it exhibits no fixed policy at all. He was not a man of abstract ideas; he was utterly unlike, for example, a leader such as Cobden, who pursued through life certain fixed notions which, whether one admires them or not, give the color to his whole career. He was, again, thoroughly unlike either such a noble dreamer as Mazzini or such an ignoble dreamer as Louis Napoleon. Of dreams or visions, of abstract ideas, of fixed and immutable lines of policy, the English premier knew nothing. From such things both his defects and his merits kept him aloof. His moral fibre was rather tough. No man of keen susceptibilities would have hastened to greet the President when Louis Napoleon's hands were dripping with the blood of slaughtered citizens. He was also—and herein lay the strength of his nature—full of life, and, within a limited range of vision, saw things as they were. If he overlooked the moral defects, he saw the political strength of the President's position with an insight displayed by no other Englishman but Walter Bagehot. This freedom from the influence of ideas or dreams made Palmerston from first to last a "hand-to-mouth" statesman. With great energy, with great tact, and often with pre-eminent success, he met the wants of the day as they arose. Sufficient for the day were, in his eyes, the good and the evil thereof. Philosophers and enthusiasts will be inclined to think that to call a political leader a hand-to-mouth statesman is to condemn his statesmanship. But in truth this is not so. The one certain fact of politics is the limited power possessed by mankind of making forecasts of the future. Mr. Senior has with patient accuracy recorded the speculations of almost all the most eminent foreign statesmen who lived and talked during the last thirty years. With two exceptions—Thiers and De Tocqueville—no one of them foresaw anything even of the immediate future; and though the cleverest of Frenchmen showed that he could cast a keen glance over the surface of politics, and the most profound political critic of the age certainly proved that a genius for analysis could be applied as powerfully to the present as to the past, yet the happy hits of even Thiers or De Tocqueville must be balanced against a hundred unhappy blunders. But, if all the acuteness of some of the acutest observers the world has seen proved unable to penetrate the secrets of the future even for a few years, the inference (confirmed by every page of history) must necessarily be drawn that politics cannot at present be based on supposed calculations of what is likely to happen in the future, but must in the main consist in endeavors to deal with the immediate and pressing needs of each day. Hand-to-mouth statesmanship is the statesmanship of common sense.

Nor let theorists suppose that this kind of policy requires for its successful discharge talents of a common or low order. It is in one sense more difficult of execution than schemes such as those of Mr. Cobden's, which are wholly governed by one or two obvious considerations. To promote free-trade and at all costs to secure peace may be noble objects; but the man who makes the attainment of these ends the sole scope of his efforts greatly simplifies the problems of his statesmanship. For their solution he needs one or two great gifts, but he may dispense with many of the talents, such as the experience, the promptitude, the coolness, the versatility, the knowledge of men, which are absolutely essential to the success of a minister whose aim it is to deal successfully with each of the complicated affairs of life as they in turn require his attention. What is above all needed by a statesman such as Palmerston is the capacity instinctively to recognize the relative value of the forces of which he can dispose, and of the forces with which he may come into conflict. To have in the main estimated fairly the immediate importance of the forces with which he had to deal seems at bottom to have been Palmerston's greatest claim to fame. He occasionally made bold strokes. He at least twice defeated Guizot. He supported Turkey against Russia and carried her through the contest with success. He estimated at pretty well its right figure both the strength and the weakness of Louis Napoleon, and in consequence stood firmly by Italy, and, without risking either English blood or English money, secured the most beneficial diplomatic triumph which has ever been achieved by an English statesman. Yet if his course of action be critically examined it will be found that Palmer-

* 'The Life and Correspondence of Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston. By the Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M.P.' 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley & Son.

ston never acted with vigor unless he had secured force adequate to carry out his objects. He took the greatest care to be perfectly sure, before going into action, that he was supported by English sentiment, and further either that the task was one which England was powerful enough to accomplish alone, or that England was well provided with allies. Whenever he doubted his strength for a fight he held aloof or drew back. He detested Austria, yet he declined to interpose in favor of Hungary. He probably wished to help Denmark, yet no taunts would tempt him into a contest in which he might without a single ally have been called upon to meet the combined armies of Germany. He dealt summarily with the affair of the *Trent*, but, though he showed very little moral appreciation of the true issues involved in the war of secession, he declined all propositions which would have involved Great Britain in a contest with the United States. He knew that England was powerful, and acted on the knowledge; but he also knew, what his modern imitators forget, that a country may be a great power without being all-powerful, and acted as constantly with an eye to the limits as to the extent of English power.

The second and most obvious trait of Palmerstonian statesmanship is that it was governed by the conviction that an English minister is bound to consult the interests of England and to make his policy conform wholly to her interests. This is a doctrine which in recent times has met with much vituperation; but surely, if properly understood, it is open to no valid objection. A minister is the agent, not the master, of the nation. Like every other agent, high or low, he is bound to act for the benefit of his principal. In matters of business no one questions this maxim. A manager or an attorney who insisted upon doing acts of charity or generosity with his employer's money would certainly be cashiered, and probably might be compelled by a court of justice to refund the money he had wasted. Why should not the same rule apply to the agent who transacts the business of a nation? The reply generally is that to maintain the doctrine for which we are contending, and which every statesman worth his salt invariably in practice adopts, is equivalent to asserting that a politician is not bound by any rules of morality. This we utterly deny. A minister may find that the course which a nation is bent on pursuing is one to which he cannot lend a hand. Many Englishmen would have felt that no just man could have countenanced any scheme for giving English aid to the efforts of the Southern Confederacy. Let us suppose for a moment that England had been bent on this course. The duty of a statesman would have been clear: he ought to have retired from the Government. Here, again, the analogy of business applies. To say that an agent must look wholly to his principal's interests is very far from the same thing as saying that an agent is bound to carry out the business say of smuggling or slave-trading. Moreover, a man who goes into public life at all must almost of necessity be prepared to act on the assumption, which is perfectly justifiable, that the prosperity of his country is bound up with the prosperity of the world. Palmerston, at least, never opposed in his own mind the welfare of England to the welfare of other countries. He had none of the elements of a reformer: he was therefore saved from the grave error of confusing the functions of a prophet with those of a statesman. But it would be the gravest injustice to deny that in looking after the interests of England he did much for the freedom of mankind.

For the third and the best trait of Palmerston was his genuine dislike to oppression, and his keen perception of the fact that the interests of England were bound up with the cause of general liberty and of national independence. He was the true heir and disciple of Canning. On this matter he has scarcely received full justice. He, like his teacher, was far ahead of the statesmen who had preceded them. He, like his teacher, was constantly found fighting on what has proved to be the right side. He founded Belgian independence; he aided Greece; he supported constitutional government in Spain and Portugal; he was the firm friend of Italy; he withstood the aggressive despotism of Nicholas. Even his friendliness for Louis Napoleon (by far the worst point in his career) had this amount of justification, that he perceived far more clearly than most Englishmen that foreign courts hated the President, not because he had overthrown a republic, but because he might be expected to aid oppressed nationalities. In any case, though Lord Palmerston's judgment may in this, as in other instances, have suffered from a certain want of fine moral feeling, there is no doubt that in the main the bias of his mind was in harmony with English love of freedom. This is the point on which he differed far and wide from the miserable plagiarists who have in later days caught up his phrases without imbibing his spirit. Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Beaconsfield's followers have, from some fatal association of ideas, fancied that the interests of England were hostile to human freedom. The Austrian, the Pope, the Turk have each in turn enlisted their sympathies. They admired Louis Napoleon till Louis Napoleon attempted to deliver Italy. Hence, in their hands, pursuit of the interests of England has always meant hostility to the welfare of the world. From this error Lord Palmerston was free. If he followed the interests of England, he also made them promote the independence of Belgium, of Switzerland, and of Italy. Hence the constant harmony of his policy with what may be called the average moral tone of the English people. It was certainly not Quixotic, it was not heroic; but it was based on good sense, it was manly and simple. If it did not appeal to the highest feelings, still less did it pander to the baser forms of national vanity and self-interest. England might do far worse than adhere to the "policy of Palmerston."

RECENT NOVELS.*

'BEAUTY'S DAUGHTERS,' by the anonymous author of 'Airy, Fairy Lilian,' a book that had a great popular success, we believe, a year or two ago, is great trash of the fast but innocent order. It is founded clearly enough on Rhoda Broughton, but its successful imitation is confined to the constant use of the present tense, a vicious trick now grown threadbare, one would say. The author may claim the invention of a new type of hero, perhaps, the fortunate lover of one of the "daughters" being a man who has injured his spine on the hunting-field, and is introduced to his future wife as a bed-ridden invalid. The beautiful amiability of the pair is such that we experience some relief when after a year of matrimony an able young doctor restores the hero to a fair degree of health and strength. The second "daughter" achieves matrimonial happiness after the usual jealous struggle with the charming young widow and former love of her husband. There are a pair of friends nicknamed Brandy and Dandy who fill in odd corners and flirt with the widow till her time to be remarried comes, and a sharp young girl who is developing into a third "daughter."

'A New Race' is the rather misleading title of Mrs. Wister's latest translation from the German, which has the qualities, albeit a good deal diluted, of its predecessors. The heroine, whose mother has been wrongfully deprived by her husband's family of her fortune, is reinstated by her grandfather, who accomplishes the task, however, by something very like sharp practice, which his desire for revenge justifies to him. After his death she attempts to redress the wrong her cousin has suffered at his hands, and her success is followed by their happy marriage, and "the new race" that grows up in the old castle promises to inherit only the virtues of its ancestors—a fulfilment that would certainly entitle it to a new label. The story, it will be seen, is sufficiently mild, though it has romantic episodes.

'The Octagon Club' is a novel with a purpose; but the purpose changes its aspect so frequently, and so hopelessly entangles the thread of the narrative, that it is difficult to judge of the outcome. The briefest statement is that there are two happy marriages concluded in the intervals of long speculations on the problems of life and the world, and that the author's decision is that a modified communism is the next change to be met, that America is best fitted of all countries to meet it, and that in the ensuing conflict woman will take a lofty position.

For a harrowing tale of unrelieved misery commend us to Helen Campbell's 'Unto the Third and Fourth Generations.' It has no literary merit that we can discover, unless an intention to elaborate the horrors to which a fanatical Calvinism may lead can be so called, or a depressing effect upon the reader be proof of literary power. The depression here produced, however, is of the nature of that excited by accounts of the execution of common criminals, and is relieved of intensity, and at the same time of dignity, by a certain ghastly absurdity. A virtuous young woman falls in love with a noble and true-hearted scapegrace, and, in spite of her father's curse, marries him. In a fit of passion he knocks down a man whom a casual sailor subsequently robs and kills. Robert's act has been witnessed by his closest friend; he is indicted, pleads guilty to the murder he supposes he must have committed, and is convicted of robbery and murder. Spite of his wife's efforts, duly detailed, he is forthwith hanged. Then she has to watch his grave to keep off the body-snatchers. When her son is born she considers that his father's curse is upon him, and through his boyhood religiously refrains from kissing him This son goes West; is befriended by the witness against his father, who thus expiates his sorrow at having being obliged to testify in the case, and falls in love with this gentleman's daughter. They are about to be married when Robert's son discovers the reason of his patron's kindness and haughtily throws the young woman over. The truth about the casual sailor comes out, and then the young man feels free to wed the daughter of the man who had got his father unjustly hanged. After the marriage his mother "pressed his lips with the first mother's kiss they had ever known." This is the first gleam of sunshine, but it is soon shut in, the rest of the book, which chronicles the death of the mother, being, however, in the subdued tone of chastened and consecrated sorrow, as such writers conceive it.

'A Stranded Ship' is the least unimportant of three stories, by L. Clarke Davis, which are bound together. The hero, who murders his best friend in

* 'Beauty's Daughters. By the author of 'Airy, Fairy Lilian.'' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.
'A New Race. From the German of G. Raimund. By A. L. Wister.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.
'The Octagon Club: A Character Study. By E. M. H.' New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1880.
'Unto the Third and Fourth Generation. By Helen Campbell.' New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1880
'A Stranded Ship: A Story of Sea and Shore. By L. Clarke Davis.' New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1880.

the first chapter and subsequently leads a life of alternate dissipation and benevolence, in the last chapter risks his life to rescue the passengers of a wrecked ship. The last saved proves to be the supposed murdered man returning from foreign parts to clear his friend's name of a false charge. The change, conspicuous in this book and the last mentioned, from the old way of dealing with crime in fiction is, perhaps, worth notice, and suggests that if the moral accountability is to depend upon the legal aspect of the case, sagacious murderers who will choose victims of vigorous constitutions might be invented, that the reader may be left in no uncertainty as to the hero's real worth during the progress of the story.

'Uncle Jack's Executors,' without serious claims on the attention, is written with sufficient brightness to find many readers. The author, however, should be capable of better work, and may be advised to eschew melodramatic absurdity more attentively than she has here done, in spite of her assurance that her book is not of the class of "astonishing, convulsionary literature." It is also to be remarked that her literary theories are not important, and that a curbing of the wit which is, nevertheless, what makes the volume readable would be an experiment worth trying. The best indication of her power is a character belonging to the order of Mrs. Nickleby.

The heroine of 'Ethel Dutton,' it may be confidently affirmed, would escape a lunatic asylum only within the covers of a particularly absurd novel.

'After Many Years' is all about kidnapped children and the conduct of an old-fashioned villain, who successfully postpones the explanation and happy termination until the closing chapters.

'Rev. Mr. Dashwell' is intended to pillory the sensational preacher who makes a trade of his profession, and readers of the book will wish the design had been better executed.

'Elsie's Widowhood' belongs to the Sunday-school series of 'Elsie Stories,' and calls for no comment, except the obvious one that the indefiniteness with which it is clear such a series may be prolonged must rob it of verisimilitude to any but very young readers.

Some of the 'Strange Stories' by Erckmann-Chatrian here collected we have a vague remembrance of having met with in some of the old magazines now not only discontinued but forgotten, at a time when these prolific authors were many years younger than they now are. At all events, such a haven is best adapted to their draught, and at present they seem as much out of date as they must always have been out of literature properly so understood. The best works of MM. Erckmann-Chatrian have a certain seriousness in light matters that bespeaks their Alsatian origin, but these little stories are completely German in the deliberateness of their weirdness and the *sang-froid*, so to speak, with which they rely for it upon the unexplained supernatural. Nothing like Poe's handling of psychological phenomena, or Hawthorne's fancy, or even De Quincey's, is to be discovered in them, and with the best intentions to the contrary they will keep no one awake nights; but they are readable enough, and they are sufficiently dread and romantic to be finished if once begun, which is getting to be fair commendation in the case of old-fashioned ghost-stories.

Report to the Trustees of the James Lick Trust of observations made on Mount Hamilton with reference to the location of Lick Observatory. By S. W. Burnham. (Chicago 1880. 4to, 32 pp. and plates.)—It is gratifying to learn that at last the difficulties in the way of carrying out the provisions of Mr. Lick's magnificent bequest of $700,000 for the establishment of the "most powerful" telescope in the world at some point in California have been overcome, and that active steps are being taken in this important matter. A circular of the Trustees introducing the document before us reads as follows:

"The Trustees of the Lick Observatory, in presenting the accompanying report, beg to say that they will be glad to receive the publications of Observatories, and of Astronomical and Scientific Societies, for the permanent library of the Lick Observatory; and take this occasion to state that the preliminary work on Mount Hamilton has already been commenced, and will be prosecuted as rapidly as is possible under the circumstances. The smaller equatorial, of twelve inches aperture, has been ordered of Alvan Clark & Sons, and will be placed in position early in 1881; and the great equatorial, meridian circle, and other instruments, will be contracted for at an early day. It is not expected there will be any further delay in putting the Lick Observatory in complete working order, other than that incident to the importance and magnitude of the undertaking."

It is known that after various places had been proposed, Mr. Lick finally settled on the summit of Mount Hamilton, in Santa Clara County, as the site for the proposed observatory. This mountain is twenty-six miles by the road (thirteen miles in a straight line) from San José, which is itself about fifty miles by rail from San Francisco. The county of Santa Clara has built an excellent carriage-way to the top, the grade being kept at less than six feet and a half in one hundred by windings. An approximately level space of about four hundred feet long, and of width varying from forty to one hundred and twenty feet, is four thousand two hundred and fifty feet above the sea-level, and commands the entire country within forty miles around. It became a serious question as to whether this isolated summit was a suitable place for the establishment of so important an observatory as is contemplated, and, acting on the advice of Professors Newcomb and Holden of the Naval Observatory at Washington, the trustees invited Mr. Burnham, of Chicago, the noted observer and discoverer of double stars, to make preliminary observations on the mountain to test the question. The plan was for Mr. Burnham to take his own telescope (a six-inch, by Alvan Clark) from Chicago to Mount Hamilton, and to observe at the latter place the objects with which he was familiar at home. The gain of establishing an observatory at this elevation would be tested by the comparative ease with which difficult known double stars could be seen, and by the new ones which might be discovered. There is probably no observer in the country whose opinion on this special point would be more valuable.

In pursuance of this plan, Mr. Burnham remained on the mountain from August 17 to October 16, 1879, inclusive. For the whole period of sixty days he divides the nights, astronomically, as follows:

First-class nights	42
Medium nights	7
Cloudy and foggy nights	11

By a first-class night Mr. Burnham means such a one as occurs in Chicago not more than ten or twelve times a year—a night when the most difficult and delicate measures are practicable, when the air is not only clear but steady, so that stars are bright but do not twinkle. A peculiarity of the vision on Mt. Hamilton is that the night, if good at any part, is good throughout, which is quite different from experience at lower stations, or at the few high ones that have been tested. The quality of the vision during the day was inferior to this; it was clear, but the images of stars, etc., were not tranquil. Hence only certain observations of the sun can be prosecuted with special advantage here. The indications are that in all observations of stars or planets this is a site better fitted for a new and well-equipped observatory than any other in the world. The remarkable dryness of the air seems to be connected with its excellent quality for astronomical work. Mr. Burnham's report contains a great number of measures of known double stars, and of new ones discovered, and to the astronomer the examination of this list is the surest proof of the conclusions he has reached.

It appears that an admirable site has been selected, and that a suitably-equipped observatory placed here cannot fail to be of important service. It is understood that preliminary plans for cheap, commodious, and serviceable buildings have been prepared, and that some of the instruments, at least, will soon be in position. Only a part of the endowment will be spent for outfit, the balance remaining as a fund for maintenance. The conservative spirit shown in the plans already carried out promises a career of useful work to this latest of the great observatories of the world.

Chinese Buddhism. By Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D. (London: Trübner & Co.; Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1880.)—The subject of "Chinese Buddhism" must always be an interesting one, if only on account of the number of people who belong to that section of the Buddhist community. In fact, in one way or other the whole of what is called Northern Buddhism (except, perhaps, that form of it known in Nepal) is connected with China. The Thibetan and Mongolian books were mostly translated from Chinese versions of the Buddhist Scriptures, whilst the Japanese use the same sacred canon as is generally accepted in China. We are compelled, therefore, to examine these translations if we would understand the character of the religion founded on them. Dr. Edkins, from his long residence in China and his acquaintance with its language, is well able to give us much information on the subject. The present work, however, is not so much the result of his latest reading and examination of the Buddhist religion as it is a reproduction in a continuous form of his treatises and essays already published. This, of course, is a great advantage to those who are unable to obtain the magazines, etc., in which the original papers appeared; but it is disappointing to others who looked for some new work and wider research from the hands of this trustworthy writer.

The plan of the book is an excellent one. The author first gives us a life of Buddha from the time of his birth till he entered Nirvâna. From what particular work he derives his information on this subject we are not told. There are more than ten distinct treatises in China professing to give the life of Buddha. Perhaps that found in the Vinaya Pitaka is the most reliable. The shortest and most interesting, however, is that known as the *Pen-k'i-king*. From whatever sources Dr. Edkins gathered his materials, they are tolerably correct, though we must object to the restoration of *Godinia* for *Kâuṇḍinya*, and it is to be regretted that such an error as that found on p. 35, and the note at the foot of the page, should have remained uncorrected. The Chinese *Ho-shang* cannot be derived from *Upâsaka*. In fact, Dr.

'Uncle Jack's Executors. By Annette Lucile Noble.' New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1880.
'Ethel Dutton. By Mattie May.' Boston: Loring. 1880.
'After Many Years. By Robert Boggs.' New York: The Authors' Publishing Co. 1880.
'Rev. Mr. Dashwell. By E. P. B.' Philadelphia: John E. Potter & Co. 1880.
'Elsie's Widowhood. By Martha Finley.' New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1880.
'Strange Stories. By Erckmann-Chatrian.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.

Edkins seems to be aware of the mistake when he implies, on p. 143, that the original Sanskrit form of the word was *Upâdhyâya*, although here again he endorses the strange error of Dr. Eitel, who translates the simple phrase *ts'in-kian-sse* by "self-taught teacher," instead of "personal instructor."

Following the life of Buddha we have a good chapter (the fifth) on the Patriarchs of the Northern Buddhists. This is a very important study. It is probable that many events recorded about these patriarchs may contain some historical truth. For example, the patriarch Upagupta, the fourth in succession, is unknown in the South, but in the North he is celebrated as being a contemporary of Aśoka, and the first who introduced a schism into the Buddhist Church. This may probably account for the succession of Theras in the South agreeing with the North no further than Sonaka or Sanakavâsa, after whom we have only one patriarch before Aśoka the Good. And here again comes in the question about the two Aśokas, and whether the Southern patriarch Siggava was not the orthodox successor of Sonaka, in the place of Upagupta. Take, again, the patriarch Singalaputra, the twenty-fourth in the list; we have an important record of this priest that he was the last of the line who dwelt in the Northern regions bordering on the Swat River, and that he and thousands of his followers were slaughtered by Mahwakûla. This king probably lived about 450 A.D., so that we may from this date, if it be correct, gather roughly the date of the patriarch and his predecessors. Anyhow, these questions are mixed up with the history of the patriarchs, and are deserving of notice.

In his sketch of the history of Buddhism in China Dr. Edkins shows his extensive reading and accurate judgment. This portion of his book, as it appeared in the *Shanghai Almanac* many years ago, attracted general notice in China, and has been frequently made use of by other writers on the subject. Our author is at home, too, when treating on the T'ien T'ai school of Buddhism; his visits among the secluded monasteries where Chi-k'ai, the founder of this school, lived and died in the sixth century, have been recorded among his essays in the *Almanac* referred to before, and the accounts are full of interest and instruction. The least satisfactory part of the work is the translation of the Shaster known as the Ekasloka (cap. xix.) We have always felt surprise at Dr. Edkins's version of the opening verse (Gâthâ) of this short treatise. Surely the right translation of the first line of this verse is *not* "My body (or substance) in its nature is not permanent," but "The nature of self-existent substance (swabhâva) is impermanency." The entire treatise is intended to overthrow the *swabhâvika* school of Buddhism, and so it is explained in the sequel of the Shaster, although Dr. Edkins restores the original words used in the Chinese to "*sub*hava," which has no meaning. We must also object to the translation found on page 316, where the well-known phrase *yih-ts'ie-fa* is strangely rendered "all acts," as though the meaning of *ye dhammâ* could be doubted as referring to all phenomenal existence.

These and other imperfections are much to be regretted. We want some careful account of Chinese Buddhism from a resident scholar in that country; Dr. Edkins is the best qualified person to write on the subject. It requires something more, however, than a mere reproduction of old matter to put the question as it is now understood before the student. If this work should reach a second edition, it is to be hoped the author will carefully revise it and give the world the result of his latest reading on the subject.

Deutsche Urzeit. Von Wilhelm Arnold. (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes. 12mo, pp. 441. 1879.)—The distinguished historian of the German cities, Professor Wilhelm Arnold, has of late years devoted himself especially to the earlier period of German history. His 'Wanderungen und Ansiedelungen der deutschen Stämme,' published a few years ago, is now followed up by 'Deutsche Urzeit' (The Primitive Age of Germany), in which he gives, in a compendious form, a complete account of the early history, institutions, and customs of the Germans. It is in two books, each containing four chapters; the first book, the history, contains Præhistoric Migrations, the Contests with the Romans, the "Pfahlgraben," and the Formation of New Races; the second book, on the internal condition of the Germans, treats of their Civilization, Art of War, Constitution, and Religion. The special feature of the earlier work, 'Wanderungen und Ansiedelungen,' was the attempt to trace the history of society by the aid of local names; this was equally remarkable for detailed knowledge, ingenuity, and sound judgment, and the book has been uniformly recognized as a very valuable contribution to early German history. In the present work we have the principal results of these investigations presented summarily and in connection with the information derived from other sources. In treating of the Thuringians, for example, he points out (p. 169) that the suffix *leben* is found in a series of towns reaching from northern Schleswig to the neighborhood of Würzburg, and nowhere else. This fact he brings in connection with the fact that Angles were found in Thuringia as well as among the Saxons, and draws the inference that there had been a migration of this Lower-German nation from the Cimbric Peninsula into the heart of Germany. We find on page 165 the useful remark that national names as names of localities (*e.g.*, *Thüringen*hausen and Holz*engel*) indicate either scattered places of foreign settlers, or, in old times, frontier places. Perhaps the most original part of the book is the chapter upon the *Pfahlgraben*, or line of fortifications carried from the Rhine in the neighborhood of Mentz to the Danube by Domitian and Hadrian; probably the great historical importance of this work has never before been adequately shown. It made, he thinks, the turning point in the history of the Germans. Southwestern Germany now became Roman territory, under the name *Agri Decumates* (either *tithe-lands* or *measured lands*), while the Germans beyond this enclosure were for a long series of years checked in their incursions and migrations. From this time, therefore, begins definitely their settlement in permanent habitations, and their transition from a half-nomadic to an agricultural life. Two hundred years later the enfeebled Empire could no longer withstand their attacks, and the *Limes* ceased to be a boundary; but the Germans proper had by this time passed completely out of their nomadic condition. The great civilizing work of the structure had been accomplished.

Professor Arnold takes an intermediate position in regard to two important questions which have been hotly disputed, chiefly between Frenchmen and Germans. In his view the Germans of Cæsar and Tacitus were neither savages nor peasants of the nineteenth century; they were, he says (p. 216), "wandering tillers of the soil, or agricultural nomads, as one pleases." And the apparent discrepancies between Cæsar and Tacitus he explains rationally by pointing out that there were a hundred and fifty years between the two historians, and that the account given by Tacitus represents a somewhat more advanced state of society than Cæsar's. The second question is the nature of the conquest, and this he reminds us differed widely in different countries. "It was an essentially different thing whether they [the Germans] were only tolerated in the Empire, colonized as subject to military duty, or taken into the pay of the Emperor, as was the case in the main even with the Visigoths, Burgundians, and Ostrogoths; or whether they went actively to work, took possession of Roman soil by the right of conquest, and established things as they pleased—in other words, became masters, as the Anglo-Saxons, the Vandals, and afterwards the Langobards, did" (p. 183). He does not say, it will be noticed, in which category the Franks belonged.

Elementary Treatise on Electric Batteries. Translated from the French of Alfred Niaudet. (New York: John Wiley & Sons. 1880.)—M. Niaudet's work is an illustrated cyclopædia of electric batteries, containing a brief history of their origin, and describing in detail the construction and modes of operation of all the forms of batteries known. Plain definitions are given of the few technical terms employed, and the "general remarks" interspersed through the work explain so much of the science of the subject as is necessary to enable the reader to comprehend the peculiarities of the various kinds of batteries, and their especial adaptability to different uses. The translation is almost literal, and preserves the simple, direct style of the author. As is justly said in the short preface by Mr. George D'Infreville, of this city, "Telegraphers generally will find many of their frequently-recurring problems solved in its pages," the perspicuity of which will save both inventors and investigators from useless experiment, while at the same time offering them new fields for careful research.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Brown (R.), Science for All, Parts 16-18, swd.....(Cassell, Petter & Galpin) $0 50
Champier (V.), L'Année Artistique.....(J. W. Bouton)
Parker (Col. F. J.), Story of the 32d Regiment Mass. Infantry.....(C. W. Calkins & Co.)
Percival (Rev. J.), Some Helps for School Life.....(Pott, Young & Co.)
Saint Paul (A.), L'Année Archéologique.....(J. W. Bouton)
Seguin (Dr. E.), Report on Education, 2d ed.....(Doerflinger Book and Pub. Co.)
Valframbert (C.), R pertoire Politique et Historique, 1879.....(J. W. Bouton)
Vapereau (G.), Dictionnaire Universel des Contemporains, Part 8, swd.....(F. W. Christern)

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1880.

The Week.

THERE is no State in which the Republican platform comes so near being a real enunciation of principles honestly held, in the language of every-day life, as that of Massachusetts. The platform adopted by the Convention at Worcester on the 15th is the first on either side which acknowledges what everybody knows to be true, that gold and silver are of unequal value, and that it is absurd to talk of the paper currency as redeemable in both on equal terms, and points out the danger of continuing the present silver coinage, and calls for the repeal of the Silver Bill. It also calls in detail for that reform of the mode of appointment and conditions of tenure in the civil service to which the party was solemnly pledged by the convention which nominated Mr. Hayes, and which nearly every Republican politician of note has ever since either ridiculed or evaded. The reasons it gives, too, for dreading the return of the Democrats to power are expressed with the clearness and moderation and comprehensibility of the ordinary conversation of intelligent business men, and must commend themselves to all that class. They are: the danger of sweeping and ill-considered changes in the tariff, and the destruction of the national banking system; the certainty that no reform of the civil service is to be expected from the party which originated the "spoils" system, and has carried it out during the last four years wherever it has had the power, and has refrained from legislation, or attempt at legislation, in that direction; the preponderance among Democrats of the advocates of inflation and various forms of repudiation; the probability that, if in possession of the three branches of the Government, the Democrats would initiate legislation for the exclusive benefit of the States lately in rebellion; and the unscrupulousness displayed in the attempt to usurp the State government in Maine last winter, and in the means resorted to to suppress the negro vote in several Southern States.

Mr. Conkling began his "support" of Garfield by a speech in the Academy of Music on Friday. We have commented on some features of it elsewhere. The argument against the right of the South to share in the Government drawn from its poverty was, as we have shown, based in large part on delusive statistics, and was extraordinary as a formal presentation of the Republican party as *par excellence* the party of the wealthy, and as an assertion of the danger of giving political power to small taxpayers. The true measure of Southern interest in the Government and in good order is the total amount of its production and the total amount of its consumption—data which Mr. Conkling carefully avoided giving. The most effective portion of the speech was the account of the gradual disappearance of the Republican vote at the South in recent elections; of the dislike and possible modification of the Supreme Court by the Democrats; of the Democratic hostility to the Army; of the claims against the Government on "ex-rebel" account which may be made good by legislation without violating the Fourteenth Amendment, and of the probable Democratic indifference to the public credit. It was, however, in the prominence given to General Grant, and in the insulting allusion to President Hayes, and in the slighting commendation of General Garfield, very distinctly intended as a vindication of Mr. Conkling himself rather than as a statement of the claims of the Republican party on popular confidence. The Republicans who fancy they help the party by producing speeches of this kind are, we fear, mistaken.

One of the chief reasons why politicians of the Conkling class possess the powers of mischief and of demoralization which they make so much use of, and of the contempt in which they hold the press, is to be found in the subservient way in which the newspapers of their own party allow their most sophistical and unscrupulous utterances to pass whenever they seem in the least likely to "help the party." One of the functions of the press is to expose and explode such attempts at imposition as these statistics about the South which Mr. Conkling produced the other night. There is probably no Republican editor in this city who did not perceive their fallacy as soon as they were uttered, and the monstrosity of the inferences he drew from them; but they all printed them nevertheless, and commented on them as if they were valuable contributions to the political thought of the day. A party press is a useful and respectable thing, but a press which allows itself to become the claque of the class of statesmen to which Mr. Conkling belongs, need not wonder if its claims on public confidence and respect are constantly disputed.

The calculation by which a Fusion majority of one thousand for Governor in Maine was reported last week was subsequently upset by unexpected Republican gains in the districts not then heard from. Both candidates are now claiming a plurality, and perhaps the official count alone can decide between them. The total vote, upwards of 147,000, is surprisingly large, exceeding that of last September by more than 10,000; but the two parties maintain their neck-and-neck relation in an equally wonderful manner. Our late comments remain unaffected by the see-saw in the returns: the 8,000 missing Republicans are still missing, and the explanation which we offered of their absence, and which we discuss at length in the present issue, is confirmed by the candid, if reluctant, Maine correspondence of the Boston *Advertiser*. "No place," it discreetly says, "has been reserved for the class of voters who are disposed to dissent from some views of the managers, and to dislike the perpetual rule of a few prominent men. There has been a decided attempt to smother any endeavors to liberalize the party here." Likewise, it is added, the erring Republican Greenbackers have been unwisely rebuked and repulsed. "Plantation manners" are darkly hinted at; and, worse still, "property in man was rendered out of the question in Mississippi, but something very like it was counted a perquisite in Maine." Some Republicans, it seems, were so sensitive as to resent the managers' assault on Mr. Hayes's administration. "Liberty in the party" was, however, denied them, and "the sight of a 'scratcher' in this State excites comment which would be appropriate to the vision of a rebel flag."

The difficulty of satisfactorily interpreting the "victory," with which the Democrats have had to contend, has been in some degree of a practical as well as of a moral nature. General Hancock courageously hastened to forestall scepticism by sending a despatch of enthusiastic congratulation to General Plaisted; but, although the latter replied with courtesy and apparent cordiality, he also signed himself to some alarmed New Jersey Greenbackers "Yours for Weaver and Chambers," and the National Greenback Committee accepted his supposed success as a triumph over "the Bourbon Democracy" as much as over Blaine. There seems to be no doubt that the Greenbackers, as such, have everywhere shown a disposition to appropriate all the moral effect there was, and in Indiana especially it has stiffened their necks in the most ominous manner. On Tuesday, too, when the Maine Greenbackers met to ratify the Democratic scheme of Presidential electors—namely, three Democrats and four Greenbackers—there was a bolt on the part of those who valued fusion only for local issues, and a pure Weaver ticket was made up and will undoubtedly obtain a large support. This doubly assures the State vote for Garfield.

The estimated probability of the fate of the Arkansas repudiating amendment ranges from 5,000 majority for to 10,000 majority against the measure. The great moral lesson of the election for the Democracy and for the country at large is therefore still obscure. Except in a few counties the Greenbackers exhibited the greatest weakness, while in half a dozen or more the Republicans achieved a complete success in electing their local candidates. The total vote was unprecedentedly large—130,000, or about one in six of the population (790,000) ascribed to the State by the Stalwart compiler of the table showing the Southern census frauds. The Maine vote, we observe in comparison, was about one in

four and a half of the total population (147,000 out of 647,000), which is, we think, a higher ratio than our political cipherers are wont to allow in such cases. Here, however, every nerve was strained to bring every voter to the polls; but who knows the extent of the stay-at-home vote in Arkansas, *ex hypothesi* a bull-dozing community?

The Democratic dissensions in Virginia have never afforded any substantial ground for Republican encouragement, and the result of the conference last week between the hostile factions is of small interest from a national point of view. There are, it will be remembered, three electoral tickets in the field—Republican, Funder, and Readjuster—of which the last two are pledged to Hancock. The Readjuster ticket was nominated solely for the purpose of demonstrating its "strength" and title to Federal patronage in the event of Hancock's election, there being no State officers chosen this fall in Virginia. The Funders, or regular Democrats, becoming alarmed—at the danger of the Republican ticket "slipping through," according to their own accounts, and according to their opponents at the imminent disclosure of their weakness—proposed a compromise, by the terms of which each faction was to have five electors and the eleventh was to be chosen by lot or by the National Committee. This the Readjusters declined, and proposed instead submitting the question of numerical superiority to "the people" at a primary election. The Funders amended this by substituting "Democrats" for "the people," whereupon Mahone adjourned his Committee, and the Funders, of necessity, followed suit. It is obvious that Mahone represents a minority of the whites and relies largely on the negroes, whom he speaks of as "faithful allies." The negroes, of course, are the only Republicans of the State, and the majority of those who pay their capitation tax will vote for Hancock. The *Times* correspondent cannot find it in his heart to blame them after their bitter disappointment that the saviour of their race was not nominated at Chicago. A Republican paper of Richmond, in changing its colors, says: "There may be Republicans who by some mysterious influence have been chained, roped, or screwed on to this inanimate thing called the Garfield ticket; but we are not of that kind, and propose to serve the Republican party in a more practical, sensible, and efficient way." This is a euphemism, but its significance is sufficiently understood by any one familiar with the aims of the Readjuster movement.

The Independent Republican Committee of this State have published an address in which they enumerate their reasons for supporting the Republican Presidential ticket. They can find nothing positive in the Democratic programme, and nothing in the party's use of its power in Congress to justify the expectation that it will interest itself "in any vital political or economic question." "Even its hereditary doctrine of free-trade has so little hold upon it" that, after five years of opportunity, "it has left tariff-reform still untouched." As the spoils system was a Democratic invention, so "the hope of spoil is the stimulus of the Democratic campaign." The party "urges change merely for the sake of change," dwelling upon abuses which "occurred many years ago, and have, for the most part, ceased to exist." Its refusal to allow legislation demanded by the Constitutional amendments; the mode in which the South has met the dilemma of an ignorant and indigent suffrage; the fear that Hancock's election will "obscure the fact that the war ended in a conquest, not a compromise"; his inferior civil capacity as compared even with President Grant's, are so many additional objections to lending countenance to the Opposition. Finally, the charges against General Garfield are unsubstantiated, and cannot offset his "long, honorable, faithful, and conspicuously useful public career." The Committee announce their continued existence, and call for further contributions in support of their work.

Attorney-General Devens made a forcible speech in Boston, last week, on the political situation, in which, among other good sayings, he met Mr. English's doctrine of limited lease of power with the legal assertion that "it is the right of a good tenant to have his lease renewed. If we prove that proposition it is all we have to do." This is the ground upon which Mr. Schurz based his argument at Cincinnati, it will be remembered, and there is certainly no better. The only objection to it which has even the appearance of weight comes from the South, which demands a clean sweep of the Federal offices for reasons which, as we have frequently pointed out, would be irresistible if they were based on principles of genuine civil-service reform. But the South does not, either as a body or through individual leaders, make any public pledge of its attitude towards this reform in case its hopes of Democratic success are realized. Mr. Devens himself had but little to say about it, but his words deserve to be repeated: "He was fully sensible that as an administration changes, all the great officers ought to change; but it is wrong, and sometimes wicked, that these changes should be pursued down to the humblest messenger."

The sort of pledge which one does not get from the Democratic side is illustrated in a recent speech of Mr. Wayne McVeagh's in Philadelphia, who, though a well-known Independent, here speaks for the great majority of the Republican party: "We will not violate the constitutional limitations in order to interfere with them [the South]; we will not use the Federal army in order to control their State elections. We will hope that other methods will prevail, and that within the limits of the Constitution and the laws, by the operation of forces greater than prejudice, they may be brought to believe, what is the truth of God, that it is the interest of the South to-day, far more than of the North, to recognize the political right of the Republican voter, black or white, who lives among them."

On the 17th instant Boston celebrated the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its founding with a pomp peculiar to that city and probably unsurpassed on any previous occasion of public rejoicing. Several New York regiments took part in the procession, which still preserved the local color given to it by the moving exhibition of trades and manufactures in full operation in which the Bostonians so delight. A philosophic observer would have found much to admire in this practical assertion of the dignity of labor, while the entire abandonment of the citizens to the occasion, and the perfect good nature and good order that prevailed (as usual, be it said) showed that, in spite of the preponderance of the foreign element in the population, Boston still preserves a close municipal spirit, that clings to the old traditions both of democratic and of decent government. In singular accord at once and contrast with this view was the fact that the most novel part of the display was devised and carried out by the Germans, who generally do not figure largely in our conception of what constitutes Boston. We say novel, because, although the historical and allegorical *tableaux vivants* on platform-cars drawn along the street railways recalled the spectacle of Mardi-gras in New Orleans and Memphis, the subjects were chosen, and the designs studied, rather in the spirit of Hans Makart's Vienna pageant of last year. There was, as more than once before in late years, an attempt to do something also towards closing the "bloody chasm," and accordingly Mayor Courtenay, of Charleston, S. C., was a prominent guest and speaker. Nor should those who take the darkest view of the party to which Mayor Prince belongs overlook his "pointing with pride" to Boston's precedence in all good works, the abolition movement not excepted.

Nearly five million dollars of foreign gold arrived at New York during the last week, which makes the sum received this year more than $26,000,000, the larger part of which has arrived in the last six weeks. The rates for foreign exchange are yet favorable to further imports. The New York banks lost about $400,000 of surplus reserve last week, but the loan market continues to be very easy for borrowers, at little more than nominal rates. The Treasury is pushing the issue of silver dollars, and last week $822,000 were sent out of the Treasury, against $360,000 the week before. It is said that the Treasury is also having printed silver certificates to the extent of $25,000,000, in anticipation of a demand for them. The price of silver in London has declined to 52⅛*d.* to 52¼*d.*, and the bullion value here of the "dollar of the fathers" is now only about 87 cents. The autumn trade of the coun-

try continues large and active. The movement of wheat in the West is, however, slow, on account of the low prices ruling in all the markets for it. Railroad earnings continue large; but at the Stock Exchange speculation is tame and hesitating, on account of the growing political excitement and uncertainty as to the October and November elections.

It seems hardly worth while to follow in detail the process by which the Powers are coercing the Porte into the surrender of Dulcigno and the adjacent territory to the Montenegrins, particularly as it now seems probable that a crisis will be reached in two or three days. The British admiral has sent an "ultimatum" to Riza Pasha, the Turkish commander, calling on him to surrender the place in four days. Riza, however, appears to be a good deal of a farceur, and, although ostensibly sent from Constantinople with two thousand men for the purpose, has never had any intention of surrendering the place at all, and now makes no secret of it. In fact, a few days ago he allowed his position to be occupied without resistance by eight thousand Albanians, and has been living in perfect amity with the chief of the Albanian League. The Montenegrins are all ready to attack the town with a force about equal to that of the Albanians, and will do so under cover of the guns of the fleet; but the fleet cannot act until the Christian population have got out of the place. There appears to be no longer any doubt felt that the Porte is simply killing time, in the hope that some disagreement will show itself among the Powers, or a storm blow the fleet off the coast, or, in short, that something will happen to postpone indefinitely the evil day. The chances seem to increase that the action of the fleet will be the signal for a rising in Eastern Rumelia, and when this occurs the devil will be let loose all over European Turkey. Baker Pasha has come back from his tour of inspection in Asia Minor, and frankly reports that the state of things there cannot well be worse.

The ministerial crisis in France which was threatened by the language of M. de Freycinet in his speech at Montauban has actually occurred, and has led to the retirement of that minister and of Admiral Jauréguiberry, the Minister of Marine, and of M. Varroy, the Minister of Public Works. M. Jules Ferry has been charged with the formation of a new Cabinet. M. de Freycinet's downfall is ascribed to the hostility of Gambetta, who disapproved of his expressed willingness to accept a declaration of obedience to the laws from the religious orders, other than the Jesuits, in lieu of their expulsion. This declaration appears to have been drafted at Rome and then signed by the heads of the orders in question, and M. de Freycinet's apparent readiness to accept it has been treated by the Radical wing of the Republicans as a retreat on the part of the Ministry from their anti-clerical policy. It is probably resented the more by Gambetta because M. de Freycinet made his speech without consulting him. The incident furnishes a fresh illustration of the inconveniences caused by Gambetta's present position. He is not a minister, and yet he makes and unmakes ministries, and his ascendency makes the Cabinet a place in which first-rate men cannot remain without considerable sacrifice of dignity. M. de Freycinet is one of the very ablest men on the Republican side, and his retirement gives another serious blow to the prestige and influence of the Moderates, and will probably, whatever the momentary success of the Jules Ferry combination may be, make it impossible for Gambetta to maintain his present position much longer. It is not unlikely that he sees this himself, and that the Republican victory at the election of the Councils-General has convinced him that the time has come when he may safely assume greater responsibility.

The Irish question appears to be the only one with which the Gladstone Ministry charged themselves when they came into office, towards the solution of which they made no progress before Parliament was prorogued, and Parnell has gone home, and is preaching his policy to the farmers, as a good thing to fill up the time with until the Government does something. Its principal feature is the refusal of the tenant to pay more than what he himself considers a fair rent, and the social persecution of everybody who takes a farm from which a tenant has been ejected for non-payment. On the other side, Mr. Froude has appeared on the scene with his cure, which is, as might be expected, about as foolish and much less practicable than Parnell's. He proposes, in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, which we fear will have considerable influence in England, a suspension of trial by jury in Ireland, and hints at some sort of arrangement by which the Government would become the head owner of all land in Ireland, and the landlord a sort of Mogul zemindar, or agent of the Government, who would collect the dues, hold office like "the governor of a crown colony" or the captain of a man-of-war, with promotion if he managed his estate wisely and dismissal if he did not. The assurance with which he censures Mr. Gladstone for ignorance of Irish history and of the state of Ireland, gives a gleam of the comic to an otherwise very dreary paper.

It opens with the characteristic assertion that "in *every* garden in Ireland there grow a hundred weeds for one potato," and that Lord Leitrim was murdered because he ejected inefficient tenants "and gave the land to some one who would grow potatoes and not weeds." The fact is that Lord Leitrim was murdered for the long exercise of an all-pervading and grinding social tyranny. Mr. Tuke, in his late pamphlet, gives as an illustration of it his having ordered a comfortable house which a tenant had erected, at his own cost and risk, in lieu of his previous wretched cabin, to be levelled to the ground because his permission had not been obtained. There are probably few men in England less capable of understanding the Irish problem than Mr. Froude. He has in an extraordinary degree the ordinary English incapacity to understand states of society differing from that in which he was bred, and the defect is aggravated by what may be called the wonderful recent growth of conceit in the "historical school" of political investigators. It is getting to be very common for anybody who has worked hard among "the archives" to offer to give lessons to the most experienced statesmen of his own time in any field of legislation. With Mr. Froude, Mr. Gladstone's forty-eight years of familiarity with Irish griefs count for nothing against his own greater knowledge of the manner in which Tyrconnel failed in the seventeenth century.

The Pope has issued, through Cardinal Nina, an appeal to the Catholic world for pecuniary aid in keeping up his establishment, which has been expected for some time, and which will probably lead to the provision of some settled financial basis for the Papacy on the voluntary system. He has, he says, to support the cardinals resident in Rome, the nuncios at various European courts, a large number of the Italian bishops who have been deprived of the revenues of their dioceses because they have not obtained the exequatur of the Italian Government, and a number of employés of the old Pontifical Government who have lost their positions. All this, besides the care of the Vatican, the repairs of many Roman churches, and the support of clerical schools in Rome to counteract the schools set up by "the unbelievers and the heterodox." Hitherto the Pope's want of money has been treated as a temporary affliction due to his being kept out of his temporal sovereignty, but all hope of restoration must be rapidly passing away, and the faithful all over the world must make up their minds to supply him with a permanent and fixed revenue. It is proper to add that the Italian Government makes him a standing offer of, if we remember rightly, $600,000 annually, which nothing but the theory that he is still a temporal sovereign who has been robbed prevents him from accepting. If he came to terms with his disputers, he would undoubtedly, in addition to this subsidy, be relieved of several other burdens, such as the support of his expelled civil functionaries. How long he will keep up the fiction that he is the lawful King of Rome it is impossible to say; but every one knows it must be abandoned some time, and it is a fair question whether the Catholic world ought to be made to pay the cost of it. Nothing is now likely to oust the Italian Government from Rome but a miracle, and, though miracles are still numerous, there is no sign or promise of any of this character.

THE "BOSS" SYSTEM AND THE MAINE ELECTION.

WE spoke at some length last spring in these columns of the transformation which has taken place in many of the Northern States of "the great Senator" into "the Boss." The explanations and complaints which have been called forth from a large and influential portion of the Republican press by the very disappointing result of the election in Maine, have given fresh interest to the subject. As we anticipated, sober-minded Republicans are not prepared to accept Mr. Blaine's explanation that the Republican majority in the State has disappeared under the influence of direct bribery, nor yet the other explanation, that the majority of the voters have become so immoral and unscrupulous that they approve of the Fusionist attempt to seize the State government by fraud last winter, or, at all events, were not sufficiently shocked by it to be willing to condemn it at the polls. Now that the mischief is done, and appears to be really serious, the best Republican papers have begun to confess, what many of them have known very well for some years, that the "Boss" system of party management has been producing in Maine, as well as elsewhere, demoralization and disgust so great as to overcome even the dread of the Democrats and the hatred of the "Solid South," from which the Republican party has drawn so much of its support during the last ten years, particularly in the New England States. It is now at least four years since we began to receive from prominent Maine Republicans, who did not wish their names to be published, warnings of what was likely to result from a continuance of Mr. Blaine's management. Since then the evil has not diminished: it has grown. The Boss system has been perfected, and its yoke made more oppressive and galling, until finally "the splendid leadership" has produced what nobody can deny is a catastrophe. Maine, instead of furnishing encouragement both to the October and November Republicans, has disheartened both, and has made General Garfield's election seem doubtful to hundreds of thousands who even a fortnight ago had no doubt about it at all; and the only consolation the State Boss has to offer is that a very large proportion of his fellow-citizens are great rascals.

The truth appears to be that the Republican party in the State has become a sort of machine for the support of Mr. Blaine's fortunes in Federal politics. The conventions have been managed by his henchmen, and the nominations distributed among those who made it their chief duty in politics to bear fealty to him, and to submit to "assessment" for his benefit. The Boston *Herald* is the authority for the statement that one State office-holder, whose salary amounted to $800, was in this way mulcted of $100, and had to borrow the money to pay it. The distribution of the offices by a ring, and the heavy taxation of the unfortunates who get the places in order to enable the Boss to make a good appearance in the Presidential arena, of course may produce a considerable campaign fund; but such things are not likely to stimulate the enthusiasm of the younger voters who have been coming to the polls in successive waves every year during Mr. Blaine's reign.

This was not the whole, however. The ideas which make a party strong and aggressive in our time are always ideas which spring up by a kind of spontaneous generation among the voters themselves. They are never ideas which are brought home from foreign parts in his valise by a "gifted leader," however excellent these ideas may be in themselves. Now, one of the peculiarities of the Boss system is that the opinions which are to fire the voters with enthusiasm and carry them to "rousing victories" are always opinions supplied by the Boss himself out of the private stock which he keeps on hand for various emergencies. It is he, and he alone, who knows in any given year what the "pressing danger" or "vital issue" of that year is to be, and he issues it to conventions, just as "the parole" is sent out from headquarters to an army in the field. Mr. Blaine took it into his head very soon after he left the Speakership of the House that the best vein for him to work was hatred and distrust of the South, and dread of the Brigadiers, and he began operations with characteristic vigor on the floor of the House when hardly anybody else in the country had thought of this mode of retrieving the party fortunes, then seriously injured by the scandals of General Grant's administration. His tactics were measurably successful at the outset, and were of invaluable service to him when his railroad transactions were under investigation, because he was able to say, when he had little else to say, that the Brigadiers were rummaging the private affairs of a stanch Unionist. But when, after Mr. Hayes's accession to the Presidency, he persisted in forcing barren hostility to the South on his followers in his State as a substitute for support of the new Republican administration in anything whatever, he strained the Boss system beyond its capacity. He made himself from the outset the remorseless critic of the President and Cabinet, in nearly everything they did or tried to do, without furnishing the slightest evidence that he himself had any policy whatever to offer as a substitute for theirs. Mere negation and hostility, as has been often said, are neither in politics nor religion a sufficient basis for an enduring and growing organization, and yet this is all that the Maine Boss furnished to the voters of the State. No young Republican in Maine has in ten years heard from Mr. Blaine one word looking to constructive or progressive legislation in any field, or one scintilla of hope or cheer with regard to the problem to which he was continually pointing as the most important problem of our time—the condition of the South; and the gloomier he grew, the more active his "management" became, and the more remorseless his use of the party machinery for objects which were at least as much personal as political.

The "great Senator," whose place the State Bosses have taken, was one of the oldest and most familiar figures in American politics, and of course had, like the Bosses, a powerful influence in State politics. But the influence was derived from a wholly different source. He held it as the exponent of ideas which had taken possession of the popular mind, and by maintaining and propagating which he made his fame. He was loved and admired because he stood for something about which the people felt deeply, and from which his career derived most of its lustre. He had, like the Bosses, warm personal adherents, but he won and retained their allegiance by his public utterances on all the great questions of the day. The management of the party machinery he could, therefore, well afford to leave to men of smaller calibre and fewer weighty cares, and keep his own powers for the real work of statesmanship. There could hardly be, for the young voters to whom so much advice is just now addressed, more instructive reading at this moment than the examination of the way in which Webster and Seward and Sumner passed their time, and of the agencies by which they retained their hold on the popular confidence and made sure of their re-election to the Senate. People voted for them, listened to them, and followed their advice, not because of their skill in parlor conclaves and their dexterity in distributing patronage, but because of the things they said before great audiences on the topics by which the popular heart was stirred. Their speeches were the speeches of men who thought much, and knew much, and therefore when they spoke spoke with the authority of statesmen. They had their faults and their shortcomings, like all the rest of the world, but their faults were those of a great rôle and great responsibilities. Right or wrong, their thoughts were always worth weighing, and when the tug of a canvass came it was not in hotel bedrooms or in the corners of piazzas that their guidance and help were looked for. It was on the platform and in the face of the whole State and nation.

If the disasters which have overtaken the Boss system in New York and Maine should lead people to turn back with reverence to the older type of American statesmen and revive the art of "managing" great constituencies through open discussion, there will be little reason to regret the reverses which the Republican party has sustained through the extraordinary ascendency achieved of late years by electioneering dexterity. The rule of Mr. Conkling in New York, of General Logan in Illinois, and of Mr. Blaine in Maine is, as has been often remarked, a copy, and a poor one, of the device by which Tweed mastered the ignorant vote of New York City. If it could succeed in the larger field of State and Federal politics we might well despair of the Government. The extent to which it has already miscarried seems to show that we are near the end of it, and if this be true the failure in Maine may be fairly set down as, in more senses than one, a "blessing in disguise." If Mr. Blaine will now direct his consuming activity to the study of real politics, and to the creation of some sort of authority for himself on weightier questions than the probable vote of "the French plantations of Aroostook County," he may still win a fame which the Brigadiers cannot dim.

MR. CONKLING'S SPEECH AT THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC.

SENATOR CONKLING has delivered his campaign speech, probably the only one he will make in support of the Republican ticket. It is useful reading both as an exposition of the political attitude of the section of the party which he represents—and which is a very large one—and as a very adroit presentation of the statistical justification of the Republican distrust of and hostility towards the South. It differs, too, from most of his late speeches in being largely statistical. It contained little or no rhetorical denunciation, and no one idea or entity like "State rights" was made to bear the whole burden of the argument. Nor was there any of that dithyrambic reference to "the guilt of rebellion," which makes so many Republican speeches and articles sound like "the plaintive numbers" of Wordsworth's Highland girl, who sang of

"Old unhappy far-off things, and battles long ago."

Mr. Conkling's argument may be summed up thus: the Democratic party ought not to be entrusted with the Government, because it is controlled by the Southern portion of it in Congress, both in the caucuses and in the committees of both Houses; and because these Southern members, owing to falsification of the census and the suppression of the black vote, are more numerous than they ought to be, and do not truly represent the population which they pretend to represent. But this is not the principal reason, which is that the region from which the members who will control the Democratic caucus come, only contains one-fourteenth of "the producing, commercial, industrial, tax-paying, and property interests of the country." It pays only one-sixtieth of the customs duties, only one-sixth of the internal revenue; possesses only one-fourteenth of the internal trade, only one-eleventh of the shipping tonnage, only two-ninths of the exports, only one-forty-third of the imports, only one-sixteenth of the manufactures, and only one-thirty-first of the mining products. The Southern ports, too, Baltimore, Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, do vastly less business (we need not give the figures) than Northern ports, and their business since 1860 has not increased in the same ratio. Mr. Conkling further produces the following table, as showing the difference in the growth of Southern and Northern production respectively:

		Value.
1860—Bales of cotton exported	3,812,345	$191,806,555
1870—Bales of cotton exported	2,095,323	227,027,624
1880—Bales of cotton exported	3,810,153	211,535,905

Fewer bales this year than twenty years ago.

In 1860 breadstuffs exported sold for	$24,422,320
In 1870 breadstuffs exported sold for	72,250,933
In 1880 breadstuffs exported sold for	288,036,835

The inference he draws from all this is summed up in the following remarkable passage, to which no summary would do justice:

"I affirm that the broad issue at this election is whether our colossal fabric of commercial, industrial, and financial interests shall be under the management and protection of those who chiefly created and own it, or shall be handed over to the sway of those whose share in it is small, and whose experience, antecedents, theories, and practices do not fit them or entitle them to assume its control.

"Tariffs, tax laws, finances, currency, banks, courts, appropriations, the maintenance and enforcement of national as well as State laws—these are the things upon which prosperity depends, and these are the things at stake in this election. The party which represents the tax-paying portions of the country is the party whose representatives can best be trusted to vote upon drafts on the Treasury. A Congressman whose constituents 'foot the bills' may not stand up alone, or with a few others, against his party and its caucus; but if he belongs to the party all of whose Congressmen represent tax-paying constituencies, they may be trusted to stand together against raids on the Treasury which they know all their districts would condemn. It is still more certain that if you place the tax-laying power in the hands of those who do but little of the tax-paying, your situation is like that of the man who sat on a limb and sawed off the limb between himself and the tree."

We do not propose to follow Senator Conkling through his figures. But we must say that, after long experience of the disingenuousness with which statistics are used in political controversies, we can recall nothing which surpassed in hardihood the attempt to spread the belief that the customs duties levied at the Southern ports represent the extent of the contribution of Southern consumers to this branch of the revenue. Senator Conkling, of course, knows perfectly well that, the distributing agencies of foreign goods being mainly at the North, the bulk of the duties paid by the South are paid in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. He knows also that Southern contributions to the internal revenue are not to be measured by the amount of internal revenue collected at the South, inasmuch as Southern consumers repay in the price of Northern goods the tax paid by the manufacturer at the place of production. He knows, further, that the exports and imports at Northern ports are made up in a considerable degree of articles of Southern production and consumption. We are not so sure that he knows, but we strongly suspect it, that the falling-off in exports of cotton, in spite of the rapid increase of the crop, is largely due to increased consumption by home manufactures, and that in this increased consumption the South itself has a respectable share. His proposition that the South cannot be safely entrusted with the Government because its mines only produced in 1870 three and one-quarter per cent. as much as the Northern mines, must surely be one of his rare touches of humor.

What we are most concerned about is the deduction he makes from these statistics, and which we have cited above. We dare say some of our readers will be amused, and more shocked, to find that it is the very deduction by which the Southern whites justify their hostility to negro voting and their determination by hook or by crook to prevent it. "Outrages" and the use of the tissue ballots at Southern elections are due to a determination on the part of the owners of "the commercial, industrial, and financial interests" of the South that these interests shall "remain under the protection of those who chiefly created them, and shall not be handed over to the sway of those whose share in them is small, and whose experience, antecedents, theories, and practices do not fit them or entitle them to assume their control." They agree with Mr. Conkling in thinking that "if you place the tax-laying power in the hands of those who do but little of the tax-paying, your situation is like that of the man who sat on a limb and sawed off the limb between himself and the tree," and they act on their conviction. The municipal commission which sat some years ago to devise a plan of municipal government for the cities of this State embodied this doctrine in some amendments to the constitution, for the peremptory rejection of which by the legislature Mr. Conkling is understood to have given orders to his supporters. He was not even willing that his party should take the responsibility of submitting them to the popular vote. Republican meetings have applauded many strange utterances of the Senator, but probably none odder than this, considering the actual political situation.

We agree in general terms with the Senator's position with regard to the importance to the property of the country of having the Government in the hands of those who appreciate the delicacy and complexity of financial interests. For this reason we have always considered the reconciliation of the property-holders of the South to the Government of the restored Union a matter of paramount importance, and we have taken it for granted that, slavery being gone, there would be but little difficulty in showing them that their interests and those of Northern property-holders were identical. We have taken it for granted, too, that the Southern property-holder is the same kind of human being as the rest of us, and has to be conciliated by the same methods. We have thought, therefore, that the denunciatory tone of Republican platforms and speeches and articles ever since 1860 was, as a matter of practical politics, a great mistake, and that with more forbearance of speech, and more blindness to faults which were, in a moving world, plainly temporary, and a little livelier perception of virtues on our part, the owners of the commercial, financial, and industrial interests at the South might have been largely won over into sympathy with, if not active support of, the party at the North which is, in our eyes, unquestionably the guardian of those interests all over the country. The policy which has been pursued, however, and of which Mr. Conkling has been one of the foremost supporters, has been that of organizing, through Federal agents, the non-tax-payers of the South against the tax-payers in a political party, and preaching to them at every election hatred and distrust of the very persons to whose skill and intelligence the South must mainly look for the revival of her material prosperity. The mischief thus done we believe to be incalculable, and speeches like Mr. Conkling's, which have not even the excuse of fanatical ignorance—for

he is anything but a fanatic—cannot but greatly aggravate it, because they convince the Southerners that the Republican party is determined to hate and pursue them whether they present themselves as tax-payers or non-tax-payers. Whether the stream flows from them or towards them, it is they who trouble the water.

We must say, too, that if the Republican party should father the Senator's doctrine that those sections of the country which have most capital and manufactures, and the best mines, ought to have most political power, and that the distribution of this power as made by the Federal Constitution on the basis partly of population and partly of historical unity is in practice dangerous and unfair, it will ensure itself as deep and swift damnation as overtook the Federal party for sins much less grievous. It is, thus far, one of the happy conditions of American politics that population and wealth, as a general rule, go together. The State with most voters is apt to have most money, and there is every likelihood that this association will last for an indefinite period. There is, therefore, no practical use in arguing just now that some States ought to be discredited and deprived of a share in the Government, if possible, because they are not as well off financially or industrially as some others. It raises a question which every party in this country ought to avoid sedulously, and which can lead to no legislative result, but can produce great exasperation, not at the South only but at the North. The best mode for any party in this country to protect capital is to say as little as possible about protecting it, and to make the liberty, and happiness, and the more perfect union and equality of all in all parts of the country, whatever the amount of the revenue they return, its real as well as its avowed object.

There are some points in Senator Conkling's speech which Independents would do well to note. One is the prominence which he gave General Grant, and the frequency with which he quoted some very commonplace utterances of the general's as the words of a wise statesman. This indicates clearly enough that the Bosses mean to try their luck again with their candidate if the party should in November secure another term of power. Another, is the bitterness of his reference to Mr. Hayes, and third, the almost insulting commendation he bestowed on General Garfield. He gave him a character such as might properly, with hardly the change of a word, be offered to a worthy drayman applying for the cartage of a dry-goods house. These things furnish a fresh illustration of the doubtful character of the service which the Senator renders the party. When its interests and what he conceives to be his own seem to coincide, he does for it all that long experience as a manager and manipulator can do. But he never allows regard for its welfare to repress any utterance, however indiscreet, which his personal animosities make necessary for his comfort, and probably never speaks for it in public without repelling the class of voters on which in this State, and in the present state of its fortunes, it must rely for success. Ever since the enthusiasm of the earlier days began to flag, and the dread of what the Democrats might do began to take the place of anticipation of what the Republicans would do, his management of the party in this State has been a long record of disaster and disappointment. Increasing numbers of Republicans ask themselves, when he is produced by the managers as the great gun of the campaign, whether the opinions of a man who has been so often wrong at other crises, and whose judgment is so plainly dominated by his temper, can be of any real service at a time when the bonds of party discipline are greatly relaxed, and the party more than ever dependent on the moral earnestness and sincerity of those who speak for it.

MR. FORSTER AND THE LORDS.

LONDON, September 9.

PARLIAMENT has been prorogued, and the two Houses have separated on the brink of a quarrel which will probably be appeased as the rolling months bring round February, which is the usual time of their meeting. Things have not looked so serious for the hereditary branch of the legislature as they do now since the controversies which immediately preceded, and which immediately followed, the Reform Act of 1832. The House of Lords was then a good deal threatened. Motions adverse to it were made; public meetings were held; the bishops especially were rudely assailed not only by argument but by physical violence—in their character of lords spiritual, however, and not in that of overseers of the flock. Mr. O'Connell declared that an hereditary legislator was even a greater absurdity than an hereditary tailor, and that as no one would go to the one for a suit of clothes so no reasonable person ought to have recourse to the other for useful legislation. The tailor, he went on to say, would certainly be a botcher, and the House of Lords was simply an assembly of botchers. Franklin put the matter in a more reasonable and dignified form. His illustration became the philosopher as appropriately as Mr. O'Connell's did the demagogue. According to him it was as rational to think of hereditary mathematicians as of hereditary politicians. If we are to trust the speculations of Mr. Darwin and of Mr. Francis Galton, neither assumption is as ridiculous as it appeared to the thinkers of Franklin's time. The doctrine of heredity plays a great part in the speculation of the present age. It is the basis of Mr. Darwin's theory of the origin and development of species. Mr. Galton has written a book upon 'Hereditary Genius'—a book of which the general doctrine, it may be hoped for its own sake, is sounder than some of the illustrations by which he supports it. Mr. Galton, without intending the slightest imputation on the virgin author of 'Pride and Prejudice' and 'Sense and Sensibility,' speaks of her as the mother of Lady Duff Gordon. He confounds Mrs. Sarah Austin, the wife of the eminent jurist, John Austin, with Miss Jane Austen, the inimitable novelist, who differed from that lady both in name and in race as well as in genius. Nevertheless it is true that hereditary mathematicians, hereditary artists, hereditary actors, scholars, and lawyers are among the common phenomena of intellectual history. Hence it is sometimes asked, Why should we not have hereditary legislators also? But no attempt was ever made to appoint to professorships of mathematics or of languages persons whose sole title was their birth. If they showed the faculty which their fathers possessed they earned for themselves the distinctions which their fathers also had acquired. The position of the House of Lords is, of course, very different. A member of it becomes a legislator not because he has given proofs of inherited talent and fitness for his work, but because it is taken for granted, without any evidence at all, that he may possibly have the qualities which some ancestor, more or less remote, was credited with possessing. This view of the matter places it in a light even too favorable for the assembly on behalf of which it may be pleaded. For three-fourths of the House of Lords consist of men and the descendants of men who have received peerages not because they were politicians of mark, but because they were men of wealth, or possessed the patronage of boroughs which a generation ago were negotiable in the market, or had rendered military or other services not involving statesmanlike gifts, or had shown a readiness for dirty work of one kind or another. The political capacity which the family of the Duke of Richmond has inherited from Charles II. and Nell Gwynn can scarcely be pleaded in any legitimate court of argument.

As a matter of fact, the descendants of considerable statesmen have seldom themselves attained to high political positions. There are exceptions. The houses of Russell and of Stanley have conspicuously presented them. After running underground for several generations the ability which marked the Cecils of Queen Elizabeth's time has shown itself anew in the present Marquis of Salisbury. Lord Randolph Churchill may possibly revive the memory of the talents and the disposition for unscrupulous intrigue which marked the great John, Duke of Marlborough, and the scarcely less great Sarah, his duchess. But for the most part titles once illustrious are now worn by peers whose insignificance they make sometimes ludicrously conspicuous. An hereditary mathematician would be scrupulously trained in mathematical science; the hereditary tailor would be taught to cut out, and to "seam and gusset and band." Politics, it is assumed, like reading and writing in *Dogberry's* conception, come by nature, and those who act upon this assumption find, as *Dogberry* would have done, that they do not come at all. The fact is that the House of Lords represents not hereditary brains but hereditary estates; and the estates very often clog the brains. The increased opportunity which leisure and ease and the means of instruction give is usually more than counterbalanced by the lack of stimulus to exertion and mental development which an assured position carries with it. Those who are surrounded with ease and wealth, and who are accompanied through life by a deference independent of their personal qualities, cannot be expected to strive to attain by their own merits what is theirs already without any such effort. The men are few who, with every opportunity of indolent self-enjoyment, and subject to no pressure of necessity, will scorn delights and live laborious days. The House of Lords assuredly presents a very small percentage of them. The argument from hereditary talent to an hereditary chamber breaks down. It may be conclusively shown that inherited genius never displays itself except under the necessity for its exercise and cultivation. When the prize is offered without the need of any contest for it there will be no exertion. Therefore, with the view to make the most of inherited capacity, it will be desirable to abolish the hereditary branch of the legislature.

There is no reason to think that matters will come presently to this issue in England. The House of Lords always strictly keeps its courage within the bounds of discretion, and its first instinct is that of self-preservation. A little rough correction is usually sufficient to recall it from its aberrations. A

humorist describing one of his friends who was a little given to arrogance and self-assertion, said that he was a very good fellow, and might be confidently reckoned on to behave well during the day if he was kicked once immediately on getting up and again before luncheon-time. We may say something like this of the House of Lords. It will behave well during a parliament if it is kicked once or twice each session. Mr. Forster has administered this kicking, and the result was shown in the prompt withdrawal by the House of Lords of the principal amendments by which they had marred three of the leading measures of the Government. As for their courage, it was rather cheaply displayed. The peers took advantage of Mr. Forster's blundering. Whatever were the merits of the Compensation for Disturbance (Ireland) Bill a tactician, as Mr. Forster professes above all things to be, ought to have seen that it had no genuine support in the feeling and convictions of the country, and that it was disliked by the great majority of the Liberal party in both Houses. The Lords perceived this, and assumed an independence of general opinion in the very act of deferring to it. It was not their own strength but Mr. Forster's weakness on which they acted. Probably the consciousness of this fact led to the extraordinary declaration which Mr. Forster made in the House of Commons with respect to the possibility of a reform being demanded in the constitution of the House of Lords. The lecture which he read to the peers from the motto *noblesse oblige;* the fact to which he called their attention, that the House of Commons owed its existence to the direct choice of the people whom it represented, while the Lords sat merely by the accident of birth; the reminder which he offered to them that what is called the Lower House, which ought, perhaps, to be called the First Chamber, is probably the hardest worked legislative assembly in Europe; while the Upper House, or more properly the Second Chamber, is the least severely taxed, and the hint which he threw out that in all these circumstances measures carefully prepared and minutely discussed by the House of Commons ought not to be wantonly marred or capriciously rejected by the House of Lords—all these considerations were true and forcible. The Liberal members applauded them to the echo, and the popular party in the country has welcomed them. But they were, nevertheless, in Mr. Forster's mouth, exceedingly indiscreet. They should not have been spoken by a Minister of the Crown from the Treasury Bench unless with the foreknowledge and deliberate assent and consent of his colleagues. If a statement had to be made at all Mr. Forster was not the person to make it. His position in the Ministry, though a very important one, is still secondary. He holds a post which involves very delicate and difficult functions at the present time, but which is not one of the great offices of state. If the Government had made up their minds to give the House of Lords the first of the three warnings to which it may be held to be entitled, the admonition should have come either through Mr. Gladstone on his return to the House of Commons or through Lord Hartington in Mr. Gladstone's absence. Proceeding from Mr. Forster, under the circumstances which Lord Granville explained afterwards in the House of Lords, and expressing merely the individual impressions of the Secretary for Ireland, it seems to have been dictated by personal mortification and pique.

The fact is that Mr. Forster up to this time has failed in the office which he now fills. His breakdown is conspicuous. No other minister has collapsed so completely and signally. Mr. Forster labors under the common error of believing that his weak point is his strong point: he prides himself on his art of managing men. He thinks that he can play off one person or group of persons against another, and that he is in an especial degree an adept in the practice of putting bills through. His success with the Education Act has misled him. In that measure he succeeded in "dishing the Dissenters," but he did so by enlisting upon his side the whole force of the Conservative Opposition, which, with the Liberal ministerialists of that day, gave him an overwhelming parliamentary majority. In the Irish Disturbance Bill he tried to play off the Home-Rule party against the Conservative Opposition. But the Home-Rule party are only a handful of men: they do not command more than forty or fifty votes. In coquetting with them Mr. Forster not only offended the whole of the Conservative party, but also a fair half of the Liberal majority. Mr. Forster does his conjuring clumsily. He has no great sleight-of-hand. You see the trick as he is in the act of performing it. He coquets with the two parties whom he is endeavoring to beguile in the full light of day. When *Don Juan* in the "Festin de Pierre" persuades in turn *Charlotte* and *Mathurine* that he intends to marry one and has no regard for the other, he does it by asides and secret whisperings to each. Mr. Forster is a sort of political *Don Juan*. But what he says to his Home-Rule *Charlotte* he says aloud in the hearing of his Tory and landlord *Mathurine*, while the illusory promises by which he endeavors to beguile *Mathurine* are not whispered into her ear covertly, but are bawled in the presence of *Charlotte*. Mr. Forster is nevertheless surprised that neither of these rustic beauties is deceived, and that both fall vehemently foul of him. He spreads his net in the sight of the birds, and the birds sagaciously keep out of it. If the events of the present session teach Mr. Forster a little straightforwardness, if they show him that parliamentary parties cannot safely be hoodwinked and played off against each other, and that trimming and balancing are likely to bring him to the ground, they will teach him a lesson which he needs to learn. The maintenance, to say nothing of the aggrandizement, of his position in the Liberal party depends upon the completeness with which he learns it. In the meantime the House of Lords has suffered less through its own mistakes than it would have done if they had not been eclipsed by the infinitely greater and more glaring mistakes into which Mr. Forster has betrayed himself, and to some degree the Government, whose responsibility cannot be wholly separated even from his merely personal and individual blunders. †††

HARD TIMES IN GERMANY.

BERLIN, September 6.

THE imperial order of September 1, issued to the German army on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the battle of Sedan, is a highly important political document. It is couched in a few sentences, modest in tone, but of positive expectations. In alluding to the glorious victories of 1870, and thanking the soldiers and officers, as well as the whole people, for their bravery, devotion, and perseverance, the Emperor feels sure that, united by the strong ties of honor, discipline, and duty, the German army, in future serious times, "which may God long keep from us," will, as in the past, prove a safe shield and stronghold to the Fatherland. These words are a noble and dignified answer to Gambetta and all Frenchmen who long for revenge. They are calmly notified that Germany will rejoice if peace is preserved, but that she will always be ready to take up arms when provoked to do so. From my own experience I can state that not a day is lost in perfecting the army and in making it more efficient, but that at the same time all classes of the people are eager for the preservation of peace. The Emperor's order, therefore, met with the universal approval of the country.

Whatever the shortcomings of the German nation may be, military boasting or chauvinism is not one of them. I can boldly say that no other people would, or probably could, have been less intoxicated by the successes of the last French war than the Germans. They looked at them as the legitimate net results of an adventure into which they had been forced, and, without being greatly excited, returned to the pursuits of daily life as if they had only extinguished a fire. The reason is very plain: the liability of every German to military service is comparatively old in Prussia, which in this respect has moulded the German institutions and nation. At present the fourth generation is about to enter upon the performance of this duty. Every one feels the burden of it, and the loss which it causes in preventing him from following his civil pursuits. In discharging it he is the happier the less time and money it costs him, and he knows from his own experience, as well as that of his father or grandfather, what an expensive and unproductive thing war is. The desire, inclination, and care of the German are, therefore, peace. A war of conquest is, in his eyes, a reckless hazard; a war of defence, a duty not to be avoided.

The appeal of so shrewd a politician as Gambetta to the warlike passions of his countrymen is the most incontestable proof that the system of universal military duty, which is interwoven with the feelings and interests of every German, has not yet taken root in the French popular mind, and that Frenchmen feel and think not like citizen soldiers who must risk their blood, but like conscripts and mercenaries who are paid for fighting the battles of their masters. Let me add, in exculpation of the French, that in any intellectually and materially developed country the introduction of the German military system will and must in our days meet with the most momentous difficulties. With us it sprang into life at a time (1813) when we were poor and oppressed, when trade was prostrated and business stagnant, when we had no choice between perishing and triumphing. The subsequent victories which led to the reorganization of the state and of impoverished society form with us the basis of a new start in national life, and are chiefly due to the then adopted military system. It is significant that some twenty years ago rich manufacturing towns of Rhenish Prussia and Westphalia proposed to do away with that system, and to introduce the French method of conscription. After the years 1866 and 1870 such a change has, of course, become impossible in Germany. For this important progress we are indebted to the French, much against their will.

The people this year did not celebrate the Sedan day with the usual enthusiasm. The Government did its best to stifle it, in order not to rouse the susceptibility of the French Republic. Old Emperor William himself declared that he wished to spare the feelings of the French people, and deemed it best not to continue the celebration of the great battle after the lapse of the first ten years. This consideration seems a little sentimental to me; the French, at least, have never spared our feelings in a similar predicament. Besides, Sedan is of less moment to us as a great military success than as the first battle which was fought by the united Germans under one command, and which, in its consequences, led to the establishment of the Empire. It is of the same general importance for European politics as the battle of Quebec, in 1759, was for the French in their contest with the Anglo-Saxon race in America; it is a great landmark in the history of the world. To cite an-

other instance: has an Englishman ever complained of your celebration of the Fourth of July, or if he had done so, would you ever have heeded his remonstrances? It was rather the Government's duty to encourage the celebration of the Sedan day, as the parties opposed to the existence and consolidation of the Empire ignore or even attack its observance. Thus, Ultramontanes and Socialists, in order to show their enmity to the new order of things, have always kept aloof from the celebration. In the capital of Bavaria it is dangerous to confess sympathy with the Empire. When, on the 25th of last month, the seven-hundreth anniversary of the rule of the present Wittelsbach dynasty was celebrated, the mob of the city of Munich tore down the German colors which adorned the office of a Liberal newspaper, and threatened to sack it if they should be replaced. The police, instead of protecting the proprietors of the house, stood passively by, and even encouraged the mob.

If ever a dynasty since the time of the Reformation has been a curse to Germany it is this Wittelsbach family. I do not know of any redeeming feature in their long treachery to the best interests of our country. During the sixteenth century they were at the head of the Catholic counter-Reformation, and in the seventeenth century they succeeded in firmly establishing the Jesuitical sway over the richest and largest part of Germany. In the last third of the seventeenth century nine-tenths of its population were Protestants; a hundred years later, through Bavarian influence and co-operation, the last Protestants were driven out of Austria and Bavaria by the red gendarmes of the princes and the black gendarmes of the Pope. Maximilian I., Elector of Bavaria, was educated in the Spanish political school and drilled by Italian Jesuits. It was he who, animated by the most selfish political views, split Germany into two hostile camps. In the wars of the Spanish and Austrian succession the Wittelsbach electors were in the pay of France and Austria, while in the Seven Years' war they confined themselves to stipends from France. In the war of your independence they sought to make a dishonest penny, and offered England some regiments, but these were refused because, as the English negotiator, General Fawcitt, wrote home, they were worse than the worst soldiers of Europe—*i.e.*, of the Pope. Napoleon made the Wittelsbach electors kings of Bavaria, enlarged their domain, and made them his obedient tools for carrying out his plans in Germany. When the French conqueror was defeated by the almost superhuman efforts of Prussia, Max Joseph, by the grace of Napoleon king of Bavaria, took up arms against his benefactor, but at the same time, by entering into a secret alliance with Metternich at Ried, secured for himself a rich compensation for his treachery. Lewis, the friend of Lola Montez, was the successor of this man. The last king but one, Maximilian II., and the present king, Lewis II., are the only gentlemanly characters of the family, but not important enough to make up for the deficiencies of their ancestors. For the intellectual development of Germany, and her weight in the councils of the world, Bavaria is of about the same importance as Florida or Mississippi is for that of the United States. If it were swept from the surface of the earth to-day it would not leave the least gap, in spite of all the hyperbyzantine flatteries with which the seven-hundredth Wittelsbach anniversary was officially celebrated.

To return, however, to the politics of the day. The popular mind, on the whole, is not disposed to celebrate holidays. Our economic condition is rather poor this year. If not starvation, at least distress is staring hundreds of thousands of Germans in the face. Our crops have been very bad, and in some parts of the country—as, for instance, in Upper Silesia and Western Prussia—they have failed entirely. Bad weather, rain, and hail-storms raging for months were followed by large inundations. To complete the misfortune, the effects of last year's tariff are just making themselves felt among the poorer classes of the people. It was a selfish conspiracy and a mean bargain between the iron-founders, the landlords, and the cotton-spinners to shift the taxes from their own shoulders to those of the poor and dependent working classes. It is, therefore, not so much a question of duties, laid or to be laid, on single articles as a war against the whole corrupt and unjust system, against a policy which rules the state in the interest of certain classes, and which strangles our free economic development by undermining the intellectual and physical power of the people. There is a great difference between your protectionists and ours. In your country by a change of the tariff they do not attack the foundations of modern society, and at least respect certain inalienable rights which are guaranteed by old custom and the Constitution, such as free intercourse of the several classes of people and their removal from one village, town, or county to another; the liberty of every individual to work and to make a living wherever and whenever he pleases; the right to make promissory notes and draft bills of exchange; the right to enter into marriage contracts, and other elementary principles, which are a matter of course in every English-speaking community. Our protectionists, on the contrary, are more like a horde of hungry politicians who for years have not had access to the fat state offices, and, having carried most of their points, now try to appropriate to themselves all the benefits the Government is able to bestow. For the protection of "national labor" the iron-men ask prohibitory duties, while, the better to compete with foreign manufacturers, they sell their goods cheaper abroad than at home. In face of the bad crops the landlords demand a double and treble increase of the present duty on breadstuffs. Others, again, want more stringent laws for the indenture of apprentices. Ultramontane leaders, to prevent the swindling of the masses, propose the regulation of commodities by law. In order to win over to his side the commission-merchants of our seaports, Bismarck offers them discriminating duties on goods imported from non-German ports and by foreign vessels (*surtaxe d'entrepôt* and *surtaxe de pavillon*), an offer which, however, is disdainfully rejected by the parties concerned. Other manufacturers want to reintroduce bimetallism, since they cherish the delusion that by re-establishing silver as legal tender they will increase the circulation of money, and consequently the extent of trade and commerce.

I do not pretend that all the proposals for such foolish experiments will be carried out: on the contrary, they meet with a strong and energetic opposition; but the uncertainty, suspense, and insecurity in which the most vital interests of the country are constantly kept weaken confidence and enterprise, and clog the working of the social and industrial machine. It would be premature to pass final judgment upon the effects of the new duties, which, in my opinion, are partly overestimated, partly undervalued. As much as by duties the great transactions of commerce are ruled by production and consumption, by supply and demand, and a great many other conjunctures of international trade. But one thing is certain: the new prohibitory tariff has annihilated a great part of our carrying trade, and created two foreign ports to the south and north of our boundaries. These ports are Fiume and Liebau. The latter, as you will perceive from a glance at the map, lies on the Baltic about a hundred English miles north of Memel, and is now already a dangerous competitor of Eastern Prussia. Königsberg and Memel, before the new tariff, were the great receiving depots for Russian breadstuffs, tallow, hemp, and other staple goods, which were exported hence to England, Holland, and France. Now they are directly shipped by way of Liebau. The Russian Government has connected it with the great inland railroads, and built docks and warehouses, so that the city has grown to quite extraordinary proportions. While during the last fiscal year Königsberg altogether did not receive more than five to ten carloads of Russian grain a day, eighty and more were delivered at Liebau in the same time. While the latter's imports and exports in 1876 amounted to 2,356,400 and 7,184,255 rubles respectively, in 1879 they increased to 5,277,720 and 28,218,606 rubles. While in 1876 not more than 586 ships entered and 577 cleared, in 1879 there were respectively 1,800 and 1,730. A similar development has taken place in Fiume, the only Hungarian port on the Littoral (southeast of Trieste). It is the suicidal policy of the German Government—the abolition of all discriminating freights on lumber and breadstuffs passing from Galicia and Hungary through Prussia to Hamburg, Bremen, and the Dutch ports—which has driven a considerable export of the south and southeast of Austria into the hands of English merchants who have lately established regular steamship lines to Fiume. Thus, to mention the most important articles, Fiume in 1879 exported 155,960 hectolitres of corn against 89,153 in 1878, and 86,499 hectolitres of wheat against 38,040; further, 697,482 metric quintals of flour against 412,722; beech staves (in pieces), 9,629,900 against 383,300; oak staves, 1,571,900 against 645,100; boards, 1,191,700 against 26,700. In these and other important articles the exports have risen from week to week, and likewise the return freights of pig-iron, petroleum, and soda have increased in value and number.

At home the misfortune of a protective tariff has become generally apparent, as far as the cruel tax on the necessaries of life is concerned, by the failure of the crops. Yet, urgently as it may be demanded, in my opinion the duty on breadstuffs will not be suspended, because Bismarck is not willing to sacrifice the interests of his friends, the landlords, to those of their more lucky confederates, the iron-founders and the spinners. ??

THE SEQUEL TO "CALIBAN."

PARIS, September 2.

M. RENAN has just put forth a second part of his "Caliban." "Caliban" was intended as a sequel to "The Tempest" of Shakspere; the "Eau de Jouvence" is a sequel to "Caliban." He tells us in his short preface that he composed this fantastic drama in the island of Ischia, where he goes to cure his rheumatism: he has lived for a few weeks in the company of *Prospero*, of *Ariel*, and of *Caliban*.

"I at first," he says, "thought of a continuation of my 'Caliban' which would certainly have pleased the Conservatives. *Prospero* would have been re-established in his Duchy of Milan; *Ariel*, after a resurrection, would have placed himself at the head of the *purs*. But I saw much that was not advantageous in this solution. I love *Prospero*, but I do not like much the people who would re-establish him. . . . *Caliban*, made better by the use of power, pleases me more. . . . *Caliban* in the end renders us greater services than would *Prospero* re-established by the Jesuits and by the Ponti-

fical Zouaves. . . . Let us keep *Caliban;* let us try to find means to inter *Prospero* honorably, and to reconcile *Ariel* with life so far that he will not be tempted to die for the most futile reasons."

The "Eau de Jouvence," as you see, is the renovating water, the water in which the monster *Caliban*, the representative of revolution, of ignorance, and of democracy, becomes better, more enlightened, more worthy of his high position. Renan, who has the most yielding and gentle-natured temper in the world, likes to be in harmony with his *milieu;* he loves *Prospero*, but what if *Prospero* has made himself impossible? He did not much like *Caliban* at first, but now he is becoming accustomed to him. He is like a child who timidly pats a huge dog, is at first afraid of him and then finds out that after all the dog will not bite him. We find *Prospero* at first, where we left him, in his Certosa of Parma. He has no worldly ambition left, he cares not for his Duchy of Milan, nor for any worldly satisfaction; he is a devotee of truth, of science. "Yes," he says, "the reign of the ideal is finished; whatever is not a force is looked upon as chimerical. A scientific man who has no fulminating powder, a pope who has no army, will say in vain, 'I represent an idea.'" So *Prospero* makes himself an alchemist, and appears surrounded by all the paraphernalia of Dr. Faustus; he tries to fabricate an essence of life, the "water of life," a liquor which can give life and death, a liquor which may make death agreeable, voluntary, desirable, which can give to old age the sensations and pleasures of youth, deceiving time and eternity. We must not wonder if, in the midst of these dreams, he receives very coldly his noblemen of Milan who propose to restore him. These noblemen are French Legitimists in disguise. "We are not among those whose notion of right is change; we protest against accomplished facts. . . . The republic has this advantage, that it furnishes the means with which it can be attacked. The essential thing is to prove that order will never be established by a government directed by popular assemblies. The tactics are easy: in order to prove that order does not exist we trouble it." Thus speaks the baron *Servadio*, but *Prospero* says that he has no orders to give; he adds that there are two things which cannot change—the interest of the people and his historical title; if Milan must have a prince in order to subsist, he and his family are there. "If the republic of Milan, founded by my race, can do without us, well! I have other duties and other pleasures. The Duchy of Milan is a very little thing in the *ensemble* of mankind."

Prospero is very philosophical here, but he ceases to be dramatic and human. If he cares not for the Duchy of Milan, *Caliban* is right; but I am afraid that *Prospero* here is only Renan; it is in the eyes of Renan that Milan is a mere atom. Queen Elizabeth, Charles V., Philip II., Napoleon, Richelieu, Bismarck would not, cannot, reason in this way. *Prospero* is a mere ideologist, and he is so afraid of his own partisans that he disguises himself as *Professor Arnaud*, and begins a new life. The second act brings us to the residence of Pope Clement at Avignon. The whole act is a somewhat bitter satire on the Papacy. The pope is old, and his mistress, *Brunissende de Talleyrand* (why did Renan choose this name?), is young. She wants money, and the pope must sell abbeys and bishoprics. The pope is afraid of dying: he has heard of the famous Doctor Arnaud of Villeneuve, who can make the "Eau de Jouvence"; this water may prolong his life. He has been summoned before God in the course of a year by one of his victims, Gualtherus of Bruges. He goes into the vault where Gualtherus lies, and forces the cadaver to give him the parchment on which he reads his assignation to appear before the throne of God. This second act is somewhat painful; the pope, seller of indulgences, simoniac, coward, on his knees before a profligate mistress, half-believer and half-unbeliever, is a type which our time cannot well understand. The story of Gualtherus Brugensis, bishop of Poitiers, is forgotten; the sale of bishoprics is not among the abuses of the nineteenth century; and *Brunissende de Talleyrand* seems as old as Cleopatra.

The third act is more amusing; its scene is the famous bridge of Avignon.

"Sur le pont
D'Avignon,
C'est là que l'on danse;
Sur le pont
D'Avignon,
Que l'on danse en rond."

The place is well chosen for dialogues. *Sister Douceline* and *Donna Albina* exchange their views on resuscitation and the miracles wrought by Doctor Arnaud. Young gentlemen talk about *Brunissende* and her charms, and her young lover, the bachelor Waltherus. *Prospero* arrives; he begins at once to declaim about the people: "The truth for the people is the truth which it makes for itself. The people needs at the same time religious illusions and much amusement." One of the followers of *Doctor Arnaud*, the honest and heavy *Gotescalc*, objects to the doubtful amusements of the bridge of Avignon; he wants to "moralize the masses."

"How can you be so childish?" answers *Prospero*. "Morality must be reserved for those who, like ourselves, have a mission. Whoever occupies a privileged place in humanity must impose on himself, in payment of this privilege, austere duties, a sort of life subjected to difficult rules; but poor folks, the common people, why so? They are poor, and you wish them besides to be virtuous. You ask too much. By heaven! their part is not the worst. Amusement is only for the simple-minded: amusement is an inferior but a real way of attaining the end of life. . . . If man did not exist, the highest forms of adoration on our planet would have been the games of the dolphins, the play of the butterfly, the song of the birds. Love is the pearl for which all the rest is given; and love exists almost exclusively for the people. The greatest prince, with all his treasures, cannot buy the love which the country girl or the working-woman gives for nothing to the young peasant or to the young workingman. The poor love only each other. The people must be amused; it is its great compensation. The gayest people is the best people."

Gotescalc says a word for the temperance societies, and *Prospero* almost loses his temper: "Why will you hinder these poor people for a moment from plunging into the ideal? These are perhaps the best hours of all." He goes on, expounding the philosophy of pleasure, not so much for his own sake as for the sake of the many. He is an aristocrat, and he is willing to sacrifice his own happiness to make great efforts for a doubtful object; he suspects that the last word of science as well as of religion is "Omnia vanitas." He would not recommend others to do as he himself has done, and even the knowledge which he has bought at so dear a price seems to him a doubtful coin which he would hesitate to put into circulation. "We are too old; let us at least leave others to do as they please, and let us enjoy their happiness. My ideal now would be an old patriarchal castle, full of singing children, of playful girls and young men, where everybody would eat, drink, dance, live at my expense."

Meanwhile, everybody is dancing and singing on the bridge; but by degrees it becomes deserted. *Prospero* and his disciples remain alone; and here begins the most fantastic scene of this fantastic play. A vision is forming in the skies. An immense guillotine rises at the end of the bridge, and its triangular knife shines in the moonlight. Instead of the gay *ronde* which was heard some time ago, we hear now—

"Dansons la carmagnole,
Vive le son,
Vive le son;
Dansons la carmagnole,
Vive le son
Du canon."

A great *macabre* procession begins on the crenellated ramparts of Avignon, formed of couples who dance with gravity till they arrive under the guillotine; they place their heads under the knife, their heads fall, and another couple take their place. This new Holbein's Dance of Death begins with the King and the Pope; then come in long succession the Duke of Burgundy with the Golden Fleece, the Duc de Bourbon and the Duc d'Armagnac, twelve *preux* and their ladies, Jacques de Lalain, the Good Knight with the Lady of Tears, Petrarch and Laura, Anne of Britanny, Roland and Oliver, a host of bishops, of abbés, of ladies, of judges, of doctors. Thousands of them are waiting for their turn. *Prospero* witnesses the scene, and looks on this huge execution of the old world.

So far we have not seen *Caliban*. *Prospero* fills the whole play with his melancholy, his contempt mixed with love for the past. His love of science does not give him any more happiness than it does *Faust* in the immortal drama of Goethe. I confess that I do not quite understand *Prospero*. He sees that the old world has come to an end, and that the old symbols have lost their power. But what would he put in the place of these symbols? He does not believe that science is made for the people; he would only have the people profit by its applications. But we can imagine a community of men where each citizen would be housed, fed, clothed, transported, washed, nursed in sickness, all in the most perfect and scientific manner, and which, nevertheless, would be far from happy. The mind is its own place; and "stone walls do not a prison make." *Prospero* would keep all the idealism of science for himself, and only leave to the people the drudgery of telephones, electricity, railways, Liebig's extract, and so on. His people would be a soulless people, and he can find nothing better for it than blind obedience to the lower instincts of animality. Will pleasure be the new religion? And what is pleasure? We must go on with this analysis and see what becomes of *Prospero* in the later acts, and what *Caliban* has to say in his turn on the terrible problems which *Prospero* treats with the solemnity of a professor and the pedantry of a philosopher.

Correspondence.

ADULTERATION OF NEWS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I venture to send you one of the most amusing examples I have lately seen of the adulteration of news, which has been under discussion in your columns. It is taken from the *Inter-Ocean* of this city, the chief organ of the Stalwarts, and a paper which aspires to the leadership of the Republi-

can press in the Northwest. The passages quoted appear in a despatch from Lafayette, Ind., describing two political meetings held there on the 8th of September. The Democratic meeting is first spoken of, then the Republican.

"The ignoring of the Democratic stand, erected for political speaking, and choosing the Opera House, was most unfortunate for the Democracy, numerically considered, for its exact capacity could be ascertained to a dot, while the public stand has capabilities of that unknown quantity that renders it an easy matter, by Democratic arithmetic, to multiply hundreds into thousands. The seating capacity of the house, dress-circle and parquet, *is precisely six hundred, every seat being occupied*, while about one hundred persons stood in the gallery. . . . At this hour, 8 P.M., the Hon. J. M. Butler is addressing *an immense throng at the Opera House*, who came up with banners, torches, bands of music, glee-clubs, etc. He is listened to with profound attention, and is frequently greeted with deafening applause."

The italics are my own. Plainly it must have been the difference of quality, rather than of quantity, that made an "immense throng" of an Opera House full of Republicans, while the same house, "every seat being occupied" by Democrats, was so small as to excite the derision of the correspondent. Yours sincerely,

L'Homme qui rit.

Chicago, Sept. 13, 1880.

WHICH CIVILIZATION SHALL GOVERN?

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your remarks this week on the persecution of Miss Crandall in Connecticut fifty years ago, and on its analogy to what our Southern brethren are doing to-day, have a twofold application. Admitting that South Carolina is only half a century behind Connecticut, the question naturally suggests itself, Will South Carolina ever come up to Connecticut? For it is only fair to presume that while the former makes an advance in civilization, the latter will not stand still. And, secondly, supposing even that at some time in the more or less remote future the two sections will be abreast of each other in all that goes to make a civilized community, we must ask, What shall be done in the meanwhile? Which section ought to preponderate in the government of the country—the section which is in full sympathy with the spirit of the century, or the section which lags fifty years behind? That is, after all, the one great practical question of the hour. It is the only real issue, to my mind, of the coming election. There is no longer any pretence anywhere that the Southern States are not to be allowed to govern themselves as to them seems best, without interference from the Federal Administration. The financial question has become the question of again demonetizing silver, and neither party is as yet ready for that. The tariff is like a sun-dial—it has to be adjusted, for both parties, according to latitude. Civil-service reform has been practically thrown overboard by the Republicans, and has never been a part of the Democratic cargo. There is only one thing to be decided by the election—viz., whether during the next four years the country is to be ruled by the North and according to the ideas of to-day, or by the South and according to the ideas of fifty years ago.

The backwardness of the South is not by any means to be regarded as a result of the Reconstruction policy, but dates back to a period long before the war. The South has always been a generation behind the North. Even at the time of the persecutions in Windham County this phenomenon could have been observed. It can be verified now. Compare a volume of the *Southern Literary Messenger* for 1835 with a volume of the *New England Magazine* of about the same date, and you will find that while the *New England Magazine*, judged by the standard of to-day, seems feeble and raw, it is a model of robust maturity alongside of its puny Southern rival. Everybody knows how antiquated were the literary ideals of the South before the war, when the South set up to be literary. The critics of the Sunny South were in ecstasies over Byron and Scott at a period when all the rest of the world had long arrived at a more sober judgment. Since the war it is possible that the Southern youth have progressed as far as Wordsworth and Dickens; and before the end of the century they may, possibly, overtake Tennyson and Thackeray.

Aside from books, we find a similar state of things in other matters. The practice of duelling still flourishes in the South. The old-fashioned notions of hospitality, which to a citizen of the modern *Cultur-Staat* are merely a survival, still retain their sacred binding force to the "Southron"; a Southerner's ideas of a dignified foreign policy are still a caricature of Palmerston's methods, and mean that you must bully the weak, bluff your equals, and cajole the strong. And Southern opinions concerning women are no more liberal to-day than they were fifty years ago.

That the Southern States should, like Ireland, present an example of arrested development, is a sad phenomenon, and one with which statesmen have to reckon; but it offers no argument for calling in the South to rule us, or even for intermitting Northern criticism of Southern conduct. It is only by such criticism that any improvement can be worked. To excuse what is going on in the South by the plea that fifty years ago there were Northern people who did worse, is to imitate the opponents of civil-service reform when they point to the corruption of Walpole's administration in England as a reason why we should not worry about our custom-house.

The Southern States are now left entirely to themselves, and the physical pressure which has been removed must be replaced by moral pressure. The Southern people must be made to understand that as long as their entire section is given over, whether by force, or fraud, or even by fair means, entirely to one of the two national parties, the North will not trust that party with the national Government. A. T.

New York, Sept. 11, 1880.

[We know of nobody who has ascribed "the backwardness of the South" to the Reconstruction policy. We ascribe it to slavery, and slavery being gone, we maintain, in opposition to some of our esteemed contemporaries, that the ordinary civilizing influences of our time will act on the South as they have acted on the North. There is not half as much reason for a dark view of the Southern future in the South Carolina dislike of "nigger teachers" from the North as there was for a dark view of the future of Connecticut in the persecution of Miss Crandall. The teaching of negroes had none of the odious associations to the Connecticut persecutor which it has to his confrère in South Carolina. We agree with our correspondent as to the unfitness of the South in its present temper to take charge of the Government, but we think much of the exposition on this subject is very injudicious. It may be very wise to say to a man with whom you *have* to live and do business, "I do not think it safe just yet, considering what our relations have recently been, to have you take the active management of our concern. I may be mistaken in you, but you must acknowledge that, in view of everything that has happened, my mistake is a natural one." But it can never be wise to say to such a man, "You are without exception the greatest scoundrel I ever knew. Your atrocities and outrages and hates and prejudices are absolutely unprecedented. The like of you was never seen in any age or clime. The worst of it is, too, that all attempts to improve you are useless. You are utterly irreclaimable. I believe you would set fire to the store and murder me in my bed to-night if you got a chance. But you won't get a chance. I keep a good watch on you, I promise you, and the more I watch you the worse you seem. Murder is your favorite pastime, and you contract debts not because you want the money, but just for the fun of not paying them. Why don't you acknowledge that you are a wretch? You know you are, and yet you keep constantly denying it, thus proving the hardness of your heart. As soon as you are ready to acknowledge it let me hear from you and I may possibly allow you some active share in the business."—Ed. Nation.]

MR. CONKLING AND THE NATIONAL-BANK SYSTEM.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Some surprise, I see, is expressed that Mr. Senator Conkling, in the recent "greatest effort of his life" at the Academy of Music, in your city, should have devoted himself almost exclusively to the sectional aspects of the pending Presidential canvass, and should have dismissed the currency question without the slightest reference to the depreciated silver dollar, and with only a mere mention of "Democratic hostility" to the national-bank system.

It seems not to be generally remembered that Mr. Conkling has the best possible reason for treating the latter of these topics in a gingerly fashion. No Greenbacker on the stump—not even Gen. Weaver himself—has inveighed more strongly against the policy of the national banks, as a fiscal arrangement for the Government, than Mr. Conkling in the public debates of the Senate. For instance, on the 15th of June, 1868, on a motion to increase the U. S. bank circulation to the amount of $20,000,000, by withdrawing *pro tanto* legal-tender notes, he opposed the measure, and gave the following reason for his opposition:

"The general banking system, regarded as a fiscal problem between the Government and the people, involves an interest in coin of six per cent. per annum upon bonds exempt from taxation, paid by the United States to corporations for circulating a currency for which the United States are ultimately responsible, and which currency they might themselves have issued without the expense of one farthing beyond the paper and engraving, and the cost of striking it off. I have heard a great many financiers deal with this point, and I have never heard it so disposed of as to make it appear a good fiscal arrangement for the Government of the United States."—*Cong. Globe, 2d Session 40th Cong., p.* 3153.

At another stage of this same debate he reaffirmed this bad opinion of the

national-bank system. If any Greenbacker or Democrat has ever stated the argument against the system more emphatically I have failed to mark his language; and if the Greenback "machine" was to-day in as good working order as the Republican "machine," it is evident that Mr. Conkling would be the proper man to manage it. That his argument against the national-bank system in 1868 was as sophistical as the argument of Gen. Weaver to-day (because leaving out of view its advantages as well as blinking the perils of "fiat money," and so stating only one-half of the case), does but serve to strengthen the likeness between the reasoning processes of the two "statesmen." W.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20, 1880.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I shall be happy to be a subscriber yearly of $100 to a Civil-Service Reform Society. Yours, B.

NEW YORK, September 17, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The proposition made by "F. W. H.," in your issue of Aug. 19, to form a publication society for the purpose of publishing and disseminating information pertaining to Civil-Service Reform, is a good one, and will certainly meet the hearty concurrence of every friend of good government and of political reform. After canvassing somewhat, I am sure that in our little town, upon the extreme borders of civilization, we can find thirty or forty subscribers to such an organization. Very truly,

E. W. HENDRICK.

SAN DIEGO, CAL., September 6, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Would not your "supposed Republican emissary at the South" be very rash in asserting that the "Republican party at the North have never sanctioned such modes [false counting] of perpetuating its power"? Did not virtually the whole Republican party, including its nominee for President, sanction the action of the Louisiana Returning Board in 1876? His most forcible argument is the one in regard to Federal offices. In no section of the country has the "spoils" system done more harm than in the South, but I am afraid that a demagogue would not find it difficult to divert popular aversion from the system to the men who are believed to be responsible for it. I for one should be perfectly willing that every office-holder in the South should hold his place until removed for cause; for I have no doubt that if he was a man who would use his office for ignoble purposes, without being urged to do so for self-preservation, the cause would soon come. I think it very probable that three-fourths of the subscribers to the *Nation* would support a Civil-Service Reform Publication Society. I am willing to be one of a thousand to raise the sum that your correspondent thinks necessary for that purpose.

Very respectfully, WINDSOR SMITH.

ALTAMONTE, FLA., September 13, 1880.

P. S.—I wish to call the attention of your correspondent, "W. H.," to the speech made by General Gordon in the Senate some years ago, when he was sharply rebuked by one of the leaders of the Republican party for having been a rebel. This speech seems to have been entirely overlooked.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: One of your correspondents suggested the local newspaper as a means of commending the Civil-Service Reform Association to the people. Why not use the local newspaper at once and extensively for the promulgation of civil-service doctrines? Large numbers may be thus reached and prepared for receiving and reading profitably the publications of the Association.

The local paper, as a political factor, is scarcely appreciated. It furnishes to those who have something to say many of the advantages of personal advocacy. All civil-service reformers who live outside of the great cities should resort at once to the columns of their local paper, explain the subject, give facts in its history and the sayings of the wise on the subject, answer objections to it, and in all possible ways remove prejudice and prepare the people for the favorable reception of the strong political measures necessary for "thorough, radical, and complete" reform.

The editors of local newspapers are especially open to conviction by articles printed in their columns. Z.

IOWA, September 16, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read with much interest the correspondence in the *Nation* relative to civil-service reform, and approve most heartily of the Publication Society in that interest, and will subscribe to the good cause with work and money.

I should say the duty of the civil-service reformer, in the present campaign, was to vote for Garfield, inasmuch as while his election will retain and put in office many who are not worthy, yet, in the main, honest, efficient, and experienced officers will be had. But in the event of Hancock's election the spoils system will turn out of office many valuable men of long experience, and put in their places men unacquainted with the duties of office, and who will need to serve a number of years before they will be competent therefor.

I think the Independent press of the country, in conjunction with the Civil-Service Reform Publication Society, could perform a good work. There are a large number of non-partisan papers published in small towns which could greatly help the circulation of reform ideas. You can count on me for all the assistance in my power, and the columns of my paper are open to the good work. Yours truly, J. F. G.

OFFICE OF THE GAZETTE, BALDWINSVILLE, N. Y., September 20, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In 1874, when the Convention for altering the Constitution of Pennsylvania was in session, I had prepared for submission to it a scheme of permanent office-holders and appointments by fitness. On consultation with some sagacious and "practical" reformers as to the propriety of bringing the plan before the Convention, I was so overwhelmed with ridicule as to the quixotism of my ideas that I lost the courage my convictions should have enforced, and was silent. I do not mention this to claim credit as an early explorer or discoverer, but as evidence of the length of time I have been studying, and the importance I attach to, this subject. Indeed, I believe it to be to-day the paramount question of our politics, both State and Federal, beside which, if the integrity of our country is to be preserved, all questions of finance, the currency, and tariff, important as they are, must for a while be subordinated. After this confession you probably, and certainly all of your Republican friends who invariably assume for themselves and their party a monopoly of virtue and intelligence, will be surprised to learn that I am not a Republican but a Democrat of the strictest sect, and that not alone myself but several of my friends would be but too pleased to contribute towards the support of a journal or a party which would advocate, explain, and educate the people in "civil-service reform."

It is not unreasonable, however, that gentlemen who think as we do should desire that our opinions (prejudices, if you will) on other political questions should be respected, and, therefore, what is called "The Independent Republican Committee" would not be a proper depositary for contributions or organ for action. Neither of the great political parties can, of necessity, be now used for this reform. They are and must be run on the "spoils" system. We must start as a small band of rabid, impractical fanatics, until by disseminating knowledge we shall have gained over enough votes to make ourselves of political value in closely-contested Congressional districts, and in State and municipal elections. Then the "practical" politicians will bid for our votes as they did for those of the abolitionists, and pay for our support by voting for our measures. Meanwhile, let us have the newspaper and begin to teach at once. The ground is ready for the seed. Make a new committee to receive subscriptions, with members in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and the Western and Southern cities. You will be astonished at the number of subscribers you will get. I think I could get a dozen at $5 each. J. S.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I sincerely hope there will be a Civil-Service Reform Publication Society. As to the need of some organization of the kind there seems to be general agreement.

But I also sincerely hope that such an organization will not be partisan. There are men among the Democrats who are as truly in favor of true reform as any in the Republican ranks. And if this new movement falls into the hands of the so-called Independent Republicans, honest Democrats who favor the cause will be kept away from the organization. If the Independent Republicans will open their doors, change their name, and call for workingmen from all parties, then let them take the lead in the movement. But if they insist on forming practically only a wing of the Republican party, then I trust that an organization which is independent in fact will take the lead in this new movement. INDEPENDENT.

NEW YORK, September 18, 1880.

[We are now able to state that, in view of the spirit manifested by the correspondence on this subject, the Civil-Service Reform Association of this city, of which Dr. H. W. Bellows is President, and which has a large, influential, and non-partisan membership, is taking steps to reorganize itself for active work. This Association was formed some four

years ago, but has accomplished little. It is now capable, under wise counsel, of guiding to a certain if not speedy consummation the movement which aims at the overthrow of the greatest remaining obstacle to all reform, whether political or social. Letters of adherence can still be sent until further notice to the Independent Republican Executive Committee, Box 1827, N. Y. City.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

THE *Library Journal* reappears in its familiar dress, making a double number for July and August. Mr. Leypoldt explains in a card the disinterested motive of his undertaking, and requests suggestions calculated to enable a new volume to be begun on a more economical and not less useful basis.——Mr. S. C. Griggs, jr., Chicago, has assumed the American agency of the Roman periodical *Minerva*, of which we have already spoken. It is printed in English, and has a truly international list of contributors—Karl Blind ("The Suez Canal and the Circumnavigation of Africa"), A. V. Vecchi ("Yachts and Yachting in the Mediterranean"), Henri Rochefort ("Mlle. Bismarck," a tale), and Dr. Stamatius Antonopoulos ("Public Education in Greece"), for example, in the July number, in which every article is a translation.——Mr. Alexander Graham Bell's remarkable account of his new photophone is given in full in *Science* for September 11, which proves its title to existence by continuing to print the papers read at the Boston meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.——So few persons make a business of rescuing old pamphlets for sale to the seekers after rarities or after sets, that we must mention a very full "Catalogue of Political Pamphlets embracing the Period between 1789 and 1879," just published by E. P. Boon, 86 Nassau Street, New York. It abounds in curiosities.——Among recent Government publications is an 'Introduction to the Study of Mortuary Customs among the North American Indians,' by Dr. H. C. Yarrow, U.S.A., issued by the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution. A volume will ultimately be devoted to the subject, which is still explored by means of circulars to be had of the author on application. The Bureau of Education has put forth a circular on the "Legal Rights of Children," in the matter of education, namely—a comparative view of existing State legislation; also, a report on the condition of the Indian school at Carlisle Barracks in February last, accounts of the progress of Western education in China and Siam, and of European "vacation colleges" for sickly school children.——From the Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences have been reprinted two essays by Waldo S. Pratt, now of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, discussing (adversely) the derivation of the Doric order from Egyptian prototypes in columnar architecture, and proposing a new classification of Egyptian columns. They are excellent examples of industrious and intelligent study.——In the *Athenæum* of Sept. 4 an Athens correspondent gives some gratifying details of recent activity on the part of the Archæological Society, resulting in the identification of the theatre of Zéa referred to by Xenophon in 'Hell.,' ii. 4, and the discovery of that of Munychia. The same correspondent states that the excavations preliminary to re-erecting the Lion of Chæronæa have revealed the bones of the Theban Sacred Band, with a few remains of arms, buttons, etc.——The Music Festival to be held in the Seventh Regiment's Armory, in this city, next May, under the direction of Dr. Damrosch, will employ a chorus of one thousand voices and an orchestra of more than two hundred instruments. Handel's Dettingen Te Deum and Messiah, Berlioz's Grand Requiem, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, Rubinstein's Tower of Babel will constitute part of the programme, the last-mentioned work being performed for the first time in this country.——In the July number of the *Moliériste* M. Nuitter, the archivist of the Opéra, describes three great rarities just acquired by that institution for its library. These are three "posters" of performances given under Louis XIV. by the three companies of actors then existing in Paris. That of Molière's company was, unfortunately, badly torn, but M. Nuitter has conjecturally restored it with great skill. In the August number M. Louis Moland identifies the date as 1660. In the second, or May, number of Dr. Schweizer's tri-yearly *Molière und seine Bühne: Molière-Museum* is reprinted the very scarce "Festin de Pierre," by the actor Dorimond, a play needful for the study of Molière's "Don Juan."——Prof. Adolf Tobler has recently published his lectures on French versification delivered to his class in the University of Berlin, two years ago, under the title: 'Vom französischen Versbau alter und neuer Zeit' (Leipzig. 1880). The work rests on a strictly historical method, and is a very convenient compend for the use of the teacher.——Part 8 of Vapereau's 'Dictionnaire Universel des Contemporains' (New York: F. W. Christern) ends with Ricci. The article on Napoleon III. is concluded. After him the late Pope Pius IX. is most considered, being sketched in four pages. Olivier, F. V. Raspail, Persigny, Pelletan, Pouyer-Quertier, Félix Pyat, Quinet, Rattazzi, Charles de Rémusat, and Renan are treated in limits of a page and upwards.

—From the *Publishers' Weekly* of the 11th instant we complete our list of the fall announcements of new books, as follows. Harper & Bros.:—G. O. Trevelyan's 'Early Life of Charles James Fox'; the fourth volume of Kinglake's 'Invasion of the Crimea'; Dr. Schliemann's 'Ilios, the City and Country of the Trojans'; Alfred R. Wallace's 'Island Life: or, the Phenomena of Insular Floras and Faunas, with their Causes'; a biographical sketch of the late William Cullen Bryant, by A. J. Symington; a second volume of J. W. Forney's 'Anecdotes of Public Men'; Mrs. Helen Jackson's 'Century of Dishonor,' viz., the United States Government's dealings with the Indians; Henry James, jr.'s, 'Washington Square'; and 'Pastoral Days,' by W. Hamilton Gibson—articles reprinted from *Harper's Monthly*, with the author's illustrations. D. Appleton & Co.:—'The Political History of Recent Times, 1816–1875,' from the German of Wilhelm Müller (of which, by the way, Little, Brown & Co. promise another translation, by the Rev. J. P. Peters); Geo. H. Jennings's 'Anecdotal History of the British Parliament'; Sir C. G. Duffy's 'Young Ireland'; a 'History of Greece,' by T. T. Timayenis; 'Life and her Children,' by Arabella B. Buckley; 'Mashallah: a Flight into Egypt,' by Charles Warren Stoddard; the second and third volumes of Badeau's 'Military History of U. S. Grant'; and perhaps the most American work of the season, 'Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings,' being an unrivalled collection of negro animal fables, by Joel Chandler Harris. Macmillan & Co.:—Volumes 3 and 4 of Ward's 'English Poets'; 'Cicero's Life and Letters,' by the Rev. G. E. Jeans; 'A Visit to Wazan,' the sacred city of Morocco, by Robert Spence Watson; a welcome translation of Kiepert's 'Manual of Ancient Geography'; and new editions of Hamerton's 'Etching and Etchers,' and Gilchrist's 'Life of William Blake,' both enriched by new illustrations. Charles Scribner's Sons:—'Gleanings from a Literary Life,' by Prof. Francis Bowen; 'Army Life in Russia,' by Lt. F. V. Greene, U.S.A.; a 'Life of Charles Hodge, D.D.,' by his son, Dr. A. A. Hodge; and a 'Boys' King Arthur,' matching his 'Boys' Froissart,' by Sidney Lanier. Henry Holt & Co.:—'Old Paris, its Court and Literary Salons,' by Charlotte, Lady Jackson; and 'Our Familiar Songs, and Those Who Made Them,' by Helen Kendrick Johnson. Fords, Howard & Hulbert:—'Bricks without Straw,' and 'A Royal Gentleman,' by Judge Tourgee, author of 'A Fool's Errand'; 'An Earthly Paradise; or, Rifle, Rod, and Gun in California,' by T. S. Vandyke; a 'Memoir of John Howard Raymond,' late President of Vassar College; and an elegant illustrated edition of 'Aucassin and Nicolette,' translated into prose and verse by A. R. Macdonough. Cassell, Petter & Galpin:—a new 'Life of Jane Austen'; the second volume of the illustrated description of Great Britain and Ireland called 'Our Country'; and final volumes of Hodder's 'Heroes of Britain in Peace and War,' and Whymper's 'The Sea.' A. C. Armstrong & Son:—A series of popular biographies called 'Heroes of the Christian Church,' leading off with Wilberforce; and 'Memoir of Henry Boynton Smith,' late professor in the Union Theological Seminary, edited by his wife. E. P. Dutton & Co.:—'Indian Summer,' an illustrated poetic album, by Miss Clarkson; 'Masterpieces of Antique Art,' permanent photographs from objects in the Vatican, the Louvre, and the British Museum, with text by Stephen Thompson—we presume, the photographer himself; and a new edition of White's 'Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America,' with notes and a sketch of the Colonial Church by the Rev. B. F. De Costa. Dodd, Mead & Co. will shortly have ready the first volume of Woltmann and Woermann's 'History of Painting in all Ages,' translated and edited by Prof. Sidney Colvin. Thomas Nelson & Sons promise 'Shakspere's Stories Simply Told,' by Mary Seamer, with numerous illustrations. George Routledge & Sons will issue, no doubt this time in an adequate edition, Kate Greenaway's 'Birthday Book for Children.'

—A somewhat shorter list will include the forthcoming publications of the Boston and Philadelphia houses. Little, Brown & Co.:—'A History of the Conquest of Spain by the Arab Moors,' by Professor Henry Coppée; and Grimm's 'Life and Times of Goethe,' translated by Miss Sarah Holland Adams. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.:—'Ballads and other Verses,' by James T. Fields, together with 'Under the Olives,' verses by Mrs. Fields; a volume of poetry by Lucy Larcom; and 'Historical Sketches of Andover, Mass.,' by Miss Sarah L. Bailey. James R. Osgood & Co.:—'Eminent English Liberals,' by J. Morrison Davidson; 'Self-Culture,' by the Rev. James Freeman Clarke; Charles T. Congdon's 'Reminiscences of a Journalist'; the literary remains of John Brougham, with an autobiography, edited by William Winter, who cares in like manner for the 'Tales, Sketches, and Poems' of the late Fitz-James O'Brien; a 'Life of Dr. Rimmer,' by his fellow-sculptor, T. H. Bartlett; Dr. Angell's 'Records of William M. Hunt'; a 'Dictionary of the Stage,' by Townsend Percy; a series of dramatic biographies, beginning with Edwin Forrest; 'Jewish History and the Bible Narrative'; a translation of the Georgics of Virgil, by Miss H. W. Preston; and Mrs. John T. Sargent's 'Records and Reminiscences of the Radical Club of Chestnut Street, Boston.' Lee & Shepard:—'How I Found it North and South,' a farmer's experience; General O. O. Howard's 'Nez-Percés War'; 'Conver-

sation: its Faults and its Graces,' by Dr. A. P. Peabody; and 'Gleanings in the Field of Art,' by Mrs. Edna D. Cheney. J. B. Lippincott & Co. have in press 'The Beef Bonanza; or, How to get Rich on the Plains,' by General Brisbin. Presley Blakiston will publish 'School and Industrial Hygiene,' by Dr. David F. Lincoln.

—The October *Harper's* is not remarkable for substance. An ascent of Fuzhiyama is described in slovenly English by Constance Gordon-Cumming, who saw perhaps two things worth recording—the morning shadow of the sacred mountain (as she had seen that of Adam's Peak in Ceylon), and the beaten path near the summit so thickly strewn with cast-off pilgrims' sandals "as to give it the appearance of having had straw laid over it." Dr. T. M. Brewer's "Reminiscences of John James Audubon," accompanied by a striking portrait, embrace a number of Audubon's letters to the writer, who out of affection for his old friend vindicates the latter's character for honesty of purpose and statement without clearly defining his rank as a naturalist, as to which Dr. Coues's Bibliography lately made some unexpected revelations, apropos of Macgillivray. Mr. M. D. Conway, still pursuing his studies in demonology, talks discursively of the St. Hubert legend in Touraine, and then of Louis XI., making free use of Willert's life of that monarch, with an evident desire to show that this devil of popular tradition was not so black as he was painted. Mr. A. A. Hayes, jr., glorifies Chicago as the "Metropolis of the Prairies." That literary salt, Captain John Codman, throws cold water, in his "Sophia Walker," on a story of second-sight printed as "A Puzzle for Metaphysicians" in the June number of the magazine. Captain Codman was "at the other end of the line" from the seer, and corrects her narrative of the incident which happened under his own eyes in several material particulars. Much pleasant gossip of the high seas he throws in gratuitously. "Some Peculiarities of Turkish Politics" are well pointed out by Henry O. Dwight, who writes from experience of the Turkish character.

—In the October *Scribner's* the number of articles which challenge perusal is not great, but several of these are of unusual excellence. Mr. Cable's "Grandissimes" is concluded with an art and a degree of pathos not surpassed in any of the previous fifty-odd chapters; and almost one might say of this story as a whole that it restores—in the field of fiction, at least—the intellectual balance of North and South. The "countrymen," as they may still call themselves, of Wm. Gilmore Simms, will perhaps not take this for a compliment, seeing that the theme which Mr. Cable has made his own is the spirit of slavery not only in its most brutal aspect (seen in the tragedy of Bras-Coupé), but in its equally subtle and detestable manifestation as the pride of caste. Nevertheless, we hope this imaginative and powerful tale will find Southern readers in abundance, and that its humane teachings will have a salutary influence on minds which still lament the bloody passing away of an ideal social institution. It is by an easy transition that one turns from "The Grandissimes" to Mr. Sidney Lanier's article on "The New South"—of small farmers, namely. This writer's poetic fancy, too, and nice literary taste have invested an economic topic with a palatable husk of philosophy and history. The *reductio ad absurdum* of farming *quâ* farming in the gigantic wheat-raising of the Northwest, which Mr. Lanier justly classes rather with mining or manufacturing than with agriculture, is contrasted with the multiplication in the Southeast and South of small farms with diversified products, bringing in their train a new social structure, unknown amenities and amusements, and the slow but inevitable extinction of the "color line." The subject is one of the highest importance, for slavery notoriously made farming disreputable for the white man who labored with his own hands. Mr. Lanier has been the first, as far as we know, to compare the censuses of 1860 and 1870 for evidence of the great change in holdings since the war. He makes it clear that the freedmen probably form a very large proportion of the small cultivators in Mississippi not less than in Georgia, and it will be strange, in spite of the exodus, if the new census does not reinforce his statistics. Other articles deserve mention, but we cannot dwell upon them. The second instalment of the biography of Millet reveals still more intimately the noble character of this artist. Under the caption "To Bolt or Not to Bolt" the Rev. Washington Gladden makes a good argument in defence of scratching, or, in other words, "the right to oppose a thoroughly bad candidate in the canvass, in the caucus, and at the polls."

—The appearance of no fewer than seven pieces of verse in the October *Atlantic* is no sure warrant, of course, for expecting as many lines of poetry; and, accordingly, we are not disappointed, but only get a keener sense than ever of the worth of magazine poetry. It must be difficult to obtain anything out of the ordinary, or we should oftener see it; and doubtless the editors are as well aware as any one of the shortcomings of what gets printed. But why not do without verse altogether if good verse is not to be had, and by making merit the qualification draw a sharper line between magazine and "newspaper poetry"? We suspect that it is a mistake to suppose poor poetry as popular as poor prose, and that readers who are not alive to good verse occupy themselves very little with any. This should, at least, be true of the *Atlantic's* readers. Among the poets of the present number are Robert Louis Stephenson, whose "Not Yet, My Soul" strikes us as a singularly prosaic thing for its author to be deceived about; Mr. Whittier, and Mr. Aldrich. Mr. Whittier gives us another version of his favorite theme of 'The Eternal Goodness,' and Mr. Aldrich sixteen lines called "Comedy," and belonging to the little-gem order of verse. It is a prettily polished little gem, and, though the conceit is not new, it has enduring possibilities; but whether its prevailing quality is to be called delicacy or insipidity is a question. The last verse is:

> Ah, what a comedy this is!
> Neither was hurt, it appears:
> She had forgotten his kisses,
> And he had forgotten her tears;

and we have no doubt Mr. Swinburne's following would say the poem had a jaunty, dilettante air contrasted with the real irony and passion of the "Interlude" verses, which conclude:

> And the best and the worst of this is
> That neither is most to blame,
> If you've forgotten my kisses
> And I've forgotten your name.

Mr. Bishop contributes a short story, very well done, and evidently—or perhaps, rather, inferentially—very carefully thought out and executed. Those whom it interests, nevertheless, will be apt to enquire, in some irritation, if the low tone could not have been preserved without making the conclusion tragic; the fanciful part is not good enough to stand in the way of a more agreeable and equally real ending, and the effect produced is one of perversity. Mr. White's English paper this month is about the drinking habits of the people, and is one of the more interesting of his series, all of which have had more or less suggestiveness; what he says in digression as to the character and limits of the period during which the excuse for the phrase "drunk as a lord" was furnished, is worth noting. The reviews are all better than usual, that concerning Channing being perhaps the best; it is good enough, at all events, to make us wish its moderation of temper—which has almost as good results as clairvoyance often—extended even to such remarks as "Channing is, without doubt, the chief ornament of the American pulpit," which may be true, but in which surely the "without doubt" is misleading, and "he was a Falkland on Cromwell's side"—a statement needing too much qualification or explanation to pass as a matter-of-course allusion. These are slight blemishes as such things go, but in a real contribution to the current understanding of Channing they deserve notice. Dr. William James's "Great Men, Great Thoughts, and the Environment" is a vivacious attack on the Spencerian school, and amounts so nearly to a demonstration—though, *pace* Dr. James, it is hard to be sure about any demonstration in such an inexact matter as science appears to the lay reader of such discussions—that it will seem to many people the article they have been looking for. It is, at any rate, the article of the number.

—The opening article of *Lippincott's*, "A Chapter of American Exploration," by W. H. Rideing, is the noteworthy paper of the number for its popular instructiveness as well as for its crisp and enthusiastic style, which makes it a contrast to the usual way in which perfunctory work of this kind is performed. Considering this, it is perhaps a small thing to mention that, from a literary point of view, the last sentence—"suspended by his fingers from the rocks, four hundred feet above the level of the river: Major Powell is a one-armed man!"—is vicious writing. "Glimpses of Portugal and the Portuguese" is less striking but has more than the ordinary interest of such papers. "Adam and Eve" increases, as it has done every month, the impression of sustained power left by the first number; it should be near the climax. The short stories are not bad, but are all more or less morbid—a trait which we are not sure, by the way, is not becoming a little characteristic of *Lippincott's* lighter fiction. *Ouida's* is the best, but it is distinctly not "A Child's Story," we submit. The social part of Louise Coffin Jones's "Seven Weeks a Missionary"—in Honolulu—is suggestive, as indeed everything about the fated Hawaiians must be. "Americans Abroad," by Alain Gore, will profitably instruct readers (no doubt there are such, though they must be few) to whom his views are novel. Lucy Hooper's short paper on the French tenor Roger, with his reminiscences of Jenny Lind, is as good as it is short. There are but two poems, "Under the Grasses," by Dora Read Goodale, which is formally pretty but sentimentally rather vague; and "From Far," by Philip Bourke Marston, which calls for no particular comment.

—In reviewing Ludlow's 'Dramatic Life as I Found It" (*Nation*, No. 790) we said he had "shattered" the tradition that J. B. Booth ever acted *Oreste* in French in New Orleans. Mr. Ludlow was the manager in New Orleans in 1822 when Booth played *Orestes* in the "Distrest Mother," and records his belief that it was this performance in an English version of "Andromaque" which gave rise to the tradition of Booth's having actually acted in French. A Rochester correspondent promptly called our attention to a page which we had overlooked in the 'Passages, Incidents, and Anecdotes in the Life of Junius Brutus Booth (the elder),' by his daughter, Mrs. Clarke, which gives in the original French the programme of "Andromaque," as acted by a company of French actors, with Booth as *Oreste*, in 1828—that is to say, six years after the performance in English to which Ludlow alludes, and

several years before Ludlow again returned to New Orleans. The point seemed to us curious enough to be settled by contemporary testimony, and a correspondent in New Orleans has very obligingly transcribed for us the theatrical criticism of the French and English editions of the *Louisiana Courier* of February 21, 1828, together with the advertisements of the *two* performances, viz., on Tuesday, February 19, and Thursday, February 21, and Mr. Booth's card of grateful acknowledgment.

—The French critique is perhaps a little more forcible in its expressions, but it substantially agrees with the English, from which we make the following extract. The rôle of *Hermione*, by the way, was taken by Mme. Clozel, a much-admired actress, who often, in conversations with Mr. Lamache, the present controller of the New Orleans Theatre (as he informs our correspondent), spoke of her surprise at Mr. Booth's portrayal of *Orestes* in a language not his own. We omit the laudatory passage relating to her performance:

"A spectacle of deep interest, one as novel as it was pleasing, was offered last Tuesday night in the Orleans Theatre to the lovers of dramatic talents. Yielding to the solicitations of several gentlemen in this city, Mr. Booth consented to present himself before a French audience in the part of *Orestes*. He was aware that his pronunciation was far from being considered correct even by his most partial friends, but relying on the indulgence of a polite audience he determined to make the attempt, depending on his power of action to diminish, at least, the defect of his accent. This effort, perilous in the extreme, and which nothing but a wish to give to Frenchmen an opportunity of judging fairly of what is termed the English style of acting, could have urged Mr. Booth to risk, has been crowned with the most flattering success. After the first scene the unpleasant effect of his English accent was lost in the deep and ever-increasing interest excited by the warmth of his feelings, the earnestness of his manner, and the impetuous ardor of his delivery. There certainly were moments when the dialogue did not call for the enthusiastic vigor which carried away the hearers without giving them time to attend to mere sounds, when harsh and discordant words wounded the delicacy of French ears; but, whenever passion rose high, and, above all, when the furies guided *Orestes* to crimes, the accomplishment of his fatal destinies, criticism was merged into admiration, and, with one voice, all wondered that a stranger should thus feel and express all the beauties of Racine.

. . . . . .

"The spectators, after the curtain dropped, called for Mr. Booth and saluted him by long and reiterated applause.

"It were unjust not to say that 'Andromaque' had been judiciously selected; 'The Distressed Mother,' the title given by Philip to his translation of that tragedy, having made it as familiar to the English as it is to all French readers."

—What will first strike the reader of Mr. Fitzedward Hall's article on "English, Rational and Irrational," in the September number of the *Nineteenth Century*, will be the two pages of instances of neologisms explained or discountenanced by the saviours of the English language in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Beginning with Sir Thomas Elyot in 1531, who "condemned, by implication, *industry*, *magnanimity*, *maturity* and *modesty*," the list of words now utterly familiar and for the most part indispensable is expanded to upwards of two hundred, and is, pending the publication of the Philological Society's Dictionary, worthy to be used in annotating Webster or Worcester. The next striking passage is an incidental description of the Democratic party, which we cannot safely advise any member of that party to consult till after election. But Dr. Hall's main object is to pay his respects to the late Mr. Bryant's much-circulated *index expurgatorius* of words which must on no account be used in the *Evening Post*—by its own staff, at least—and which perhaps is still in force. If so, as all are interested in the emancipation of those needlessly held in bondage, we recommend to the *Post* particularly the results of Dr. Hall's examination of the list, which not only deals with the supposed reasons of Mr. Bryant's interdict, but contrasts it with his own practice in his 'Letters of a Traveller' and 'Orations and Addresses.' It is charitable not to go into the details of the contradictions thus exposed, and the real lapses which Mr. Bryant innocently committed. Dr. Hall declares: "Not only Germans, Hollanders, Danes, Russians, Italians, Hungarians, Greeks, and Finns, but divers Hindus, Parsees, and Japanese, distinctly better versed than Mr. Bryant in the employment of the English language, have, from first to last, crossed our path." And in a foot-note, remarking on Charles Brockden Brown's American novel, 'Edgar Huntly' (1799), that "it seldom reminds one of its author's nationality," he adds: "Whoever compares it with Mr. Bryant's 'Letters,' the English of which is not much worse than that of ninety-nine out of every hundred of his college-bred compatriots, will very soon become aware to what degree the art of writing our language has declined among educated Americans." The appearance of a posthumous attack is relieved by the statement that the article, substantially in its present shape, was in the editor's hands several months before Mr. Bryant's death.

—The translation of Schwegler's 'Geschichte der Philosophie,' by President Seelye, through which that work has been known in this country since 1856, has been revised from the ninth German edition by Mr. Benj. E. Smith, whose name appears with President Seelye's upon the title-page of the new issue (Appletons). There result some rearrangements in four of the sections, and the addition of the antinomies of Zeno, absent from the earlier edition. The translation is clear and finished, and for the purposes of a text-book is decidedly preferable to that of Dr. Stirling (Edinburgh, 1868), whose style stumbles, or is always about to stumble, with excess of the thought. Schwegler's original history yet stands with academic Germany a model compendium in philosophy, under the limitation that the work finds its close and cumulation in Hegel; Mr. Smith by an appendix to the translation "continues the history in its more prominent lines of development since the time of Hegel." That is, there are 47 pages 12mo, of which two-thirds go to Schopenhauer, Von Hartmann, and Hickok, while the remaining morsel is given to Hartley, the two Mills, Comte, Bain, and Spencer. Spencer's whole system is decided to be materialistic because "materialism consists not so much in asserting the substantial identity of mind and matter [or better, does not so consist at all; the identity of mind and matter is the view of monism], as in asserting that the laws which govern the phenomena of both are the same." On this showing, however, Hegel would have to be decided the materialist *par excellence*.

THE BRAIN AS A MENTAL ORGAN.*

ANOTHER rather bulky volume on the relations of mind and body. Dr. Bastian, though best known to the general public as the man whose opinions about spontaneous generation have been more generally jumped upon and maltreated by his colleagues than almost any scientific opinions of recent days, is also an energetic worker on the nervous system. This book exhibits both his merits and defects. It is difficult to say which preponderate—the rough sort of independence in thinking, the general copiousness of information, and the fluency; or the disorderly literary form, and the tendency of the best of the author's ideas never to get exactly into focus in his mind.

The subject of the relations of brain and mind will certainly be one day the most fascinating one ever offered to a reader, but that day has not quite arrived, and all efforts at combining popularity with accuracy must fail. One might write an article for the *Popular Science Monthly* in which it should be shown how every idea has its pigeon-hole in the cortex; and the cells, and the ganglia, and the motor and the sensory processes, and the superposed stages of reflex action, and the reasons why some patients can understand but not speak, and others read whole words but not single letters of the alphabet, should all be exhibited to the reader with the beautiful distinctness of objects under the gaslight reflectors of a well-arranged shop-window. And he will think (if otherwise ignorant of physiology) that he knows the matter like his pocket, as the French say. But all this beauty is reached by simply picking out one set of facts and leaving others unmentioned. The deeper one advances in the study the more one becomes penetrated with the idea that most of our authorities on the subject are probably on a false scent. The facts we know are like separate mountain peaks emerging from a sea of cloud. An explorer in a balloon might think that there lay the whole country unrolled before his eyes, with the very visible material which connected one summit with another. But really that which connects the facts in view is the valleys far beneath and out of sight. One of the most thorough chapters in Dr. Bastian's book is that on the "External Configuration of the Human Brain"; but we fancy it will appear some day that all this elaborate discussion of convolutions (one of the most tedious chapters in human anatomy) has just about as much to do with the study of the brain's functions as a painstaking set of measurements of the external dimensions of chimneys, windows, doors, and cornices would have to do with an enquiry into the sizes, weights, and complexions of the indwellers of a house.

Dr. Bastian cites his colleague, Dr. Ferrier, incessantly, but makes hardly a reference to the still more recent researches of Munk and Goltz; nor does he discuss much the views of Dr. Hughlings Jackson, which, though based on human pathology rather than on brute vivisection, and often expressed obscurely enough, seem to us to shine with the genius of interpretation. Munk and Ferrier see the peaks, but often seem to take the clouds for land; Jackson sees the peaks, but feels the clouds as clouds and strains his vision for outlines of the hidden vales. His glimpses are misty enough, but they are glimpses of something lying deep. For our part, we firmly believe that the man who will do most service to brain physiology to-day will be not he who scoops most cerebral material from dogs and monkeys, but he who makes most guesses, simple guesses, different from any made hitherto, as to what *may possibly* be the elementary forms of functioning of this mysterious organ. Dr. Jackson sees most brain disturbances in the light of "dissolutions"—that is, general retrogressions from the more educated and latest acquired modes of action to the more machine-like and primitive. But in none of these disturbances need any single faculty, motor or sensorial, be utterly lost. They may all remain with what remains of the mutilated brain, but their co-operation will no longer bring forth the same result. Such phy-

* 'The Brain as an Organ of Mind. By H. Charlton Bastian, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.' International Scientific Series. Vol. xxix. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.

siologists as Munk, on the contrary, say that when you spoon out a particular morsel of grey matter from the surface of a particular convolution you have absolutely and totally shunted out from the animal's life a definite faculty, that of relation with the external world through a perfectly definite portion, say of its retina. The present critic recently had the privilege of examining a dog of Prof. Goltz's which had suffered a very heavy loss of cortical substance. The extraordinary behavior of the animal, which was otherwise in perfect bodily health, would certainly have attracted a large crowd had he been in the street. He was quite imbecile, but exhibited a restless activity prompted apparently by appetite for food. The most curious thing about him, as Goltz observed, seemed to be the total loss of the sense of his *whereabouts in space*. Sounds evidently attracted his attention, but he seemed unable to tell their direction. Food seemed to excite him by its presence, but his movements to reach it were entirely indefinite. He never went in a straight line towards anything; his whole life seemed to be a sort of confusion. How exactly to interpret the mental condition corresponding to such outward manifestations is a task which Goltz expressly renounces, which to our mind neither Ferrier, Munk, nor Jackson has made anything like clear, on which Dr. Bastian throws no new light, and for which we must perhaps wait till our heaven-born "guesser" comes along.

Dr. Bastian is a very explicit and thorough evolutionist; most people would begin by thinking him a materialist, since he at some length in chapter ix. defines the scope of "Mind" as constituted by "all ingoing (!!) nerve currents, whether accompanied by a recognizable conscious phasis or not." "The functional results of outgoing nerve currents lie wholly beyond the sphere of mind. . . . They are purely physical phenomena." This strange discrimination between outgoing and ingoing currents seems to hang together with a theory which in 1869 Dr. Bastian was, we believe, the first to advance explicitly, and which is to our mind one of the truest and most original parts of the present book. It is that the outgoing current is not, as Bain, Wundt, and almost the whole body of recent authors have assumed, accompanied by consciousness, but *is wholly insentient*. It is true that since Dr. Bastian allows insentient *in*going currents to be "Mind," it is hard to see why he excludes similar *out*going ones. But that is a caprice; the main point is that he can fairly profess to be the original English reformer in this question of fundamental importance (see chaps. xxv., xxvi., and appendix). The chapters on Brain, Speech, and Thought are also the fullest and clearest analysis yet written on the subject of aphasia, and should be read by all interested in that fascinating disease. The book, as a whole, is to be recommended to advanced students. They will find in it plenty of suggestive ideas. With the wants of beginners its faults of form will be likely to interfere.

MODERN NAVIES.*

WITHIN the past twenty years the changes in the fleets of the principal naval powers have been so rapid and universal that it has been almost impossible at any time to form a true estimate of the strength of any maritime power. With the introduction and improvement of iron-clad ships, the vast increase in the power and weight of ordnance, torpedo warfare developing as a new and special arm, modifications in engines and boilers which have tended greatly to increase speed and to economize fuel, the revolution in tactics and entire change in the conditions of naval warfare brought about by the growth of armor-defence and ram-attack, it is only by the closest attention, and under exceptionally favorable circumstances, that naval officers have been able to comprehend the magnitude of the general result. Within the past two years, however, the rage for naval development has subsided into a slow and steady advance, making the present a favorable time for measuring the actual strength and resources of the navies of the world. This task Lieutenant Very has undertaken in the work now before us, a work necessarily so extensive that the limited space of this article would be hardly sufficient to notice its principal features, were all to be considered, but from which we may draw one or two facts which seem important enough to deserve special attention.

Ever since the introduction of steam propulsion in ships of war England, France, and the United States have taken the lead in the development of types of naval vessels. In Great Britain the navy has always been considered the main defence. Its support and advance have for over two hundred years been reckoned of the first importance, and in legislating for its maintenance expense has seldom been spared. England, of course, leads the world as a naval power. Her ships and guns are not only numerically superior, but are actually better than those of any other nation. In France there has always been a generous system of legislation for the support of the navy, but it has never been considered of the vital importance to the safety of the nation that it has been in England; consequently, naval controllers have been obliged to exercise a much greater economy in development, and the rigidly mathematical system of the French in the exercise of all control is nowhere better exemplified than in the management of the fleet. There was one period when the French fell so far to the rear as almost to take the third place in naval strength, while progress ceased entirely. This was caused by the Prussian war, from whose effects the navy still suffers, although it has fully regained its former position close to that of Great Britain.

In the United States naval development has been hampered by a constant legislative meddling, imposing a restraint far more injurious than lack of funds or the distractions of war itself. At no time has the strength of the fleet been sufficient to bear a comparison with that of either England or France; but in the matter of architectural advance the United States has repeatedly passed to the front at a single stride. In spite, however, of the advantages gained, parsimoniousness and political meddling have invariably interfered to hold the navy fast at its single stage of advance, until its first developments had sunk into utter insignificance beside the modifications and perfections applied in Europe. In 1865 the United States possessed a fleet fully able to protect the whole line of its immense coast against foreign aggression; in 1870 the fleet was reduced to a handful of vessels which, while showing a heterogeneousness equal to that of the English fleet, did not possess a single element of strength.

We have so far confined ourselves to almost verbatim quotations from the book before us. But figures are not wanting, and are fully given, in support of these assertions of our naval inferiority. While it has never been necessary for our country to possess an immense fleet like that of England or France, still it is surely important that our small naval force should be made up of the best material. Since the foundation of the navy it has always been one of the principles of American construction to build ships whose measurements exceeded those of similar types in Europe. This principle was successfully carried out to the close of the civil war, when the immense fleet which we had collected faded and disappeared, partly through legislative reduction, by sale, and partly on account of the inferior material used in the construction of the more recent ships. At the present time the English navy comprises a total of 302 ships; France has 227; Russia, 126; Turkey, 102; and Holland, Spain, and the United States stand on about an equal footing in point of numbers, each nation reckoning 72 ships in the fleet. In the great fleets of Europe ships are classified as "armored vessels," "unarmored rapid cruisers," and "general-service ships." The bulk of these navies is made up of the first two classes, the third class being composed of vessels of the earlier types, steam frigates and corvettes, which represent primitive developments in steam propulsion and are incapable of a high rate of speed, an element of the first importance in modern naval warfare. It is of this third class, discarded for war purposes in Europe, that our navy is principally composed. We have twenty iron-clads, but these are of the monitor type, incapable of keeping the seas as cruisers, very slow under steam, and useful only for coast defence. The sea-going iron-clads of England and France, or the unarmored rapid cruisers which, with a high rate of speed, embody the latest developments in naval construction and carry heavy batteries, find no representatives in our navy; and the principle above quoted, that of keeping a few of the best ships of each class, seems to have been entirely abandoned.

The Russians, whose iron-clad fleet is vastly superior to our own, and whose total number of vessels is nearly double ours, spent on their navy in the five years between 1875 and 1880 nearly one hundred million dollars. In the same space of time our fleet has cost the country ninety-six millions. In the same period Holland has made some progress in construction and ordnance and maintained a fleet equal in numerical strength to ours at an outlay of only thirteen millions, and Spain has accomplished as much at an expense of twenty-nine millions. These figures need no comment. The large yearly appropriations squandered with no visible result, the general decadence in the power and efficiency of our foreign squadrons, bringing our flag into contempt abroad and leaving numbers of expensively educated young officers unemployed; the abuse of administration which places the good and the bad alike on the same level, the inordinate rank conferred on the civil and non-combatant branches of the service to the detriment of discipline, the constant interference of mere political intrigue in the details of control—all these furnish sufficient food for serious reflections, and lead to a gloomy forboding as to what might be the result of a demand on the services of the navy in event of war. Reflections like these Lieutenant Very, indeed, leaves to his readers. His work is voluminous, and the information is conveyed generally in the form of figures and tables, but these are clearly arranged and the book is intelligible to the non-professional reader, the explanatory text being profusely illustrated with wood-cuts and heliotype plates, the latter not so well executed as the value of the book would warrant.

A chapter is devoted to the principal naval battles of the last twenty years. These are classed as bombardments of earth-works and of masonry forts, passages of forts, dashes, assaults, deliberate general actions, iron-clads against wooden vessels, and duels. Since the introduction of iron-clad ships there have been only three deliberate general actions between opposing fleets. These were, first, the action between the gunboat flotillas on the Mississippi River on June 5, 1862, which resulted in the total defeat of the

* 'Navies of the World. By Lieutenant Edward W. Very, U.S.N.' New York: John Wiley & Sons. 1880.

rebel fleet and the surrender of the city of Memphis; second, the battle of Heligoland, May 9, 1864, between the Danish and Austrian squadrons, the action being indecisive; and third, the battle of Lissa, in which the Austrians defeated the Italian fleet, destroying two of their iron-clads. Of the duels the most noticeable is the action of the *Kearsarge* and *Alabama*. The accounts of these battles are very short and given without comment, but are valuable as showing the progress made in ordnance and tactics. Further chapters contain full descriptions and classifications of ordnance, small arms, machine-guns and torpedoes, and a treatise on the developments of naval architecture and construction since the general introduction of steam as a means of propulsion.

An Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion. By John Caird, D.D. (New York: Macmillan & Co. 1880.)—Three years ago Professor Edward Caird published his elaborate work on the philosophy of Kant, in which he traced with great thoroughness and skill the negative beginnings of the German philosophical revolution. His elder brother, the Principal, or, as we should say, President, of Glasgow University, now presents the more positive results to which that revolution subsequently came in the absolute philosophy of Hegel. Of his own system Hegel well said, in reply to an inquisitive Frenchman, that it was not possible to give a brief exposition, especially in French. Roughly, however, and in English, it may be stated that up to the time of Kant individual objects and feelings were supposed to be given in separate entirety to an apprehending yet undisturbing mind. Such finite data might, no doubt, be subsequently conjoined according to the habitudes of human reason, but the conjunction conferred no added perfection on the data themselves. The constitution of every feeling and object was already complete in itself, that of the mind in itself. With finite objects of knowledge, therefore, whether within or without, the finite knower was exclusively occupied. The pretence to know an infinite must with these premises arise either from a deluded and illogical sentiment, or from the operation of some quite exceptional principle, like that of faith, not amenable to the tests and processes of regular reason. But in the latter case, where the two modes of regard of faith and reason have no other relation to one another than that of opposition, there arises a difficulty in applying to both alike such terms as knowledge, belief, certainty. So long as the meaning of these as applied to finite things was supposed to be incontestable, the infinite of the theologians might well be politely treated, but not entrusted with much influence over daily concerns. It was, however, a main business of the German philosophical enquiries to determine how far finite and infinite could thus be separated; and the outcome of those enquiries may be summed up in Hegel's well-known saying that to know a limit is to be already beyond the limit. This principle once admitted, the popular fancy of finite things known in themselves as finite is swept away. Every finite discernment implies an infinite postulate; and since each individual object will then contain in itself an implication, or folding in, of all others, advance in knowledge will consist not alone in farther aggregation but in completer unfolding. Philosophy will become as much a science of facts as physics; indeed physical speculation itself, no less than psychological, ethical, social, will take on a new color when an understanding of its phenomena is sought rather in their connection than in their isolation. The scientific *catalogue raisonné* receives life from the law of evolution. The system of theology, with its separate doctrines separately known and requiring subsequent adjustment, gives place to the science of religion.

These results, even in their philosophic form, have already attracted much attention in England, and have called out a considerable literature. Before either of the two Cairds had written, Dr. Hutchison Stirling made his dark attempt to divulge the secret of Hegel, and Dr. Wallace published his remarkable translation and excellent prolegomena to Hegel's 'Lesser Logic.' Prof. Green, in his edition of Hume, and more recently in a series of papers on Spencer in the *Contemporary*, brought a destructive battery of the same mode of thought to bear upon Empiricism. Mr. F. H. Bradley, in his 'Studies in Ethics' three years ago, gave a profound, if somewhat esoteric and sacerdotal, exhibit of the young-Hegelian view of Duty. Hegelianism, indeed, would seem to have now become modish enough to be good capital for the young littérateur, if we may judge by Mr. Courtney's dashing attack upon Mr. Mill, and by the many magazine articles now appearing in which may be discerned the shadows if not the lights of Hegelianism.

To several of these writers Dr. Caird has expressed his indebtedness. But as they had not the wealth of which he shows himself in possession, that indebtedness can have been but slender. Indeed, there exists no other English exposition of the philosophy of the Infinite where the theory and its difficulties are so firmly grasped, stated with such lucidity, brevity, and interest, and made to shed such light on the dark and urgent problems of our day. Dr. Caird's long experience in preaching—for he is one of the most famous preachers of sermon-loving Scotland—has given him a strategic mastery of the approaches to his readers' minds, and he has too much conscience and good learning to abuse his power. After sketching in a few introductory pages the nature and limits of his subject he passes at once to scrutinize three considerations which often are felt to render a science of religion impossible—the considerations, namely, that knowledge must always be relative, that religion being an affair of intuition is insusceptible of scientific treatment, and that that to which religion is directed, if anything more than a dream, can only be known by revelation. These preliminary difficulties being set aside, as resting on an erroneous understanding of ambiguous terms, infinite reason is shown to be a covert assumption in all attempts to formulate the facts even of the physical world; to be already postulated in the three great theological arguments, which rather set it forth than prove it; and to come to a concrete manifestation in religious devotion. Still, the inadequacies of a merely emotional manifestation are reverently pointed out, and the rational elements involved in worship are found only to reach their consummate display in speculative thought, in morality, and in history, to which subjects the last three chapters are devoted.

The book must be widely read on account of its attractive style, and because nowhere else can so compendious a statement be found of a mode of thought becoming every year more influential. To many a student the reading will mark an intellectual and spiritual epoch.

Our Future Highway to India. By Verney Lovett Cameron, C.B., D.C.L., etc. 2 vols. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1880.)—Commander Cameron's journey was begun in September, 1878, when Jingoism was at its height, Beaconsfield and Salisbury had received the garter, the Anglo-Turkish convention had transpired, and the Chamberlain embassy had been refused admittance to Afghanistan. His expedition, though unofficial, was in sympathy with the popular sentiment of the day, and everywhere he moved in Syria he had almost flattering testimony of the great expectations of administrative reform which the news of the convention with England had inspired in the long-suffering victims of Turkish misrule in the far East. The present narrative, on the contrary, is published to what it is not too much to call a different England, in the midst of the difficult retreat from Afghanistan, and on the eve of a naval demonstration against Turkey directed by a British admiral.

There is nothing, in fact, in these two volumes (easily compressible, by the way, into one) that compares in instructiveness with the incidental glimpses of the field for reforms of which the Beaconsfield Government engaged to be the patron, or rather for which it contracted as part of the consideration for renting Cyprus and guaranteeing the integrity of the Porte's dominions.

"From Shtaura," we read on p. 57 of vol. i., "our route led along the valley by a road which had been commenced in imitation of the French road to Damascus, but never completed. A little show is being kept up of working at the necessary bridges, but in many places it has been ruined before it is finished. Scarcely any attempt is made to metal it properly, and it is so rough in consequence that all the traffic passes on either side.

"If the inhabitants are to be believed, for this road—which is supposed to reach Baalbek, a distance of twenty-four miles—sixty thousand pounds Turk, or about fifty-three thousand sterling, have been extorted from the inhabitants. What has been done has been accomplished by forced labor or corvée, the statutable amount of which is four days in the year. The completion of the road was now delayed purposely, in order to extract more money from the inhabitants; nearly the whole of this extortion having fallen upon the Mohammedans, as most of the Christians have emigrated into the Lebanon."

At a village not far from Aleppo, the sheikh bitterly complained of the government of that city for not protecting them against the Bedouins (i. 207):

"According to his story, the Bedouins originally used to levy black mail from these villages, and in return prevented the Turks from extorting taxes. Some ten years before, the Turks had organized a corps of riflemen mounted on mules, who had kept back the Bedouins. Since that time the taxes had been regularly levied until during the war, when the Turkish Government, in its mortal agony, requiring every available soldier, had sent the men composing this corps against the Russians. The Bedouins were not long in availing themselves of the opportunity, and made the unfortunate villagers pay up all the arrears for the time they had been protected by the Turks. Whilst doing so, they refused to interfere with the tax-gatherers, so that the unfortunate peasantry have also had to pay the heavy war taxes, and are in a far worse plight than ever before."

At Aleppo, Cameron was told a similar tale by one of his countrymen just returned from a tour through Palestine (i. 282): "In one place he found the people cutting down their olive-trees, because the amount at which the tax upon them was assessed was more than the whole value of the crop; and in another the headman had built a very fine new house from people who tried to escape the conscription." That is, he taxed them for permission to hide while the conscription was going on, and then betrayed them; "so they had both to pay, and to go as soldiers, while he pocketed the money, and also got rid of probable enemies." Of this he boasted openly.

We have not space to describe the curious struggle for existence between refugee Mohammedan Circassians and the Arabs, of which the details are given in vol. ii. *passim*; nor to tell of the insurrection of the Kurdish beys Bahri and Osman, which provokes the comment (ii. 117): "To reward rebels

and punish the innocent seems to be one of the ideas of the Turkish Government, and that it has borne fruit may be seen from the new Kurdish revolt, which has not yet even come to an end. The Sultan's paltering with these chiefs I have seen termed a judicious mixture of moderation and force; I call it a premium on revolt and an incitement to disloyalty." To come to the main object of his journey: Commander Cameron found no engineering obstacle to the proposed Euphrates railway. He would have it start from Tripoli, and thence extend *via* Aleppo, Mosul, Baghdad (already, shade of Haroun-al-Raschid! provided with a suburban tramway), to Bushire. The profitableness of it is more or less speculative, but the reader cannot fail to be impressed with the intimations of active trade with which these pages abound. For instance, at a village just before reaching Mardin, "the average number of camels, they told us, that passed by daily was over five hundred. Over a thousand were camped between the two villages, besides mules and a large number of pilgrims, of whom several thousands passed by in the course of the year." We here take leave of a book interesting in spite of its literary defects, prominent among which is a prodigal use of slang.

The Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of Ancient Egypt. By P. Le Page Renouf. [The Hibbert Lectures for 1879.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880. 8vo, pp. 270.)—These lectures are a charming production. The chaste and animated diction, in excellent English, is worthy of the importance of the subject; conciseness and lucidity characterize alike almost every sentence; the author states his own views with the firmness of an old enquirer—which he is—and those of others with the reverence of a disciple; and every page is interesting and instructive. All the lectures, six in number, were delivered in 1879, but the first two, at least, appear to have been written nearly three years earlier. On the other hand, several notes extend the very abundant references of the work to the time of publication. Notes and text familiarize the reader with most of the bibliography of Egyptology. "The Sources of Information respecting the Ancient Egyptian Religion," "The Antiquity and Characteristics of Egyptian Civilization," "The Gods of Egypt," "Communion with the Unseen World," "The Religious Books of Egypt," and "Religious Books and Hymns: Henotheism, Pantheism, and Materialism," are respectively the subjects of the various lectures. In spite of numerous introductory remarks and apparent digressions, there is perfect unity in the whole; only the view is extended. Unable to follow here the lecturer in the examination of the innumerable details of his subject, we shall try to epitomize his main conclusions: The interest of Egyptian religion is derived solely from itself, not from its supposed connections with Judaism, Greek philosophy, or Christianity. Even in the Hebrew institutions no Egyptian influences are discoverable, though purely external resemblances abound. There is no sufficient ground for identifying the golden calf with Apis or Mnevis; "the Israelites had an independent mythology of their own"; they failed to learn from the Egyptians even as much as the length of the year. The *nuk pu nuk* of the "Book of the Dead" has not the meaning, as has been asserted, of the sublime *ehyeh ăsher ehyeh* ("I am that I am") of the book of Exodus. Not less than two thousand years before "the birth of Moses" Egypt had developed the religious belief and institutions which she possessed in the last years of her national existence. The external appearance, at least, was the same. This religion, however, was not originally that mere worship of brutes which foreigners saw in it in the days of Egypt's decline. The worship of animals was not a principle, but a sequence: it was based upon symbols derived from mythology. Egyptian mythology originated exactly like Aryan mythology. "The early language had no words to express abstract conceptions, and the operations of nature were spoken of in terms which would now be thought poetical, or at least metaphorical, but were then the simplest expressions of popular intuition. The *nomina* became *numina*." Egyptian mythology dealt only with phenomena of nature conspicuously reflecting eternal law, such as the rising and setting of the heavenly bodies: "the recognition of universal law and order underlies the whole system of Egyptian religion." *Maāt*, a noun signifying primarily a perfectly straight *rule*, and derived from sensuous impressions, became the name for moral order or righteousness. The Egyptians worshipped the eternal powers of nature, under various symbols; but from the very first they also spoke of *the Power* which directs the whole physical and moral government of the universe. "Horus and Rā and Osiris and Set are names [among numberless others] of individual finite powers, but a Power without a name or any mythological characteristic is constantly referred to in the singular number, and can only be regarded as the object of . . . immediate perception of the Infinite, . . . an intuition as irresistible as the impressions of our senses." The moral code which they derived from this perception of the Eternal and Infinite Power—the *Nutar*—was pure and noble. Man was responsible and immortal. But the symbols of religion, aided by art, overpowered its essence. The religion which had in it the germs of monotheism, but never rose above pantheism and never ceased to be polytheistic, was degraded by the force of its rank symbolism and religious quackery into a vast system of gross superstitious belief and idolatrous practice, full of bewildering incongruities.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Abbott (L.), Hints for Home Reading	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) $1 00
Crawfurd (O.), Portugal, Old and New	" " 3 50
Fothergill (Jessie), The Wellfields: a Tale	(Henry Holt & Co.) 1 00
Freeman (E. A.), Short History of the Norman Conquest	(Macmillan & Co.) 60
Galton (D.), Construction of Healthy Dwellings	" " 2 75
Goldschmidt (J.), Deutsche Hypothekenbanken, swd	(Gustav Fischer)
Green (J. R.), History of the English People, vol. iv	(Harper & Bros.)
Grove (G.), Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Part xi., swd	(Macmillan & Co.)
Habberton (J.), The Worst Boy in Town	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 00
Hillebrand (K.), German Thought, from the Seven Years' War to Goethe's Death	(Henry Holt & Co.) 1 75
Holmes (O. W.), The Iron Gate, and Other Poems	(Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) 1 25
Index-Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, U.S.A., vol. i., A–Berlinski	(Washington)
Jameson (H. W.), Selections for Reading	(G. I. Jones & Co.)
Keeping One Cow	(Orange Judd Co.) 1 00
Lamb (Mrs. M. J.), History of the City of New York, vol. 2, part ii., swd	(A. S. Barnes & Co.) 50
Leland (C. G.), The Minor Arts	(Macmillan & Co.) 90
Longfellow (H. W.), Ultima Thule	(Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) 1 00
Macbeth (Rev. J.), Church Principles	(Pott, Young & Co.)
Miller (Olive T.), Queer Pets	(E. P. Dutton & Co.) 2 50
Oncken (W.), Allgemeine Geschichte, Parts 19, 20, swd	(B. Westermann & Co.)
Piatt (J. J.), Pencilled Fly-Leaves	(Robt. Clarke & Co.) 1 00
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Continued from page iii.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1880.

The Week.

GENERAL HANCOCK has written the letter which now seems to be expected from every Democratic candidate for the Presidency, denouncing "rebel claims," or claims in the interest of persons who were in rebellion, and declaring that "the Government can never pay a debt, pension, or reward of any sort for waging war upon its own existence," and that he would not, if elected, either "approve or encourage" any such payment. In regard to "Union war claims," he pronounces them "lasting and sacred," but adds that, as the war closed more than fifteen years ago, he thinks claims of this kind are becoming stale, are now mostly in the hands of brokers or persons other than the original sufferers, and ought to be barred; or, if entertained, subjected to "the strictest scrutiny." He also declares that to suppose that "rebel claims can in any degree be countenanced is an imputation of disloyalty" against the Democrats. The effect of this seems to be somewhat severe on the Republicans. The *Times* is so far affected by it as to call the letter "frank and explicit"; and one which "every intelligent citizen, whatever his politics, will rejoice to receive," and says "the country can now devote its attention to other and graver issues." The *Tribune*, however, is not disposed to be as wasteful and improvident as the *Times*, and declares that the general's letter is "flippant," that the claims exist and are before Congress to the amount of $300,000,000, and that if there is no danger of their being passed, "why does General Hancock promise to veto them"?

As we once heard an eminent Republican remark sorrowfully, "There seems to be a great deal of lying about these rebel claims." The truth about them is, we believe, that great numbers of men in the South who lost property in the war, or say they did, and are short of money, get their member of Congress to present their claims in the shape of little bills. These bills are, thereupon, referred to a committee, and in the hands of the committee they lie with much similar rubbish. While here they are no nearer payment than if they had never been preferred (no nearer than the division of large English estates among the large American families who so often expect them), because there is a statute which positively forbids the payment of any claim to any person who cannot prove his loyalty. The contention of the Republicans is that if the Democrats get into power they will repeal this statute, and promptly add three hundred millions to the national debt for the benefit of a comparatively small body of persons at the South. General Hancock now says that if they do he will veto their action. When the election is over we shall probably hear no more about the matter for another four years, but we have little doubt the claims will figure in the Presidential canvass until the end of the century. The whole "rebel-claims" argument is based on the theory that, if the claims are admitted, it is only the Republicans who will have to pay them, and that the Democrats will not be taxed for them; but this will hardly hold water. Democrats dislike taxation for other people's benefit as much as Republicans. We think ourselves that a bill providing that every Democrat, North and South, should receive ten dollars and a barrel of flour at every Federal election, would have a much better chance of passing than a bill giving an enormous sum to the comparatively few "ex-rebels" who can prove the loss of property in the slave States from the operations of the Union armies. The story is a nice little thing to have on hand, but it does not bear critical examination.

A very singular meeting took place at Chickering Hall on Friday evening. It was called by such "Independent Republicans" as Mr. Leonard Jerome and Mr. J. W. Forney for the purpose of expressing their enthusiasm for the Democratic ticket. It was composed, the *Herald* says, of "fully two thousand persons, several hundred of whom were ladies of stylish and intelligent appearance," and, in fact, "appeared to be a gathering of Republicans." The *Times* says, on the other hand, that it was "a motley crowd," five-sixths of whom were Tammany and anti-Tammany Democrats, sent down from the Democratic National Committee rooms, and most of whom, if not all, were unable to read, and therefore could not tell what was in a printed address which was distributed among them. In respectability, too, the crowd was, according to the *Times*, "rather below than above the average Democratic ward-meeting." The *Herald* says that Mr. Jerome delivered "a brief, off-hand but most effective speech," which "was frequently punctuated with applause." This same speech, the *Times* says, was of "the characteristic kind": "he dropped his voice in a queer way," and seemed somehow a good deal flurried, though "at what nobody could find out." An address to the public was then read which, the *Herald* says, was "a long and forcible arraignment of the Republican party," but which the *Times* calls "a rambling and disjointed address." Colonel Forney then followed, and, the *Herald* says, was received "with much applause"; the *Times* says he had a speech ready on printed slips, but betrayed the reporters by making a very different one. The Colonel announced his return to the Democratic party after twenty-two years' absence. Whether the meeting was a success or a failure, it will thus be seen, is only known to those who attended it. The *Tribune* says it was composed of Democrats drawn thither by curiosity or sent by their leaders.

The most remarkable speech of the week has been Senator Bayard's in New York on Thursday, and the most effective portion of it was an attempt to show that the Republican party was not entitled to the credit of resumption. The history of resumption is a somewhat confused narrative, in which neither party appears in a perfectly creditable light. Mr. Bayard had no difficulty in making a bad exhibit of the Republican attitude towards the legal-tender notes up to 1875, by merely showing that nothing was done by the party in power up to that date to bring resumption about; that, on the contrary, it forbade Secretary McCulloch to prepare for resumption by contraction; that Secretary Boutwell used the surplus funds of the Government not in redeeming greenbacks, but in buying up bonds not due; and that a bill actually passed both Houses, the Republicans being in a majority in both, providing for the inflation of the currency up to $400,000,000—such Republican chiefs as Morton, Ferry, Logan, and Howe supporting it vigorously; that when President Grant vetoed this, a compromise, providing for the reissue of $28,000,000 cancelled greenbacks, was passed with Mr. Sherman's support. All this is true, but it does not prove, nevertheless, that the Republicans are not after all entitled to the credit of passing and executing the subsequent law of 1875. It was agreed on in the Republican caucus and introduced by Mr. Sherman, and all Mr. Bayard can say against it is that it was a "juggling measure," capable of two constructions, and that when he asked Mr. Sherman to amend the act so as to provide for the destruction of the redeemed greenbacks he refused. This would be tolerably destructive criticism if the act had not been executed, in spite of much opposition, by the persons who introduced it. What Mr. Sherman intended by the act is fixed by what he has done under the act, according to all rules of construction, legal or moral. Saying, as Mr. Bayard went on to say, that resumption was really effected by the abundance of American harvests and the scantiness of those of Europe, is like saying that when a sailing ship crosses the ocean the success of the voyage is due to the wind and not to the captain.

Mr. Bayard's attack drew an answer from Mr. Sherman. He alleges that Mr. Bayard voted against the bill for strengthening the public credit by declaring the United States notes payable in coin, and that he did not vote (this Mr. Bayard acknowledges) for the Resumption Act. But this is all he is able to say against Mr. Bayard's share in the financial legislation, and it is fairly set off by the fact that Mr. Sherman himself opposed the payment of the bonds in coin. But the rest of Mr. Sherman's retort was very effective, and really goes to the root of the whole matter of the comparative claims of the two parties on the confidence of the country in financial matters. The truth is that, what-

ever Mr. Bayard or a few other Democrats did or refrained from doing, the bulk of the Democrats in Congress opposed every measure looking either to the restoration of the public credit or the resumption of specie payments. Some Republicans did so, but not always, and never more than a small minority of the party, while the Democratic majority was constantly on the wrong side. There is no doubt, too, that if a Republican had got up in Congress and maintained, as Mr. Bayard now maintains, that good crops, or, as he calls it, "the statesmanship of the plough," would restore specie payments, he would have laughed at him, and with good reason.

In speaking of the treatment of Mr. Conkling's speech last week by the Republican papers in this city we overlooked a very trenchant exposure of its malignity and dishonesty in the columns of the *Evening Post*, which does much to atone for the subserviency—to use a very mild word—of its morning contemporaries. Since then the *Times* seems to have recovered some sense of the duty the press owes the public by an article, on Sunday last, "deploring" the extent to which the politicians who call themselves statesmen are, in the present canvass, taking a "narrow view of the perpetual contest between parties," and "appealing to prejudices and fears rather than rational convictions; exciting the passions rather than persuading the intellect." It calls attention also to the notorious fact, which the manufacturers of "campaign thunder" on the Republican side have been forgetting, but of which we trust the pending State elections will not unpleasantly remind them, as that of Maine has done, that the decision of the conflict rests largely, if not wholly, with a small class who do not like and are not moved by the "thunder" which is served out to the faithful at the mass-meetings. The fact is, the Republican party needs new "thunder" and a fresh set of thunderbolts. The old articles which the Blaines and Conklings rattle over the heads of the Custom-house men do not scare the "grumblers," and the "disorganizers," and the "theorists" in the least, and they make it unpleasant at the polls for the statesmen. No wonder it is now announced that the Indiana Republicans are afraid to have Mr. Conkling go out there and "wet-blanket them with sneers," second-hand "thunder," and cooked figures.

Mr. Blaine, in a speech delivered in Newark last week, drew a cheerful augury from the assumed fact that "it is not in the history of any ministry in England or in this country that it has ever been overthrown in a time of general prosperity." But if this be so, one wonders that Mr. Blaine or any other Republican politician should deem it necessary to take the stump or to levy assessments on Government clerks in order to prevent Hancock from being elected. It is commonly supposed, too, that currency delusions arise and flourish when times are hardest; and it would have been pertinent to explain the vitality of the Greenback organization in Maine, unless that State is debarred from the "general prosperity." One orator, we observe, has accounted for the strength of the Fusion vote by alleging a want of water in Maine; and if the present drought should last until the middle of November, we do not know why it should not go hard with Mr. Blaine's law of stability in national politics as well.

The "campaign stories" are few in number and poor in quality, but Mr. S. S. Cox and some other Democratic politicians are accused of sending or attempting to send through the mail whole bagfuls of franked envelopes to be used in the transmission of Democratic documents. Mr. Cox denies he has had anything to do with the matter, but at this late date in the canvass we cannot accept his denial. A carrier pigeon labelled "Garfield" has also beaten a "Hancock" pigeon in a race from the West to the Eastern coast, which is a very remarkable "straw." The "Cuclux clan" is reported also to be revived in North Carolina, with the spelling slightly changed, and will probably ravage that State up to November. In Indiana both parties are very enthusiastic, and will both carry the State, the Democrats by 15,000 and the Republicans by 8,000 majority. There is also a story that Mr. Jewell is to be deposed from the chairmanship of the Republican Committee and Mr. T. H. Platt substituted for him, and counter stories that this is an invention of the enemy. The excitement, however, is increasing in every direction, and the next three weeks will be very prolific. General Hancock is reported to have lost thirty pounds through the pressure of Democratic office-seekers, and will probably lose more.

The Indiana Supreme Court last week overruled the petition for a rehearing in the case of the Constitutional Amendments which it recently decided to be defeated, and the October election will proceed as usual. The action of the court was, of course, expected; and though, as in the first instance, the haste with which it was taken is complained of, there does not seem to have been much time to spare or any new consideration to be weighed. The result of the election is as uncertain as ever at this writing, but the temper of the Greenbackers is such as to encourage the Republicans. An attempted arrangement by which the election to Congress of the Rev. De La Matyr should be guaranteed in exchange for Greenback votes for the Democratic State ticket fell through, partly through the protests of hard-money Democrats who "have all they can do to swallow Landers as it is," according to a Stalwart correspondent, but mainly, it is probable, because the Greenbackers themselves attach more value to a show of "strength" than to electing a Congressman. General Weaver is to stump the State, and his hostility to fusion in any degree is great. In his latest utterance—a reply to Frank Hughes, of Pennsylvania, who favors coalition with Democrats—he expresses a desire for "an open, straight fight against the Democratic and Republican wings of the money-power," and says he has "no choice between them."

On the 19th inst. the *Times*, in a special despatch from Washington, gave an illustration of the bitterness of the contest in Georgia between the adherents of Colquitt and Norwood. According to its correspondent, U. S. Marshal Fitzsimmons, a Democrat, was openly taking sides in the canvass with Norwood, and this circumstance had so offended his bondsmen, who desired Colquitt's election, that they gave him notice of withdrawal, and obliged him to make a new bond with Norwood men for his backers. This done he returned to Georgia to continue his electioneering, and showed his earnestness by at once discharging all his Colquitt subordinates who had been recommended by his former bondsmen. This was a nice picture of intolerance; but on Sunday last the *Times* had another Washington despatch, explaining that the first was based on statements put in circulation by Fitzsimmons and his friends, whereas the truth of the case was that formal complaints had been brought against Fitzsimmons by internal-revenue officers in Georgia and others, which must ultimately lead to his removal from office, and perhaps indictment for malfeasance. His bondsmen, hearing this, naturally took alarm, and hence the necessity of making a new bond. We must add that the list of charges is a very damaging one, and involves gross fraud and oppression.

This little history has several morals. In the first place, it stands as a warning to partisan editors and their correspondents. In the next, it will serve to show our Florida correspondent, Mr. Hilton, how easy it was for the North to be deceived as to the real behavior of the Returning Boards, and generally as to what went on in the South during reconstruction. Further, it ought to convince him that the "clean sweep" he desires will not be as clean as he fondly imagines. Fitzsimmons, as we have said, is a Democrat, and was such when nominated by President Hayes. His confirmation was stoutly opposed in the Senate by Senator Gordon, and defended by Alexander Stephens and Ben Hill. His successor, nominated by Hancock, could hardly find more respectable support and might encounter as formidable resistance in his own State; but, once confirmed, not only would his integrity have no more guarantee than Fitzsimmons's, it would actually have less, and the people in his district have fewer safeguards against plunder and outrage, for he would lack the restraint of an Administration differing from him in politics, and therefore not afraid of scandal in letting his malfeasance transpire. Finally, disgraceful as it is to the present Administration that it allows Fitzsimmons, either innocent or guilty, to interfere in a State election, does anybody suppose his successor would keep out of politics, especially if his appointment depended on the superior influence of one or other of two Georgia factions at Washington?

General Sherman has on more than one occasion lately spoken publicly of war as a bad business, and the paradox has no doubt had a wholesome effect on the generation now for the first time becoming a political factor in the country. He uttered the same sentiment the other day in San Francisco, when addressing the Associated Veterans of the Mexican War who were celebrating the anniversary of the taking of the City of Mexico, and never, certainly, was it more in place. But the general went on to find a justification for all our wars, from the Revolution down, and when he came to the Mexican War he evaded any discussion of it by saying that "the matter was discussed in the forum of the nation," and, having been decided on there, all the army had to do was to obey. But a dim perception that the duty of an army and the justice of a war which, as a "posse comitatus," it is called upon to execute are two different things, made him presently assert that "the war with Mexico was not ordained by the Congress of our people: it was ordained by Him who rules our earth." The "decree of the Almighty," or, as it used to be called, "manifest destiny," demanded an expansion of our territory, and the same high authority at once indicated the means and sanctified them. This would be all very well if, pending the discussions in the forum of the nation, some one were authorized to say what the Creator had ordained; but, in default of this, it would seem as if the arguments urged against an unjust war before its inception could not be vitiated by the acquirement, say, of a "scientific frontier," and as if war, being at the best "a cruelty," to use General Sherman's words, became doubly one when waged without provocation and for an immoral purpose on a weak and distracted people.

Usually before a Presidential election efforts are made by the adherents in Wall Street of each political party to create the impression that the success of the opposite party will be detrimental to the public credit and to business interests. The reasoning of the partisans of General Garfield now is that the high degree of prosperous activity in every branch of business, and the high public credit as expressed in the market price of United States bonds, are in large measure due to wise management of the public finances, and that the election of General Hancock, with the accession to full power of the unsound party back of him, would paralyze business and prostrate the public credit. The advocates of General Hancock make a general denial, but in a defensive and almost timid manner. Thus far in the Wall Street contest the Republicans have had the advantage. Before the Maine election United States 4 per cents were selling at 110⅜ to 110½. During the week they have fallen to 108½ to 108⅝; but since General Hancock's letter respecting war claims the price has recovered to 109¼. Speculation at the Stock Exchange in railroad securities has, to some extent, sympathized with the changes in United States bonds, although operations seem to be governed more by the inclination to do nothing important until the issue of the Presidential election is clearer than it now is. Current trade in every department of business is very large, and there is a notable absence of speculation anywhere. The surplus revenues of the Treasury still warrant purchases of $2,500,000 bonds each week for the sinking fund; and gold imports continue on a large scale, more than $4,000,000 foreign gold having arrived in the last week. The surplus reserve of the New York banks is slowly dwindling, but the loan market continues remarkably favorable for borrowers, who get all they want at 2 to 3 per cent. "on call," 3 to 4½ per cent. "on time" with collaterals, and at 4½ to 5½ per cent. on good mercantile paper. The price of silver bullion remains steady at about 52⅛*d.* to 52¼*d.* per ounce in London, and at the close of the week the "buzzard dollar" was worth about 87⅜ cents. The Treasury is now making great efforts to force these dollars into circulation; and the scarcity, compared with the demand, of note currency, makes the work easier than it has been since silver was remonetized as a full legal tender.

We have commented elsewhere on some aspects of the situation at Dulcigno. It seems to grow more complicated every day. According to the latest news the Sultan has thrown aside all restraints, and has taken an attitude of open defiance to the Powers, and with such violence as to forbid the offer of any advice in a contrary direction by his own ministers. This seems to suggest an attack of insanity such as overthrew his last two predecessors, and may lead to some kind of outbreak at Constantinople. He has refused the surrender of Dulcigno, and even forbidden the Powers to speak of any concession to Montenegro, or to meddle further in the Greek affair. Riza Pasha, too, has informed the Montenegrins that he will consider an attack on the Albanians a declaration of war against Turkey, and as he has five thousand good troops and a well-appointed field battery, this has disconcerted the Montenegrins, and they have informed the British admiral that they cannot move without reinforcements. The Albanians occupy the heights above the town behind five lines of entrenchments, and, with the aid of the Turks, can make a desperate resistance, unless the guns of the fleet can fully reach them. The naval commanders must now be in a quandary. They have no instructions, apparently, to land troops, and perhaps none to land except a handful of marines. Moreover, the problem before them has assumed dimensions for which their instructions cannot have provided, being neither more nor less than war with Turkey. For this the British Ministry can hardly be prepared. The Liberal programme in the East has all along been based on the theory that Turkey would not venture to disobey the commands of united Europe, but this made no allowance for the contingency of the Sultan's insanity, which actually seems to have occurred. Somebody now will have to be found willing to chastise him on land. The only Power which is always willing to undertake this job is Russia, but the others will hardly be willing to let Russia do it again. Anyhow, the final dissolution of the Ottoman Empire seems to have become a question of months rather than of years.

The French Ministerial crisis has ended in the formation of a new Ministry under the presidency of Jules Ferry, the author of the famous "Article 7" against the religious orders. The only other change in the Cabinet which excites much attention is that of M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire to the Foreign Office. The other two new appointments are Admiral Clouet, Minister of Marine, and M. Carnot, of Public Works. M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire is an old man, and has never held office before. He has been a journalist and a professor in the Collège de France, and is well known as the author of numerous philosophical works; he was at one time secretary to M. Thiers. He appears to inspire confidence among Republicans of all shades of opinion, and has issued a circular to the French agents abroad assuring foreign Powers that the policy of the Government, as regards its foreign relations, has undergone no change. But it is quite evident that in Paris the new Ministry is regarded as more or less of a stop-gap, and that it will only last as long as Gambetta chooses. There appears to be no change in the attitude of the Government towards the Eastern Question, as the advices from Dulcigno state that the French admiral is to confine himself to moral support in case hostilities are opened by the vessels of the other Powers.

Affairs in Ireland seem to grow worse. Another landlord, Lord Mountmorris, has been murdered, and very brutally, and presumably by or at the instigation of his tenants, with whom he was on bad terms. He was just returning from a meeting of magistrates at which a resolution had been passed asking the Government to resort to coercive measures. Other outrages and attempts at assassination are reported from other parts of the country. Bad as the situation is, a much worse has been witnessed in Ireland within the memory of men now living; but the mischief of it is just now unusually great, inasmuch as it will probably cause the miscarriage of any land bill the Government may introduce next year, through the effect on English opinion. It is with great difficulty that the English middle class is ever got to give any serious attention to Irish grievances, and it always seizes any plausible excuse for dismissing the odious subject; a better excuse than numerous murders it could hardly have. By the way, Mr. James Redpath, who has been acting as Irish correspondent of the *Tribune*, is over there making terrible speeches, and threatening all sorts of horrors if his views on the land question are not carried out; and, coming from an American, they are, of course, more than ordinarily exciting. We would suggest, therefore, in the interest of humanity, that his paper should recall him and set him to work on those old sinners of our own, the Democrats and the ex-rebels.

FINANCE IN THE CANVASS.

WE presume there is little question that the weakness of the stock market, in the teeth of the large railroad earnings and the activity of business in almost every branch of industry, is due in some degree to the great increase of uncertainty as to the result of the Presidential election caused by the Maine election. There is nothing the business world likes so much and finds so valuable as certainty with regard to the future; there is hardly any state of the law, as long as property is secure, to which trade cannot adapt itself, and under which active and intelligent men cannot make money, if they are only sure that it will not be suddenly altered. Whatever be the defects of the present financial legislation of the country, it is undeniable that a great prosperity exists under it, and is likely to continue for a few years, if no sudden or violent change be made in it. The business of the country has, in other words, adapted itself to the situation created for it by Republican legislation; and the Republican party has, in the present canvass, the great advantage of being able to promise that if it remains in power this situation will last. It thus appeals to one of the most powerful of the motives by which the business world is governed, when it asks for its retention in office. This appeal, too, is very successful even with those who dislike the spirit and management of the party, and believe that it is keeping itself alive by fanning the embers of civil strife. They stick to it for somewhat the same reason that the European Powers defend the existence of Turkey; that is, they feel that they know the worst about it, and find they can live under this worst with considerable comfort, but do not know what would be the worst of anything which succeeded it.

The three things which most concern the business world in the existing situation are the national banks, the greenback and silver portion of the currency, and the tariff. If the Republican party remains in power, the national banks will almost certainly be let alone; if the greenbacks are not withdrawn when redeemed no additions will be made to their volume, and in all probability we shall not be allowed to descend to a silver standard without some effort to prevent it. The Republicans are, in fact, in a sort of rough way pledged to conservative finance by their traditions. They established the national banks, and therefore are compelled for their own justification to uphold them. They issued the greenbacks as substitutes for gold, and were driven by the mere force of their own proclamations into making them as good as gold, and will probably be compelled by the same force to prevent their again becoming worth less than gold. They have caused by the tariff immense investments in manufactures which they dare not suddenly disturb. In other words, their history gives a certain fixity to their policy. The weak point in their system is the silver coinage. They rushed into this with almost as much recklessness as the Democrats, because the war had created no traditions or prepossessions about silver. If the Confederates had used silver money they would probably have opposed the recoinage, just as many Greenbackers opposed redemption in gold because gold had basely left the country in the hour of our trouble. But the Republican party did not start as a party of financial reform, and never became one. Its whole financial system was the offspring of military necessity and of a desire to affirm the principle of national unity, and therefore silver had no place in it. When the great silver idea made its appearance the Republicans had for the moment no better defence against the delusion than the Democrats. Silver had neither helped nor hindered the putting down of the rebellion, and every Republican was at liberty to take his own course about it. But it must be said that the mere responsibility of financial administration, the prolonged effort to keep the paper currency at par with the current money of the civilized world, and to raise the public credit and reduce the public debt, not only has made the Republicans tolerably sane and conservative in financial matters, but has kept them in some sort of intellectual relations with the financiers of other countries. In spite of Mr. Stanley Matthews's question, "What have we to do with abroad?" the party has on the whole kept in mind the fact that the United States are a great commercial nation, sell largely to other countries and buy from them, are likely to do so more and more, and must therefore, in order to avoid loss and confusion, adhere to the same monetary standard. There is, consequently, a strong probability that by the time the double-standard experiment has gone as far with us as it has with France, and produced a premium on gold, the Republicans, if they have a majority in Congress, will make an effort to retreat from the false position into which they were hurried by the craze of 1877, and recognize the danger of making the United States a receptacle for the discarded silver of Europe.

On all these points it is impossible for any candid man to ascertain the position of the Democrats, or to describe it beforehand. We say this without in the least sharing the popular Republican notion that the Democrats are a band of evil-disposed persons bent on the ruin of the Government. They form fully half the voters of the Union and have as much interest as the Republicans in good order and good government. Democrats do not live by brigandage or gambling. They are farmers, and lawyers, and merchants, and laborers, like their opponents, although at the North they have fewer of the great industrial interests of the country under their control. But in political matters we have to judge them by their politicians, who represent their views in Congress and on the stump; and even if we give these politicians credit for the utmost honesty of intention, we are bound to say that it is impossible to get from their utterance a fair idea of what their financial policy would be if in power. Finance is, above all other subjects, a mass of details. To talk finance is to talk details. But there is nothing about which Democratic politicians seem so unwilling to go into detail as finance. All they tell us about their views on the currency is, that they are in favor of "honest money." But what is "honest money"? Butler considers his leather tokens "honest money." Nobody recommends any kind of money which he acknowledges to be dishonest. Every concocter of a currency scheme, no matter how wild, claims for it the merit of honesty. Then, again, when a Democratic politician talks of paper redeemable in "gold *and* silver," what does he mean? Does he propose to redeem in gold and silver at the nominal value of these metals or at the market value? If a man made a note promising to pay a certain amount in horses or asses, who would take it without knowing whether each ass was to count as a horse, or if not, how many asses would be the equivalent of a horse? Turning to the national banks, we find ourselves left in the same state of uncertainty. The abolition of the national banks would of itself be a serious, and possibly very disturbing, change. It seems likely, however, that it would be accompanied by the substitution of the legal-tender Government paper for the bank-notes—or, in other words, by the conversion of the Treasury into a vast bank of issue by a party which is composed in large part, if not in the larger part, of persons who do not believe that Government paper need be redeemable in coin, or that, if it be made redeemable in coin, any coin need be kept on hand for the purpose.

Now, this opens up distinctly to business men the possibility of an enormous paper inflation of the currency, the expulsion of coin from the country, and another commercial crash on a scale which would make that of 1873 seem a trifle. We believe we have read with more or less care every utterance of prominent Democrats on these grave subjects during the past four years, and we have not found in any of them any assurance on which a business man would be justified in relying that the position of the party on them was such that no great financial disturbance need be feared from its accession to power. In fact, most of the speakers take care to be sufficiently vague in their utterances to avoid committing themselves or anybody else on any important point. But in counting-houses nobody is satisfied with vague utterances. Nothing makes business men comfortable but full particulars and carefully prepared estimates, showing the dark as well as the bright side of every proposed venture or operation. The Republicans, we grant, are not much more explicit in their financial utterances than the Democrats. The evasions of their leading men about the silver question, for instance, are very discreditable; but their past history and their own legislation furnish, as we have said, fairly trustworthy grounds for anticipation as to what they will do and refrain from doing in the future. The Democrats have nothing of the kind to produce, and their platform ought therefore, on the currency question and the tariff, to have bristled with specifications which would bind the party. We believe it is something new in the history of constitutional government for a party in opposition to seek power on financial issues without producing a financial programme, and this the Democrats are doing. All

they really promise about the finances is that when in office they will be virtuous in their management of them. That either party should venture to go to the country in this way is a striking proof of the disorganizing and confusing influence of the Southern question in party politics.

We do not mean to be unusually disrespectful to the gentlemen who work up the various cries which form the ingredients of what is called the "Solid South," such as the rebel-claims cry, the rebel-pensions cry, the payment-for-slaves cry, the division-of-Texas-into-five-States cry, and so on, when we say that only a very small number of voters consider these really serious questions. They are the music of the campaign and make the halls resound, but few people take them in dead earnest. Nevertheless, they make the discussion of the really grave questions of the canvass difficult. Most stump-orators shirk finance; it is dry and full of quagmires, and the committees do not call for it or insist upon it, and the public is therefore left to work out its conclusions about it in private houses and offices. Within a week, we believe, orders have been issued by the Republicans to "scare the business men," but we doubt much whether this operation will be performed with either knowledge or discretion. Exorbitant demands will be made on the credulity of audiences, and pictures of ruin will be drawn so dreadful that the American imagination will not take hold of them, for the American imagination is very optimistic, and grows more so. It is difficult, if not impossible, to find an American who swallows the Republican prophecies about the Democrats. He secretly laughs over them, but hopes they will frighten some other man and make him vote the Republican ticket.

THE TURKISH CRISIS.

THE news from Turkey, that the Sultan has thrown off the mask and refused point blank to cede Dulcigno peaceably, is the most serious which has come since the break-up of the Constantinople Conference in 1876. Riza Pasha, who commands at Dulcigno the force which was supposed to have been sent down to deliver the place to the Montenegrins, has announced to the fleet that he will treat any attack on the Albanians who occupy the town as an attack on the Turkish forces, and resist it. To this Admiral Seymour, who appears to have some kind of direction of the naval operations, has replied by arranging with the Montenegrin commander to begin his operations under cover of the guns of the fleet, and by the time this is in the hands of our readers fighting will probably have begun if not ended. Dulcigno itself is a wretched village, for ages a nest of pirates, and the Albanians will probably burn it down before they are driven out; but it will be hereafter more famous than Plevna, as the place in which the final step was taken towards the dissolution of the Turkish Empire. Of course the Gladstone Ministry, having entered on the momentous policy of coercing Turkey, cannot afford to be foiled or worsted. The Montenegrins, who are probably a match for the Albanians even if left to themselves, will not find much difficulty in carrying the Albanian positions after they have been shelled by the monster guns of the fleet, and once in possession of the place they will not be disturbed. The process, which by a convenient euphemism is called "executing the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin," once begun at Dulcigno will be promptly carried out in Greece also by another naval demonstration in the Gulf of Volo, in support of the Greek army, now said to number thirty thousand men. This force will operate against the Turkish troops within the new line of frontier traced by the late supplemental conference. The bulk of the Greek troops are, however, raw levies. No matter how good the material there has not been time to drill and discipline them, and the supply of good officers is said to be scanty. It is true they will receive aid, and very effective aid, from the large Greek population of which they are seeking to take possession, but even with this a defeat or severe check at the hands of the Turkish forces is among the strong probabilities of the crisis, and would undoubtedly be followed, as all Turkish successes are, by great atrocities. Such a result would lead to an immediate rising in Eastern Rumelia, and probably in Servia and Bulgaria. In fact, the whole Balkan peninsula would be enveloped in a few weeks in fire and blood, and a general European interference would rapidly and inevitably ensue. Austria would have to look after her eastern frontier and secure her communications with the sea at Salonica, and Russia would take up her old work of protecting the Christians in the Turkish provinces from Mahometan barbarity, while England, at least, would be bound to see, first of all, that Greece got what the Treaty of Berlin assigned her, and then that nobody got an unfair advantage of her at Constantinople, in case "the unspeakable Turk," as Mr. Carlyle calls him, found it necessary to retire into Asia. That the Turks will now be left to take care of themselves, as far as England is concerned, has been announced in the most explicit manner in Parliament by Mr. Gladstone in the first speech he made after his recovery from his late illness; so that any disagreement which may now arise between the Powers will not be due to a desire on the part of any one of them to save Turkey from her impending fate, but to the difficulty of reaching a common understanding as to what shall take her place in case she goes to pieces.

The problem has been somewhat complicated since the naval demonstrations began by the change in the French Ministry. Gambetta's speech at Cherbourg some weeks ago, with its obscure intimations of a revival of the warlike spirit in France, produced a good deal of uneasiness in Germany, to which the official press gave full expression. This uneasiness has been aggravated by Gambetta's late triumph over the Ministry on the question of executing the decrees against the religious orders. He is believed, rightly or wrongly, to have driven M. de Freycinet from office for the indiscretion of not consulting him before announcing a policy of greater leniency, and it is supposed, too, that he will be driven by the logic of events to take office himself before long, and become in form, what he is already in reality, the head of the French Government. To Germany, however, he represents, more than any other man in France, "unconquerable hate and study of revenge," and this new demonstration of his power in French politics is, of course, well calculated to infuse greater caution into the foreign policy of the Empire, and make the management of the Eastern Question an exceedingly delicate task. One of the contingencies of this question, and the one most feared by all the Western Powers, is a collision of some kind with Russia if the necessity of distributing the Turkish estate should arise under the pressure of events now pending. Even those who have the strongest confidence in the moderation of Russian aims are well aware that this moderation has been largely due in the past to the feeling that the Turkish régime is temporary and will sooner or later give way to something permanent, something which will probably last, if not for ages, at least until European politics and society shall have passed into some entirely new phase. That the Russian people will be satisfied if Russian influence is not largely felt in the making of this more permanent settlement, even if all their aspirations are not gratified by the shape it will take, seems very unlikely. With the overthrow of the Turks, therefore, a great increase of the sensitiveness of Austria and Germany about Russian interference may confidently be looked for. Russia will be forced to arm herself against its consequences by alliances, and the only ally she can count on with confidence is France, for France is the only Power which is meddling in the Eastern Question to which it has only a secondary importance—that is, which has another question on hand to which it would willingly sacrifice its influence in the East, and for the solution of which it would willingly use any opportunity the Eastern Question may give it. In other words, the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine is now the dominant idea of French politics. It is this which now makes France peaceful and industrious, and which leads to the enormous sacrifices she is undergoing in the reorganization of her army. It is, in the opinion of the Republicans the one thing needed to consolidate the Republic by giving it what it needs, the prestige of restoring the Old France which the Empire allowed to be dismembered, and releasing the Government from that position of modesty and self-effacement in the European councils which is so galling to French pride, and forms such a mortifying departure from French traditions.

Germany and Austria will, therefore, in any trouble which may now arise out of the Turkish problem, naturally suspect France of pursuing very different objects from their own, and should their suspicions be confirmed by a *rapprochement* between France and Russia, we should probably be threatened more nearly than at any time since 1815 with that "general war in Europe" which the country editor so much delights to anticipate. The position of England has been marked out with the utmost clearness by the present Ministry. As long as Mr.

Gladstone lives and is at the head of affairs, it is certain that her influence and arms will be used to give the sovereignty of European Turkey to the races which preponderate on its soil. The importance of the crisis from a merely commercial point of view can hardly be overrated. The final disappearance of the Turkish Government would really bring into the market a vast and fertile region which has, up to the present, been almost as much cut off from the world of industry and exchange as the interior of Africa. It is literally true that the Middle Ages have lasted in European Turkey down to our own day, and the expulsion of the Mahometan power would be attended with many of the commercial phenomena of a sudden addition of a rich territory and large population to the modern world.

ENGLISH JOURNALISM.—VI.

THE DAILY NEWS—THE DAILY CHRONICLE.

LONDON, September, 1880.

THE *Daily News* commenced its existence in the year 1846. Its early career illustrates in a very remarkable way the fact that if journalism falls short of being literature, yet on the other hand literature is not always a sufficient equipment for journalism. Literature is a gift, journalism is a business. The first editor of the *Daily News*, as is very well known, was Mr. Charles Dickens. His name confers a distinction on the paper which will always attach to it, but probably no one ever existed who was less qualified for the work of journalism. Dickens was almost entirely without political knowledge or power of articulate reasoning on political affairs. Thackeray remarked of him once that "his genius was stupendous and his ignorance was miraculous." He was little versed in politics, and was incapable of learning more of them than he gathered during his few years' experience of the House of Commons as a reporter for the *Morning Chronicle*. He had one of those minds, apparently, which is without proper receptivity for facts and ideas of a certain order. From his early manhood, and at a time when he had scarcely passed boyhood, his literary success opened to him the highest society, so far as he chose to enter it. But he never learned the ordinary conventional distinctions, which, worthless as they are in themselves, are yet signs of a knowledge or ignorance lying behind them. In one of his earliest novels he speaks indifferently of the profligate young nobleman who figures in its pages as Lord Frederick Verisopht and as Lord Verisopht. He might, with a blunder no more absurd, speak of Earl John Russell, or of Sir Peel, or Sir Dilke. In one of his latest novels he makes a Lord Decimus Barnacle a peer, though the title of lord borne before a Christian name can belong only to the younger son of a duke or a marquis, to whom it is allowed not by law but only by social courtesy and usage. In fact the Lord Bobs and the Sir Browns of George Sand and Eugène Sue, and the Tom-Jim-Jacks of Victor Hugo, do not display an ignorance greater, though to English and American eyes it is more glaring, than that which marks the points at which Dickens touches upon English politics and society.

For a man thus disqualified by want of early training and by incapacity of later learning to undertake the editorship of a political journal was as if an Ojibway Indian should volunteer to conduct a Londoner from Tottenham Court Road to Ludgate Hill. Mr. Dickens, in his editorship of the paper, surrounded himself with men most of whom, if they did not share his genius, were yet scarcely capable of supplying the defect of his ignorance. The late Mr. Mark Lemon was his sub-editor, and on the whole the staff of the paper in those days consisted of the comic and cockney writers of the period. Mr. Dickens and his coadjutors rather played at editing the newspaper than actually edited it. The theatrical element was, as the readers of his letters and of Mr. Forster's biography of him know, stronger in Dickens than anything else. He seems, if the expression may be used, to have stage-managed his life. Even in its most thrilling and pathetic incidents, the thought seems to have been constant of the "get-up," of the action and by-play, required from him as in the part for which fortune had cast him. The *Daily News* office in his days was conducted much as a newspaper office might be depicted on the stage. There was the joviality and recklessness and Bohemianism which it is customary to attribute to the journalistic character. It was blended, according to tradition, with a kind of tawdry finery and display, the use of over-dressed servants and of salvers for the conveyance of letters and messages, in the fashion somewhat of a stage drawing-room. Mr. Dickens's editorship of the paper lasted only for a few months. He was succeeded in it by his friend and biographer, Mr. John Forster, who affected to be in a certain sense his patron and adviser, but who was really his butt. The biographer of Goldsmith and of the statesmen of the Commonwealth, Mr. Forster's knowledge was greater perhaps of the politics of the time of the Stuarts, of the great Rebellion, and of the great Revolution than of that part of the nineteenth century in which he happened to live. But he had had what Dickens lacked, newspaper experience. He had been the literary editor of the *Examiner*, to the political editorship of which he succeeded when Mr. Albany Fonblanque accepted that appointment under Government which in those days was the destiny of almost every editor of the *Examiner*. With him was associated, as manager of the paper, Mr. Charles Wentworth Dilke, the grandfather of the present Sir Charles Dilke, now Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Sir Charles Dilke has published some of the writings of his grandfather under the title of 'Papers of a Critic,' and he has prefixed to them a brief biographical memoir. This memoir gives incidentally some glimpses of the interior of the *Daily News* office as it existed in the years 1846 to 1849, and of the difficulties with which Mr. Forster and Mr. Dilke had to contend. The original proprietors of the paper were Messrs. Bradley & Evans, the printers, the late Sir Joseph Paxton, the late Mr. William Jackson, M.P., father of Sir Henry Jackson, member for Coventry, and some others. To them Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright were afterwards added. Sir Charles Dilke has published some letters from Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright to Mr. Dilke, letters which are more creditable to their recipient than to the writers of them. They exhibit the intolerance and narrowness and the occasional bad manners which marred many nobler qualities and sincere patriotism in those distinguished men. The attempt to put pressure on Mr. Dilke as to the line which he should take on political questions, and even to bias the literary criticism of the paper in favor of the personal friends or political associates of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, was indignantly and successfully resisted. Mr. Dilke protested especially against the *Daily News* being made, as Mr. Bright seemed to wish to make it, a dissenting organ. Mr. Dilke showed during his brief connection with the *Daily News*, which, extending only over three years, terminated in 1849, that faculty of business organization in the acquisition and in the arrangements for news, more particularly in the acquisition of information from abroad, which has since characterized it.

On the retirement of Mr. Forster from the editorship he was succeeded by Mr. Knight Hunt, who is now chiefly known as the author of a history of journalism entitled "The Fourth Estate." Mr. Hunt was followed by Mr. Weir, a man of large information, especially versed in German theology of a rationalistic order, and in the topography, buildings, and social life of old London, some papers on which he contributed to the publications of the late Mr. Charles Knight. Mr. Weir was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Walker, who retained the editorship of the paper until the year 1870. To Mr. Walker's fidelity of conviction and strength of purpose the firmness may be attributed with which the *Daily News* adhered, against much adverse pressure of opinion, to the cause of the North in the American civil war. The newspaper owed to him no small part of that reputation for adherence to principle at the risk of temporary loss of popularity which has formed so much of the basis on which its subsequent success has been erected. The first quarter of a century of the paper was, it must be admitted, a time of struggle and difficulty. Experiment after experiment was tried, with only a temporary success, to lay hold of that popularity which at length it secured. Its price and shape were repeatedly changed. It was started as a 5*d.* paper when other morning journals were published at 7*d.* From 5*d.* it was reduced to 2½*d.*; from 2½*d.* it was raised to 3*d.*; and then again it was reduced to a penny. Changes of form followed these changes of price, and all these mutations indicated too truly that prosperity was being striven after rather than realized. Ground was quitted which it was not found practical to occupy.

When the paper became a penny one it entered on a field already marked out and divided among existing journals which had made the change to this price at a much earlier period. The *Daily Telegraph* commanded an immense circulation, not only in the Liberal party, to which it then belonged, but among that mass of newspaper readers who care nothing for politics, but who like to be amused by descriptive articles of a sensational order. The *Standard* had the monopoly of the Conservative readers. The *Morning Star* was the organ of a comparatively small but earnest body of Radicals, whose politics were what Lord Beaconsfield has unjustly said that the politics of the Liberal party are, cosmopolitan rather than national. The *Daily News* is believed, before its change to a penny, to have been for some years carried on at a heavy loss, broken only by a period of temporary and accidental success due to the advertisements of the great speculative period in which companies were being formed on every hand. The circulation had fallen, it is said, to a few thousands. It had, therefore, to conquer its public from the newspapers already in existence, or by calling into existence a new circle of readers to create a public of its own. No doubt its present body of subscribers and purchasers have been formed from both of these classes. Its circulation is understood to approach closely, if it does not actually touch that of its most formidable rival in the daily press, which continues to boast the largest circulation in the world.

Under Mr. Walker's editorship, and in part under that of his successors, the *Daily News* counted among its contributors the late Harriet Martineau; Father Prout (the Rev. Francis Mahony); Mr. Edward Pigott, the brilliant and accomplished examiner of plays; Sir Joseph Arundel, afterwards an Indian judge; Mr. Edmund Yates; Mr. Hollingshead, at present manager of

the Gaiety Theatre; Mr. Lathbury, now editor of the *Economist;* Mr. McCullagh Torrens, M.P., and Mr. Boyd Kinnear, a thoughtful writer on legal and political subjects. Mr. Walker was appointed by Mr. Gladstone in 1869 to the editorship of the *London Gazette*, a journal of official announcements and advertisements. Political and ministerial nominations, military and naval appointments and promotions, bankruptcies and dissolutions of partnership, with now and then official despatches, form the contents of this interesting publication. Mr. Walker was succeeded by Edward Dicey, now the editor of the *Observer*. Mr. Dicey was for a long time one of the ablest leader-writers and special correspondents of the *Daily Telegraph*. Few writers possess a larger knowledge of men and politics, especially of foreign politics, than Mr. Dicey. Some of his letters have been republished in volumes, and they show great political penetration and a quick and observant mind. The present editor of the *Daily News* is Mr. Frank H. Hill, who had been one of the principal leader-writers in the *Daily News*, and to whom the series of sketches of English statesmen published under the title of "Political Portraits," and the papers in the *Fortnightly Review* entitled "The Political Adventures of Lord Beaconsfield," are attributed. The manager of the paper is Mr. J. R. Robinson, to whose business energy and promptitude, and to whose literary perception and discernment of opportunities, no small part of the success of the paper may probably be assigned. Besides the editor of the paper the list of leader-writers is believed to include Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P., the novelist and historian of "Our Times"; Mr. Clayden, the author of "England under Lord Beaconsfield"; Mr. Andrew Lang, the translator of the Odyssey of Homer, the Idylls of Theocritus, and the author of the verses of society recently published under the title of 'XXII Ballades in Blue China'; and Mr. George Saintsbury, who is understood to be engaged on a history of French literature. Mr. Moy Thomas is the dramatic and the principal literary critic of the paper. Mr. Andrew Lang has succeeded Mr. William Black, formerly one of the leader-writers of the paper, as the art critic; and Mr. H. J. Lincoln is the musical critic. Mr. Ellis is the city editor. The best-known name in connection with the paper is probably that of Mr. Archibald Forbes, whose war correspondence may be said to combine the characters contrasted in Leigh Hunt's poem, of "Captain Pen" and "Captain Sword." Among the writers of social and descriptive articles Mr. Forbes also has a high place, and with him the names may be associated of Mr. B. H. Becker, Mr. Moy Thomas, and Mr. Grenville Murray. Mr. H. W. Lucy, the author of many sketches of political and social life, is the chief of the Parliamentary staff, and the writer of the descriptive Parliamentary summaries. It is not possible for an outsider to know all that goes on inside a newspaper office, and possibly some names which ought to have been mentioned have been omitted. Mr. G. M. Crawford has long been the Paris correspondent of this paper, a work in which he is believed to receive efficient help from his accomplished wife. Its other arrangements in the foreign department, which appear to be very complete, are less known. The politics of the *Daily News* are rather Radical than Whig, and though it has, in the main, followed the leadership and supported the claims of Mr. Gladstone, it has not done so without many reserves and qualifications. It professes, and in the main, I believe, justly, to be true to Liberal leaders in so far as they are true to the Liberal party, and to the Liberal party in so far as they are true to Liberal principles, or to its interpretation of those principles. In the general character of the paper it may be said to occupy a mean between the highly-colored sensationalism of the newer school of journalism and the bare and bleak propriety of the older.

The *Daily Chronicle* is the only other morning paper. It was the *Clerkenwell News*, and its transformation into a general political newspaper is not yet, perhaps, complete. But it started on a basis of acquired prosperity, of ample circulation, and copious advertisements. Its proprietor is Mr. Lloyd, who is also the owner of a penny weekly newspaper called *Lloyd's News*, of which Mr. Blanchard Jerrold is the editor. The editor of the *Daily Chronicle* is Mr. Boyle, and Mr. Hance is the acting manager.

THE CONGREGATIONS AND THE GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE.

PARIS, September 1.

THERE is no vacation for our French *Kulturkampf*. Questions of this kind, when once raised, never lie dormant. The end of August was the expiration of the term allowed the Jesuits by the March decrees for the closing of their educational establishments. In reality, it was in order to close these that the decrees against the non-recognized religious orders were published; for the state, with reason, troubled itself little about the Jesuit houses devoted to purely religious offices. Indeed, so long as the Jesuits are not expelled individually from the country, it is certain they will do exactly the same outside their houses as in them, since the bishops are quite disposed to entrust the most important charges in their dioceses to the Jesuits' care. What the Government wished to annihilate was the influence they acquire by bringing up and educating our youth. It was reasonably thought that to close their educational establishments in the middle of the scholastic year would display useless violence and cause much annoyance to the parents of the students. The Government, therefore, deferred the execution of the decrees concerning these houses until the vacations, in order that families might have time to make necessary arrangements. It could well be surmised that the Jesuits would in the interim endeavor to twist the law to find a loophole of escape. They have not belied their well-known reputation for cleverness. Taking advantage of our laws on civil societies, they have instituted them wherever they owned colleges, putting influential laymen, senators or deputies, at their head—men who entirely belong to them, and are known as Jesuits in short coats. The direction, properly speaking, has been committed to secular priests, whose opinions do not differ an iota from theirs, and they hope soon to reappear as professors, as mere abbés; for the Pope has the right of releasing them from their religious vows. By acting thus they conform to the letter of the law, and their trick is successful.

What will the Government do in face of such a situation? To prohibit the new establishments would be an arbitrary course; to tolerate them would be to own its powerlessness. I do not know how the Government will extricate itself from this unfortunate dilemma. This is a fresh proof of the political error it committed in allowing itself to be compelled by the radical party of the Chamber to pronounce these unfortunate decrees. I have only spoken of the first, but you know a second exists which threatens to dissolve all non-recognized religious congregations which will not ask for Government authorization by communicating their statutes. This second decree, as I have already observed, is far graver than the first, as it would involve the closing of more than five hundred religious houses, among which are a considerable number of orders for women devoted to entirely charitable works, and of others belonging to religious orders standing high in public esteem, such as the Dominicans reconstituted by Lacordaire, and the Oratorians re-established by Father Gratry. The dissolution of all these societies would provoke much agitation. They are bound in honor not to demand authorization of the Government, because they would appear to recognize the validity of the old legislation which the Government wishes to apply to them, and which they have always contested. I have felt certain that the only means of getting out of this difficulty was for the Government to propose a new law on associations of every kind, and it was with a lively satisfaction that I saw M. de Freycinet, the President of the Council of Ministers, announce, in a speech made to his electors of the Council-General at Montauban, that such a law was being prepared for the opening of the next session. On hearing him express such wise and liberal views, it was thought that the French Government had had a previous understanding with the Holy See, with the object of facilitating the solution of a question equally dangerous to both, for the Papacy has no interest in losing in these religious orders its most devoted adherents and active militia.

It was notorious that the French ambassador at the Vatican, M. Despiez, was actively negotiating in order to bring about some concessions from the Pope, who is known to be prudent by nature, even if constrained to speak as the organ of triumphant Ultramontanism. These suppositions were strengthened when we read the public act of submission to the constitution, signed by the chiefs of the non-recognized religious bodies; it is known that this document was drawn up at Rome, with the formal approbation of the Holy Father. The essential part of it must be reproduced to understand its import fully:

"In order that all misunderstanding may cease, the religious orders concerned in the March Decrees make no difficulty about proclaiming their respect and submission to the existing institutions of the country. The dependence they profess to the Church, from which they derive existence, does not constitute them independent of secular power. Such has never been their pretension, as their respective constitutions and history prove. The moral and spiritual aim they pursue does not allow them to bind themselves exclusively to any political régime, or to exclude any. Their only banner is that of Christian charity, and they believe they would compromise it by serving the changing causes of human interests. They, therefore, reject all solidarity with parties and political passions. Lastly, the only thing concerning the temporal government which interests them is teaching, by precept and example, obedience and respect which are due to the authority whose source is from God. Such are the principles which have hitherto inspired their thoughts and acts; they are resolved never to swerve from them. They, therefore, cannot refrain from hoping that the Government will kindly receive the sincere and loyal declarations they here profess, and that, fully assured as to the feelings which animate them, it will allow them to continue unmolested the works of prayer, instruction, and charity to which they have devoted their lives."

This declaration first appeared in a provincial paper at Bordeaux. The monarchist journals, before knowing its high origin, launched invective against it, for it negatived the union of the throne and the altar, which is the very foundation of their political doctrine. The fanatical Ultramontane newspapers, such as the *Univers*, the famous journal of Veuillot, have shown greater prudence, while carefully abstaining from any sign of approbation which would have given the lie to all their opinions, for they are passionately hostile to the Republic. It was, however, necessary for the entire monarchist and Catholic press to end its criticisms, or protestations, when it was proved that the document had been framed at Rome. It now remains to be seen in what

degree it is the result of negotiation between the Papal Court and the French Government. It was at first maintained that M. de Freycinet knew and accepted it. He has contradicted this assertion, but this may refer to the wording of the document itself, which may not have been presented to him formally. It appears to me very unlikely M. de Freycinet was ignorant of the projected advance. Perhaps our ambassador, M. Despiez, may have admitted the declaration as a first concession, or at least as evincing a pacific spirit, and that M. de Freycinet, in consequence of it, felt encouraged to express himself as he did at Montauban. Without doubt the French Government cannot be content with the declaration, but it ought to draw from it a fresh motive for substituting a new law on religious societies, in place of the decrees whose rigorous application would seem still more inopportune now.

I know that the most influential Republican papers, beginning with M. Gambetta's, have but bitter words for the declaration, treat it as mere juggle, and urge the execution of the second decree of March 29, 1880. If they mean to imply they have strong doubts as to the affection the non-recognized congregations entertain for our present institutions, they are scarcely mistaken. No one can doubt that between the government of the *ancien régime* and theocratic Ultramontanism there was a great affinity. Papal infallibility cannot reconcile itself with the sovereignty of the people, the fundamental principle of democracy. Leo XIII. has just shown in his speech at the last consistory that he has lessened none of the Catholic Church's pretensions of imposing its rule on the state where matters of religion and public education are concerned. These facts are undeniable, yet the civil power gains nothing by pushing the conflict with the Church to the last extremity, especially when it can, as in France, take away all its privileges and subject it to the common law. É.

Correspondence.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The Independent Republican Club of Rhode Island has instructed me to express its hearty sympathy with the plan, proposed by one of the correspondents of the *Nation*, for the formation of a Publication Society for the dissemination of correct and enlightened views in regard to the civil service. The club pledges itself to the active support of such a scheme, both by work and with money. Trusting that the plan will receive the sympathy and support of all sincere advocates of a pure and efficient civil service throughout the country, I remain yours truly,

John R. Gladding, Secretary.

Providence, September 22, 1880.

POSSIBLE GOOD OF AN AWFUL EXAMPLE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I suppose there are few Republicans who will admit that the result in Maine is in any way indicative of that which is likely to follow the general election in November. Already I observe that several of the party organs attribute this disaster to the flow of money and whiskey. Doubtless these rather potent factors in American politics have not been without their influence in the matter, but beyond all this does not the Maine election go to show that many of the ignorant and unreflecting voters who, during and since the war have acted with the Republican party, have now abandoned it? We all know the success of the Democratic party for many years prior to the late war in attracting and holding this element, now greater than ever. May it not be that the supremacy of the Republican party (now that what may be fairly termed an exceptional state of things, a state of things to which it owes its existence, has passed away) has come to an end? Is it not likely that anticipations of this have led to the return to the Democratic fold of such wandering sheep as the Hon. Benjamin F. Butler and Mr. John W. Forney?

For the cause of civil-service reform, by all odds the most important and vital question of the day, though by no means generally so considered, the return of the Democratic party to power would doubtless appear to many tantamount to an indefinite postponement of the whole matter. It appears to me, however, that in this direction, at least, the success of the Democrats in November would not be an entirely unmixed evil, from the fact that it would afford the younger generation of voters an opportunity to observe the practical operation of the spoils system, a spectacle to which, in its entirety, we have been treated on only one occasion since 1860. The moral to be drawn therefrom by the young men of the country could hardly fail to be salutary.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the amount of anxiety, and I may say mental agony, which prevails at this time throughout the entire civil service of the country, in anticipation of the result in November, could hardly be exceeded were a considerable portion of the country stricken by a pestilence. Such calamities are, happily, to a degree preventible; would that the plague which now infests our body politic could be as readily eradicated!

W. B. Harrington.

San Francisco, Cal., September 16.

GARFIELD *versus* GARFIELD.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I hope the suggestion for a Civil-Service Reform Publication Society will grow to definite action. The halting progress of this movement during the last fifteen years in our Congress and political conventions shows that we can expect little from our law-makers and politicians, unless there is a strong and exacting public sentiment behind them. When Garfield the Presidential candidate flatly contradicts Garfield the statesman, as shown in the following extracts, it indicates that there is something wrong. In 1877 General Garfield wrote thus:

"To sum up in a word, the present system invades the independence of the Executive, and makes him less responsible for the character of his appointments; it impairs the efficiency of the legislator by diverting him from his proper sphere of duty and involving him in the intrigues of aspirants for office; it degrades the civil service itself by destroying the personal independence of those who are appointed; it repels from the service those high and manly qualities which are so necessary to a pure and efficient administration; and, finally, it debauches the public mind by holding up public office as the reward of mere party zeal. To reform this service is one of the highest and most imperative duties of statesmanship. *This reform cannot be accomplished without a complete divorce between Congress and the Executive in the matter of appointments.*"

In the letter of acceptance General Garfield writes:

"To select wisely from our vast population those who are best fitted for the many offices to be filled requires an acquaintance far beyond the range of one man. *The Executive should, therefore, seek and receive the information and assistance of those whose knowledge of the communities in which the duties are to be performed thus qualifies them to aid in making the wisest choice.*"

That is, Congressmen should have a guiding and controlling influence in appointing the civil officers of their respective States and districts.

The work of reform must begin with the people. The people, to demand a change, must be instructed and aroused. They must see the perils. Their consciences and sympathies must be enlisted. The need of the hour is instruction and agitation. Your subscribers in this place are united in approval of the suggestion made by "F. W. H." They can be counted upon to cooperate in sums of one to five dollars and by personal work.

Respectfully yours, M. S. Dudley.

Cromwell, Conn., September 20, 1880.

THE LOUISIANA RETURNING BOARD.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your strictures on Mr. Sherman's defence of the Louisiana Returning Board, in the issue of September 16, are to the point, but they do not cover the whole ground. The law *did* provide, as you say, that both political parties should be represented on the Board, but it also required that the number of members should be five, and that, whenever a vacancy occurred, through death or resignation, it should be immediately filled by a selection made by the rest. When James Madison Wells was examined by Mr. Morrison, chairman of the New Orleans Investigating Committee of 1876, the writer, in his capacity of clerk, noted this question and answer:

Mr. Morrison: Why did you not comply with the statute by choosing a fifth member before proceeding to compile the returns?

Wells: Because we could not agree on the person; we took a vote several times, but two of us always voted for one man, and two for some other man, and we could never agree.

It thus appears that the men who awarded the electoral vote of Louisiana to Mr. Hayes, did not constitute a legal body with power to act in the premises. But further: even had the Returning Board been lawfully made up, it had no power to reject any returns unless they were accompanied by protests from the supervisors. In regard to such as came to them protested, and in regard to some others, they were authorized to examine witnesses, and count or throw out the vote, according to the testimony. Now, the Democrats offered to prove, and had conclusive evidence to prove, before the Electoral Commission that the unprotested returns, as they were sent in by the Republican supervisors to New Orleans, gave the State to Tilden by some eight thousand majority—the said evidence consisting, in many instances, of the oaths of the supervisors themselves, who were willing to swear that protests were attached to their returns after they had left their hands, and were false in fact, and more than one declaring that they had been invited to New Orleans and offered money if they would add protests to the returns as first made.

These things are of most interest now as matters of history. But history, if written correctly, must state that, bad as the election law of Louisiana

was, if its provisions had been carried out to the letter Mr. Tilden would now be in the White House. Thoughtful and sincere Republicans have about abandoned the claim that Hayes was chosen President; but some of them still insist that his position is impregnable in law, or, as they are fond of putting it, "that he was constitutionally *declared* elected." From the statements just made it follows that Mr. Hayes, resting his claim, as he must, on the unlawful acts of a body without legal existence, has a title to the office he has held for the last three years which is without foundation, whether in law or in fact.

J. T. RINGGOLD.

OFFICE OF "THE TELEGRAM," BALTIMORE, September 21, 1880.

THE DECLINE OF VOCAL MUSIC.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is the quality of all just criticism to beget further discussion, as fine distinctions are in themselves gratifying to the mind, yet almost invariably suggestive of new considerations. After reading with satisfaction and indeed admiration the article on "Vocal and Instrumental Music" in your number of August 19, I yet feel it to be a pity that so much good musical criticism, and the influence of the *Nation* to boot, should go to persuade people that it is best to relinquish vocal music altogether, both in public and private, and to confine their efforts to the study and practice and support of that which is instrumental. This is the unhesitating conclusion of your contributor; but very good reasons may be given for dissenting from it.

The art of singing, like the greater arts to which it is allied, has had its periods of progress, of glory, and of decline. It may also have its revival. We may agree with your contributor when he says that at present the art of singing is in its decline—provided that he limits the statement to operatic singing. I should myself be inclined to fix the period of the culmination of that branch of the art to the days of Pasta, Malibran, Sontag, and that unequalled quartette consisting of Grisi, Rubini, Tamburini, and Lablache, which reigned over the lyric stage from about 1826 to 1850.

But there still remains the singing of the church, of the concert-room, and of society; and surely it will be granted that all these are better than ever before—better, sweeter, more intelligent, and more expressive; and though singing, like everything else, has profited by our growing civilization, our greater sensibility to poetry and painting and other forms of art, yet singing is essentially imitative, and our present condition, such as it is, in church, home, and concert-room could never have been arrived at without the lessons—the unconscious lessons—which Europe and America have been taking these last hundred years from the Italian opera. Whether these lessons are to continue I do not know. Whether they have lasted long enough, I doubt. Whether, having once heard the utmost calm beauty of which the human voice is capable; and then the utmost pathos, passion, force, and brilliancy which it can express—subject to that great law of moderation which the Greeks imposed, and which the Italians respected, never to carry passion so far as to revolt the sense of beauty—and then, of late years, having heard singers, under the terrible pressure of the modern orchestra, forgetting that law and forcing themselves to efforts destructive to voice and ear in order to maintain the supremacy once accorded them; whether, this decline admitted, it is best to abolish the Italian opera altogether, need not be debated at this moment. But to abolish the practice of singing and the delight of listening is impossible. Irritated by the fretfulness of Italian singers and their outrageous vanity, unable to allow for persons whose all depends on the success or failure of each night, Wagner seems to have wished to stamp out the race; while his followers are animated by a spirit towards them which might almost be called sanguinary. If, however, their services are in future to be dispensed with, let us at least not be unjust towards the past. If your contributor will read the disinterested criticisms of a contemporary on Marchesi and other great singers of the last century (Lord Mount Edgecombe, quoted in Hogarth's 'History of the Lyrical Drama'), he will learn that it was not reserved for the excellent German artists whom he names to be the first to combine dramatic propriety and a faithful rendering of the composer's intention with the gift of song. Nay, more; if he will turn to Stendhal's 'Life of Rossini,' he will find an admirable criticism of the famous singer Mlle. Colbran (Rossini's first wife) in the character of *Queen Elizabeth*, from which it is evident to any one who has seen Madame Ristori in that part that the great tragic actress has learnt or adopted much from the great lyric actress who preceded her. Few persons now living can remember Madame Pasta; but from the accounts we have all heard in our youth she must have been an actress of great power. No one has accused her, at least, of "strutting like a peacock" or of "gigantic self-conceit." It so happens that New-Yorkers who have chanced to take an interest in the art of singing combined with acting had, some years ago, an opportunity of forming a very good idea of the acting of Madame Pasta. That artist, after her own retirement, showed a generous interest in the fortunes of younger aspirants; and in particular did her utmost to develop the talents of a certain Mademoiselle Parodi, who sang in London and in New York for two or three seasons. The stupid joke that she was a "parody of Pasta" did much to injure her in London. She was not handsome; the style of Pasta was a little too grandiose for an altered taste, and she disappeared as so many hundreds have done; not, however, without having left a lesson behind her for those who cared to profit by it. Her grand gestures, her intense earnestness, her fine by-play, her utter oblivion of the audience and absorption in her part, showed in what a noble school she had been trained. Considering that the two greatest tragic actors living, Ristori and Salvini, are both Italians, it is rather hasty to assume that all the remaining genius of the Italian stage is concentrated in Madame Patti, and that, too, doomed to speedy oblivion because she has lately been ill-received at Munich.

Your contributor is hurried into an injustice, foreign, I think, to his intentions, when he speaks of the trills and other vocal absurdities of the singers trained for the Papal Chapel during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and then says that such tricks indicated the taste of the time. That singers were able to perform such *tours de force* is a proof that their training had been severe and thorough; but it does not follow, and is not the fact, that they were incapable of refined and exquisite singing, pathetic and tender expression, and, above all, a noble style of declamation; for these were precisely the qualities in which they excelled, and which the taste of their day required of them. They declaimed long speeches, like those in Addison's play of "Cato," with no other accompaniment than an occasional chord from the harpsichord; and the "sensuous beauty" of their voices was only equalled by the correctness of their elocution.

The truth is that singers and singing must never be judged without taking into account the state of the orchestra. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries instruments were few and costly, and voices were used in their stead and did their work. Madrigals, sung by a score or so of voices, without accompaniment, were of a wonderful intricacy and difficulty. Hence the need of a long and severe training for the singers who executed them. As instruments became more numerous and more various, and singers could rely more and more on an accompaniment which supported without overpowering them, there arose that succession of great individual singers whose fame has been handed down to the present day. It ceased to be necessary for them to learn counterpoint or elocution; their sole business was to execute faultlessly that which had been set down for them. Then was the happy period when the voices did not suffer from too much orchestra, as at present; nor too little, as before; when a sort of truce existed, and the drama, the music—considered as composition—the orchestra, and the artists each got no more than their fair share of the credit due to the whole. A period which, commencing with Cimarosa and "Il Matrimonio Segreto" in 1792, took in Mozart, with "Don Giovanni" and the "Zauberflöte"; Weber, with "Oberon" and "Der Freischütz"; Beethoven, with "Fidelio"; Rossini, with "Semiramide," "Tancredi," the "Barbiere," and "William Tell" (1830), and then declined through Bellini, Donizetti, Meyerbeer, Verdi, and came, one fears, to a final end in Gounod with "Faust." Looking back on the whole series, thinking of the grace, the brilliancy, the imaginative and creative power contained in these works, the great and varied talent employed in their production, the exquisite beauty of much of the music, and the equal loveliness of the voices which breathed it, and the amount of innocent pleasure and delicate emotion which they have caused to successive generations, one need not envy the puritanism, æsthetic or other, which despises Italian opera. And we may be sure that if that particular form perishes, vocal music, as a whole, will not. Your contributor admits that "a smooth and well-trained voice indeed has more elementary beauty, and is capable of more intense and varied expression, than any instrument"; but when he goes on to say that such a voice is scarcely ever to be heard I cannot follow him; nor, if the scarcity existed, should we be less likely to take the pleasure he considers so reprehensible in the exquisite gift.

Nor are we likely to burn our musical libraries. "Sound an Alarm!" is in print; and so is "Let the bright Seraphim," and "Lord, remember David," and "Lift thine Eyes," and "Comfort ye My People," and Mozart's "Agnus Dei," and Stradella's "Pietà Signore," and Rossini's "Inflammatus," and—one gets breathless with thinking of the thousand divine compositions for the voice which never can die, and for the right interpretation of which no voice is too beautiful, no training too laborious, and for the rendering of which no instrument could suffice.

But to argue such a point is absurd. People will sing, well or ill; and though we may resign ourselves with a sigh to the present preponderance of the orchestra, and may feel it to be well that a great genius should develop his ideas to the uttermost, even at the sacrifice of a generation of singers, and the temporary obscuration of the sense of vocal beauty and excellence, yet we know that a reaction must come; that art will not always remain estranged from beauty and divorced from joy; and that a more catholic taste and a wider culture, while doing justice to the great development of orchestral and dramatic music which has been the glory of our time, will restore to their due estimation the writers as well as the performers of genuine vocal music.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1880.

V. M.

Notes.

DODD, MEAD & CO. will shortly publish a new story by Mr. E. P. Roe, 'A Day of Fate,' and, before Christmas, 'Pretty Peggy,' a collection of five old ballads, with illustrations in color after designs by Miss Rosina Emmet.——Ingram's 'Edgar Allan Poe,' in two volumes, will be issued in a few days by Cassell, Petter & Galpin.——J. B. Lippincott & Co. have in press 'Kate Comerford; or, Sketches of Garrison Life,' by Theresa Aloysia Thornet.——D. Appleton & Co. have issued a cheap edition, in paper covers, of Herbert Spencer's 'Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical.'——J. R. Osgood & Co. have reissued the collection of prose and verse entitled 'Favorite Authors,' derived from the works of Hawthorne, Holmes, Landor, Browning, Scott, Percival, Charles Sprague, Whittier, Lowell, Longfellow, etc. Steel portraits of several of these writers, gilt edges, and a tasteful binding give the volume a holiday air.——'The Mudfog Papers' of Dickens, contributed to the early numbers of *Bentley's Miscellany*, and now for the first time collected and published in this country in the "Leisure-Hour Series," amount to very little. Their only interest lies in their authorship, and though they appeared after the 'Pickwick Papers,' they have none of the spontaneity of humor characteristic of Dickens's earlier works. As they were written apparently with a distinct notion of their ephemeral nature, it is doubtful if they were worth republishing.——The first number of *Education*, an international, bi-monthly magazine, has reached us (Boston: New England Publishing Co.) The editorial conception of it seems to us to bear date of 1840, and we fear the magazine will only serve to suppress the real organ of the higher education. Here is a taste of the editorial calibre: "In short, and in earnest, the effort of the Concord School of Philosophy is to interpret the whole universe,—from protoplasm, through Proteus [!], up to the Godhead,—by the nobler key of Plato, Aristotle, and Hegel, rather than by the dog-headed and monkey-tailed ciphers of Darwin and Haeckel. That is a curious and invaluable alphabet, and we owe all honor to the men of science who invented it, yet," etc.——In the *Harvard Register* for September Professor C. E. Norton calls for volunteers to assist in "the investigation of the remains of an ancient Greek city upon Turkish soil," under the auspices of the Executive Committee of the American Archæological Institute, and the immediate direction of Mr. Joseph T. Clarke. Board and lodging will be provided upon the spot, but neither salary nor travelling expenses can be paid. Prof. Norton should be addressed at Cambridge.——Mr. William Page's advocacy of the genuineness of the Shakspere death-mask of Kesselstadt is familiar to the reading public. In the August number of the *Antiquary* (J. W. Bouton) Lord Ronald Gower wrote on the same side; but in the September number Mr. C. M. Ingleby, the well-known Shakspere scholar, prints a woodcut, lent by Mr. Parker Norris, of Philadelphia, after the miniature supposed to represent Shakspere lying in state, also in the Kesselstadt collection, and denies any resemblance between this and the mask, or that the former was copied from the latter. From the date on the painting, 1637, he infers the likeness to be rather of Ben Jonson, who died in that year, and whose portrait in the Dulwich gallery it resembles.——O. Spamer, Leipzig, is publishing in parts a richly illustrated work on the Russia of to-day ('Das heutige Russland'), by G. von Lankenau and L. von der Oelsnitz.——B. Westermann & Co. send us Parts 18, 19 of Stieler's Hand-Atlas, the first bearing immediately on the present Eastern Question, with its general map of Germany (beautifully executed) and Southwestern Russia and the Balkan Peninsula. The other maps represent Saxony and the adjacent states, the Levant, (equally useful with the first-named for the Eastern Question), the North Atlantic, and the southern heavens. From the same house we have Parts 19, 20 of Oncken's 'Allgemeine Geschichte.' In the first of these Hertzberg's 'History of Ancient Rome' is brought to its conclusion, and Dr. Bernhard Kugler begins his 'History of the Crusades,' which, running through Part 20, will terminate in Part 21. The illustrations are among the most curious yet offered in this series, especially those taken from a Venetian MS., 'De Passagiis in Terram Sanctam,' of the beginning of the fourteenth century. Views of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Crusaders' strongholds, plans and maps of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Ascalon, Acre, etc., with military engines, seals, coins, and many other objects, are also freely interspersed with the text.

—With the vast majority of the descendants of the Puritans the unbroken pedigree can be traced no further back than the settlement of Massachusetts Bay, and the industry of one or more generations of genealogists will be necessary (among so many identical surnames) to enable every one with certainty to fix the line of his ancestry even to the year I. of our New World nobility. To cross the ocean and confirm an English connection has been, nevertheless, the darling aim of almost every victim of the genealogic mania, and a sad amount of baseless conjecture and of mortifying imposition by pedigree-mongers has been the result. Still, the search goes on, honestly and securely in the hands of such a man as Colonel Chester, and somehow, whether well or ill, in all sorts of ways. What we take to be the most important general contribution yet made to this pursuit is the 'Gleanings from English Records about New England Families' just reprinted from the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute (Salem, Mass.) The authors, Messrs. James A. Emmerton and Henry F. Waters, had special qualifications for their undertaking. In the summer and fall of 1879 they made hasty notes, chiefly at the Principal Probate Registry, Somerset House, Strand; the Public Record Office, Fetter Lane; and the British Museum, of wills, etc., relating to familiar American names, with a view to stimulating further research by the possible clews furnished, as by the neighborhood, the similarity of Christian names, and other indicia. The result is a volume of 138 pages, in which some of the notices are joined with already extant data, thus actually performing the work of making (or extending) a connection. Thus, we have the will of Andrew Bordman (father of William Bordman, steward of Harvard College), whose widow married Stephen Day, the first printer in the colonies; the full pedigree of Captain Francis Champernon, involving a relationship with both Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh; the Gilbert pedigree itself; the paternal and maternal (Lord) pedigree of Nathaniel Hawthorne; the will of John Halliock, father of Edward Holyoke, the immigrant ancestor of the New England family (related, by the way, to the Hawthornes); the will of Captain John Mason; the will of William Sheaffe, showing a connection with Fletcher, the dramatist; and much other interesting matter, including some comparatively recent data from the Island of Jersey. We may also mention here Mr. Waters's monograph on the Gedney and Clarke families of Salem, the latter connected with the Fairfaxes of Virginia, as is illustrated in some family correspondence of the last half of the last century.

—The contents of the recent numbers of the *North American Review* seem to show that the editor has somewhat changed the plan of conducting the magazine originally adopted by him. It was a plan which necessarily must have been modified sooner or later, as it was based on the idea that the value of an article depended altogether on the name appended to it, a proposition not any more absolutely true in literature than it is in trade. Up to a certain point names will no doubt prove sensationally attractive, but after a time the curiosity of the public, for instance, about what one notorious visiting statesman may have to say about another notorious visiting statesman must die out, and in the end, too, the supply of names must be exhausted. The editor has apparently seen this difficulty in his path, and has come to the conclusion that, in the long run, the serious and thoughtful is superior to the sensational. It is, however, a much more arduous task, as previous editors of the *North American* long since found out to their cost, to provide serious and thoughtful articles, from writers who are masters of their subjects, which the public will read, than it is to provide articles which the public will read, but which are neither serious nor thoughtful, nor written by masters; and if the present return to the old method of editing is not altogether successful, it should be remembered that the old method itself was never altogether successful. In the numbers for the last three months we find several articles by experts in various branches on subjects which are of historical or scientific interest. Mr. Richard H. Dana contributes a discussion of the "Nullity of the Emancipation Edict," in which he very conclusively shows that Mr. Lincoln's emancipation proclamation had no effect of any kind as a war measure, because it assumed to operate upon territory not in the possession of the Northern army. He thinks that the end in view should have been accomplished by a proclamation freeing the slaves *pari passu* with the advance of our troops. But the chief effect of the proclamation was a moral one, and its positive moral effect upon the fortunes of the war cannot be estimated now. M. Désiré Charnay writes for the September and October numbers an account of his discoveries among the ruins of Central America, a contribution which is valuable archæologically. M. Charnay, to judge by it, is hardly a scientific man, but belongs to the great and useful class of investigators who furnish material for scientific men. Besides these we may mention the "Trial of Mrs. Surratt," by Mr. John W. Clampit, and "The Personality of God," by Professor W. T. Harris, as well as an article on "The Democratic Party judged by its History," by Mr. Emory A. Storrs. These last show perhaps rather the difficulties with which Mr. Rice labors than the success with which he overcomes them.

—Mr. J. Brander Matthews introduces the October number of the *International Review* with a paper on Émile Augier which is to be described as an account rather than a critique, though, considering Augier's rank and American unfamiliarity with his works, that is perhaps a merit rather than a disadvantage. Indeed, we should have been glad of still further exposition, and a page or two of extracts from Augier's metrical plays would have served this end acceptably. Supposing it to be the end Mr. Matthews himself has at heart, we feel like suggesting that his characterization would have gained in force by the sacrifice of some caprices of composition of which the following sentence is an example: "The *Third Person* is as important to many French dramas of this century as was the 'Third Estate' to the nation in the last; but he is in no way aided and abetted by M. Augier." These, however,

do not prevent his article from being valuable and worth the reading of every one interested in the contemporary French drama, Augier's place in which is defined very justly, we imagine, if somewhat enthusiastically. "John Cotton in Church and State," along with its biographical interest, presents a view, whose attractiveness may be new to many, of the secular influence of the early New England ministers; and the writer, the Rev. George E. Ellis, preserves a candid temper, though he will hardly expect what he says to settle the controversies upon whose confines he treads. M. Le B. Goddard tells anew "The Story of the Poncas" with a good deal of indignation, and evidently thinks there is but one side to the question, concerning which, at all events, agitation is not wholly out of place. Its result in due time ought to be something more reasonable than anything here suggested, so far as we can gather. Carroll D. Wright discusses "The Census: Its Methods and Aims"; Gamaliel Bradford takes "A Bird's-Eye View of Our Railroad System"; A. Talandier, by no means a personal admirer of Gambetta, writes confidently of "The Political Situation in France." His paper may be commended to readers familiar only with the current foreign writing upon French politics, which assumes that the Revolution is no nearer its termination to-day than it was three years ago, and looks for a speedy return of the old alternative—chaos or a dictator. There are two papers devoted to the Presidential election, with which we may class a review of Bundy's 'Life of Garfield,' some sentences of which read curiously—for example: "He [the candidate] must regard, as those who nominated him do, party success as the first thing to be thought of," and "We do not see that it was his duty to commit himself after his nomination on either question (civil-service reform and the tariff), or before it presented itself in a practical form for his executive action, should he become President." These are sentiments adapted to the confidence of personal conversation, and have an awkward ring declaimed from the house-top.

—"The Concord School of Philosophy" finds a sympathetic expositor in the Rev. Julius H. Ward, who furnishes the remaining paper of the number. He thinks that though it has been much celebrated in the daily press it has been somewhat overlooked "as a movement in American thought and life." In this sense it has a natural relation to the Transcendental movement of forty years ago, and it has also significance as "at least a hint of the direction in which philosophical and religious thought is moving at the present time." Upon the Transcendental movement Mr. Ward has many praises to bestow; he thinks it acted beneficently on "a certain provincial narrowness of thought" characteristic of the New England religionists, "traces of which," he says, "are yet to be seen in the rural districts." The Transcendentalists "built upon the same basis upon which Buddha built," and put "imagination into daily life," and, though they failed at the time, to their influence must be attributed the new "movement," which is "simply to articulate a distinctly American School of Philosophy." Historically, however, the school started in St. Louis, where Messrs. Brockmeyer, Harris, and Snider "spent many a leisure evening over Plato, Aristotle, and the great Germans before they had anything to say to the world without." Mr. Snider especially "was soon found to have a rare power of thinking out questions to their results," and they thus nursed into life "a Western School of Philosophy." Before long "came the demand for utterance," a periodical was started, then "the chief philosophical minds of the West" sought to "join hands with the best thinking of the East; and out of this desire sprang the Concord School of Philosophy." The school is eminently practical because "it will hardly do to say that the ideal is not in the best sense practical," or, as Thackeray made the late Lord Lytton express it, "The Ideal is the true Real." It is also original. Dr. Jones is notably "an original thinker," for, though he is a Platonist, "Plato has simply furnished the basis of his lectures," which apply only what is immutable in Plato to the purposes of modern society. Of Dr. Harris the same may be said. He, however, "restricted his survey, both in speculative and historical philosophy, to the points which involve man's being and destiny," leaving other equally interesting points, such as "the spiritual consciousness of man as unfolded in religious history," to other lecturers. There was a cordial agreement between all upon "the great and central verities of religious thought," and Mr. Ward succinctly sums up the position of the School as "simply that of ideal realism." Its future is "reasonably assured," for as the only thing of the kind among English-speaking people it has met a want, and it may "lay the basis for a constructive interpretation of Christianity." It is, furthermore, thoroughly independent and "owes nothing to our universities, and does not propose to lean upon them except so far as they have something to add to the stock of existing thought."

—In recent numbers of *Westermann's Monatshefte* (beginning with that for July) Prof. H. H. Boyesen has been describing literary life in this country in a way which, we fear, will induce an enormous immigration of German literati. Authors, he says, are here "the heroes of society, and in all the large cities of the North are overwhelmed, from the beginning to the end of the year, with invitations to dinners, ball, and soirées." This, one might think, was sufficient to prove them pretty well off, but after reading the next sentence the reader sees that it was of no consequence at all; for he is then informed that "their position in society practically corresponds to that of the high nobility in Europe, and they are much sought after, in order that their presence may lend brilliancy to an otherwise uninteresting and commonplace company." It is also agreeable to know that "they no longer, as formerly, are distinguished by flowing locks and shabby clothes, but appear in irreproachable and fashionable society dress." Mr. Lowell, whom the essayist assumes to be "hardly known in Europe except as a diplomat," is for all that "the most complete type of the American gentleman," which, it seems, corresponds, "*mutatis mutandis*, to a noble Athenian of the age of Pericles." "The New England element," remarks Mr. Boyesen, "is the yeast which penetrates the whole northern part of our continent"; but, singularly enough, Boston being the capital of this literary New England, "not one of the literary magnates in whom Boston glories is a resident of the city." This remark might be an accidental ignoring of Dr. Holmes and Mr. Parkman, but that neither of these writers is mentioned in the article. We will conclude our extracts with one calculated to revive the drooping spirits of the jaded novel-reader, who will be pleased to learn that "our publishers cause every month a shower of native novels to fall upon the market," of which "the majority are remarkably well written, and display a sharpness of observation which would do the highest honor to an experienced author."

—The music of the "Sultan of Mocha" is, like all Mr. Cellier's music, pretty but imitative. The libretto is of the English burlesque order, and in the performance recently given at the Union Square Theatre the actors seem to have felt obliged to adapt themselves rather to the libretto than to the music. The plot is well enough suited to the purposes of comic opera, and in the hands of a French dramatist, even of an inferior order, would have been made very funny. A young girl betrothed to a sailor is carried off by her mercenary uncle, for the purpose of using her to the best advantage in the marriage market. He goes so far as to sell her to the *Sultan of Mocha*, but in the end, of course, the plans of the old wretch are foiled, and she is happily united to her lover. Mr. William Hamilton, who takes the part of the *Sultan*, is a fair bouffe actor, but he is the only one of the whole company who seems to have the slightest idea of what bouffe acting is. Considering that the Anglo-Saxon race have now for fifteen or twenty years been desperately endeavoring to catch the spirit of French opera bouffe, and that every year there are dozens of operas, brought out in the United States by Anglo-Saxon companies, which are more or less remotely the result of these endeavors, it is an extraordinary proof of the permanence and fixity of race characteristics that they still remain Anglo-Saxon in their heaviness and in their vulgarity. Anglo-Saxon seriousness is a very good quality, but it does not fit any actor or actress to act in the bouffe manner; and even when relieved of vulgarity we never quite get over the impression that the entertainment is not precisely what we were promised. Miss Leonora Braham, who has been taking the part of *Dolly*, is a pert little actress, without a great deal of voice, but able to make the most of what she has. Mr. Dixon (*Admiral Sneak*) is a very vulgar burlesque actor, while Mr. Allen (*Captain Flint*) is not even that. Some of the choruses are good, but that of the Greenwich Pensioners is too like similar music in several other operas to be altogether satisfactory.

—It is well known what an outcry was raised last year against the proposed "restorations" of St. Mark's, Venice, and how the Italian Government was induced to stay its hand, at least for a time. The danger is by no means felt to be over, and partly lies, of course, in the instability of Italian administrations, as well as in the persistence of architects and builders intent on completing their scheme of a general overhauling of the façades, and of ceilings, pavements, and walls. Accordingly, as the result of a conference held in London last May, a permanent committee was organized charged with the delicate task of preserving "the genuine character of St. Mark's," in "sympathetic co-operation with those numerous and influential Italians who hold the same views," and "with every determination not to wound any national susceptibilities, or to take exception to what are plainly necessary repairs." This committee now makes a public appeal for support, but without present reference to pecuniary contributions. "The names of all who may be disposed to join them in their endeavors" may be sent to the Honorary Secretary, Henry Wallis, of Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W. C. No chairman is as yet announced—an Italian is perhaps desired. Prof. Geo. E. Street, the eminent architect, is Vice-Chairman. Among the members, we find, of course, Mr. Ruskin, many directors of museums, English and German, Sir John Gilbert, Alma-Tadema, Burne Jones, Meissonier, Poynter, Prof. Colvin, W. R. S. Ralston, Rev. Mark Pattison, Charles Yriarte, M. Challemel-Lacour, Mr. James Russell Lowell, and Prof. Charles E. Norton, of Cambridge, Mass.

—Three annuals of the kind in which the French excel have lately been published by A. Quantin, and are to be had of J. W. Bouton, the American agent. These are the *Année Archéologique*, edited by M. Anthyme Saint-Paul; the *Année Artistique*, by Victor Champier; and the *Répertoire Poli-*

tique et Historique, by M. Charles Valframbert. The first, which is now in its fourth volume, has greatly enlarged its scope, and lays down a programme requiring the year 1900 for its completion. We can only indicate a part of its contents: a list of notable events in the "eighties" B.C. and A.D., handy for centennial observances; archæology in France—embracing special paintings at the Salon of 1879, congresses and reunions in that year, excursions, explorations, the official report on historical monuments, and the budget of 1880; archæology abroad; mélanges, with a notice of Viollet-le-Duc, and the theses of the École des Chartes, 1849–80; bibliography, including publications of archæological societies; remarkable lists of learned societies, with a sketch of their history and their memberships (even to the residence in each case, with street and number), and of committees and commissions; the personnel of museums and libraries within the scope of this annual; finally, reports, and archæologic projects for 1880–81. More readable is the *Année Artistique* (vol. ii.), with corresponding and wonderfully painstaking lists of the personnel of fine-art administration in governments and institutions, both in France and abroad; accounts of the acquisitions of museums, the changes in the fine-art schools, the condition of the national factories (Sèvres and the Gobelins); a critical review of the Salon, in classes; the great sales of the Hôtel Drouot; a *chronique* of the year, with its exhibitions, new societies, etc.; full chapters on art in the provinces and in foreign countries in detail; a classified and annotated bibliography; a careful necrology; an appendix of official documents; finally, an index of names—altogether an admirable performance. Adapted for wider circulation than the foregoing, though strictly confined to France, is the *Répertoire Politique*, now in its fourth year. It opens with a political review of the year 1879 in a Republican sense, then notes the election of President Grévy and the return of the Chambers to Paris, and then summarizes in strict order—topical, not chronological—the discussions on bills and the interpellations in each house, adding a list of bills in preparation. The budgets and financial measures follow; and the several departments, with their laws, decrees, etc., are taken up seriatim. Presidential messages and ministerial and party manifestoes; the Press, with a bibliography of "biographies and portraits"; the Social and Economic movement; and, finally, Necrology, complete this useful volume. It lacks, the reader will observe, the *personnel* of the Chambers, and the election returns.

—In the September *Livre* will be found a review of M. Amédée-Edmond Blanc's 'Napoléon Ier: ses institutions civiles et administratives,' on which Karl Hillebrand bases a remarkable article in the *Rassegna Settimanale* of Aug. 8, vindicating the greatness of Napoleon as a civil reorganizer against the depreciations of Lanfrey and his school, and demonstrating anew the writer's dictum in his 'Frankreich und die Franzosen' that "the great architect of modern France gave six foundation stones to the edifice of the Cæsarian democracy." The same periodical makes M. Littré's latest and last work (as he himself announces), 'Études et Glanures,' an occasion for reviewing the career of this venerable scholar, citing a perhaps not familiar bit of autobiography relating to his ancestors. The family belonged in Normandy, and consisted of goldsmiths in an ascending and descending line. A copper group in an abbey near Avranches having needed repairs, a Littré was called in, who, being shown Satan under the foot of Michael, on examination reported the devil to be the better of the two (*le diable avait du bon*), and the archangel good for nothing (*l'archange ne valait pas le diable*), and proposed to execute his commission by making them exchange rôles and putting the devil in the place of the angel. The vulgar idiom quite unintentionally gave his language a facetious equivocation, and being a Huguenot he found or thought himself in danger of persecution for impiety. He therefore made pretence of being converted, and the family from that time became Catholic. "Sans la facétie d'un aïeul," comments the reviewer, "tous ces gens-là restaient huguenots et étaient damnés éternellement."

—One of the most brilliant and accomplished of the critics of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, M. Ferdinand Brunetière, has gathered together in a volume of 'Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de la Littérature française' (Paris: Hachette; New York: F. W. Christern) half a dozen studies of the life and times and works of French writers. To a foreigner the most interesting and the most important essays are those on Molière, Racine, and Voltaire. The article on Molière was called forth in 1877 by the publication of M. Loiseleur's 'Points Obscurs de la Vie de Molière,' and it reappears now enlarged and "brought down to date" by a diligent use of the unending pamphlets and papers which are so rapidly increasing our scant knowledge of the life of the great humorist. It is not too much to say that the seventy pages which M. Brunetière devotes to this subject contain the best brief biography of Molière, in the light of the latest researches, now to be had. The article on Racine, though less exhaustive, is almost equally instructive. It sets forth with much force the comparatively new view that, coming after Corneille and discarding his traditions and his theories, Molière and Racine were both literary revolutionists, as daring in their day as the Romanticists of 1830, or the equally audacious but less gifted Naturalists of the present. Speaking of Naturalism, M. Brunetière (p. 67), in an essay on French literature in the Middle Ages, signalizes the love of minute detail to be seen in it, and notes that this love "is one of the points where extremes meet and where a literature beginning is like a literature about to end"; adding further that we can reconstruct out of the songs and *fabliaux* the every-day life of the twelfth or thirteenth century as completely as our grandchildren can put together the details of the life of our time from the descriptions of Balzac or Zola. It is perhaps characteristic that a French critic should appear ignorant of so important a work on Voltaire as Mr. John Morley's.

WHEELER'S SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA.*

THIS is an age of manuals; yet there still exists among many worthy persons a feeling that an historical compendium must be uninteresting. This sentiment is a prejudice. It arises not so much from the defects of authors (for no more exquisitely constructed little books exist than some of the series which is adorned by Mr. Gardiner's 'History of the Thirty Years' War') as from the mistake of readers who do not understand the right use to make of a good manual. They attempt to learn its details, so to speak, by heart. You might as well use a map as a table whence to commit to memory the names of all the towns which it contains. The true way to use a manual, which is after all an historical chart, is to read it through pretty rapidly, let the main outline and general impression sink into your mind, and, if this can be achieved, contrive that a few salient facts and dates become impressed upon your recollection. A student who does this will, if his manual be a good one, have gained for himself a general view of the period described, which will, it is true, be of no advantage in an examination, but will give him a sort of scheme into which to piece any minute knowledge he may subsequently gain from detailed histories. Another advantage of taking this historical bird's-eye view is, that such a glance at the outline of a whole period gives a kind of knowledge which one is apt to lose in the minute study of particular portions of one era. A sketch of history has, in short, with the defects the merits of a sketch. It should, and if properly used may, impress on one the grand, bare, and obvious features of its subject.

These remarks emphatically apply to such a book as Wheeler's 'History of India.' We defy any one without considerable waste of labor to learn the multitude of facts and dates compressed into its six hundred and eighty-four closely-printed pages. But any intelligent person who assumes (as in the absence of special knowledge he ought to do) that the facts stated by a careful writer who has had special means of studying his subject are in the main correctly stated, will find that a book which bears no traces of genius, and is certainly not a perfect manual, nevertheless can be so read as to convey to the student's mind certain general ideas which are well worth consideration, and are at any rate not deficient in interest. If any one wishes to test our advice, let him take the course we have ourselves taken. Let him gaze on the maps which form, perhaps, the best part of Mr. Wheeler's book. Let him note how from 1700 onwards the red which marks British dominion spreads on till it virtually covers the whole country. Then let him reflect on the astonishing fact of an eastern continent ruled by the inhabitants of a small western isle, put to himself definitely any one of the many enquiries which this phenomenon arouses, and consider how far Mr. Wheeler's sketch may supply an answer. The possible questions are infinite. None perhaps is better than the enquiry, What are the benefits or the evils which, on a general view of the whole matter, the sovereignty of England has caused to India?

Never was there a case to which the fable of the shield with two sides applied more obviously than to the Anglo-Indian Empire. Yet Mr. Wheeler's sketch at once suggests a notion that the good and the bad of British rule each flow from the same source. The one permanent, certain, indisputable effect of English government in the East has been the establishment of the rule of law. The great achievement and true monument of British power has been the enforcing throughout the length and breadth of the land of the *pax Britannica*. Under this head comes all the blessing, such as it is, and a good half (one may suspect) of the curses accruing to the natives from the might of the English crown. Readers of the *Nation* have had set before them in a very striking manner the vices of Anglo-Indian administration. Whether the opinions enforced by our correspondent are sound none but an expert in Eastern matters is competent to pronounce. What a student sees who tries to gaze at the long and rather monotonous panorama of Indian history as he might look at the record of the growth and fall of Rome, is, that critics who discern, justly enough it may be, the evils of the present, are apt to conceal, if not from themselves, yet from their hearers, the evils of the past. Generations accustomed to the unbroken order of modern civilization can hardly realize a condition of society which even in its order approached what would seem anarchy to a European or Anglo-American of the nineteenth century. This trait of Aurungzeb's justice is worth a thousand:

"A practice had grown up in preceding reigns of permitting Hindoos to acquire religious merit by ransoming condemned criminals. Some Banians

* 'A Short History of India and of the Frontier States of Afghanistan, Nipal, and Burma. By J. Talboys Wheeler, late Assistant Secretary to Government of India.' London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

had offered large sums for the release of certain professed stranglers known as Thugs. But the arrest of the Thugs had reached the ears of Aurungzeb: his orders were paramount. The Thugs were condemned to be hung in the jungle. The Banians accompanied them to the place of execution and gave them sweetmeats on the way. The wretches knew their fate, but walked along as gaily as if going to a wedding. They were hung up by the left hand, their legs were cut off, and they were left to bleed to death in lingering agony."

This wild justice, which brings to view the existence of reckless lawlessness curbed by savage torture, was the work of the most powerful of eastern rulers at a date between the end of the Protectorate and the death of Queen Anne. It is vain to point to the parallels afforded by the savagery of the dark ages; for the undoubted fact is that under the Mogul empire India attained an amount of order far greater than she ever knew again until she came under the sovereignty of Englishmen. Of palace intrigues, treacheries, massacres, and cruelties it is, as Mr. Wheeler well points out, easy to make too much. The provinces of Rome suffered little from the cruelty of Tiberius or the insane vices of Nero. What tells far more of popular suffering than do any of the horrors of the palace is the one expression, the "Mahratta chout." A "right" to harry whole provinces for the collection of an exhorbitant tribute was the fundamental principle of Mahratta government. If we imagine what Scotland and England would have suffered if the Highlanders had, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, levied blackmail up to the gates of London, had occasionally sacked the capital, and had constantly ravaged Sussex and Middlesex with fire and sword, we may form some notion of what a Mahratta raid really meant. Moreover, though it would be absurd to judge of the state of the country by the disorders of the palace, one must bear in mind that the very system of eastern succession almost entailed constant intrigue and, as its consequence, constant feebleness at the centre of government. Mr. Wheeler brings into marked relief the little realized fictions in which eastern government seems to be wrapped and by which it is weakened. No sooner is a strong and, therefore, for practical purposes, a good, ruler in power than, as though by some inevitable law, he gives birth to a series of *rois fainéants*. Somehow or other some mayor of the palace obscures the nominal monarch, and no sooner does the mayor turn into the avowed king than he in his turn becomes the shadow or the plaything of some official who governs whilst the titular master is compelled merely to reign—it may be in a prison. The causes of this constant divorce between the show and the substance of power certainly want an explanation, which Mr. Wheeler hardly affords. Its effect in paralyzing the administration can hardly be doubtful. India, when French and English began to make it their field of contest, reminds one of mediæval Europe deprived of even that limited kind of order resulting from the permanence of great dynasties and the vigor of great monarchs. The establishment of English supremacy was the substitution of an administration like that of Rome for anarchy worse than that of the middle ages.

So much for the bright side of the shield. The dark side may not be as visible to Englishmen, but it will certainly be clearly seen by future historians of England. It may, however, to a certain extent, be understood by any one who tries to keep his eye with impartial firmness fixed on obvious facts. The sudden creation of legal order is at the best not an unmixed benefit. If some external force could have coerced mediæval Europe into peace, it is as likely as not that the process which gave immediate rest would also have caused moral and intellectual death. The rule of England's peace means an arrest of native energy. Law itself, by a process which has attracted the attention of writers such as Sir Henry Maine, and which needs still further investigation, constantly becomes a source of oppression, by giving a rigid consistency to rights which, until defined by the courts, meant in practice something very different from what they were made to mean by judges. This is specially apt to be the case where foreign tribunals deal with a society of which they do not understand either the habits or the ideas. It is now pretty well established that centuries back English lawyers laid the foundation of half the miseries of Ireland by ignorance of a land system foreign to their own, and by applying to it inappropriate conceptions. That something like the same error has more than once been committed in India is, to say the least, highly probable. The rule of law is a blessing when it means the protection of the weak against the strong, but it may mean the arming of a tyrant against his victims. An Indian peasant can hardly be expected to bless courts which he finds give the rights of usurers a practical efficiency which they did not possess in the good old times of predominant custom tempered by lawlessness.

Civilized government further means expensive government. Large expenditure means heavy taxation. It may be true that the regular tax-gatherer is on the whole a less heavy burden to bear than the irregular Mahratta horseman, but the visits of the Government official are a present and constant oppression. The raids of the Mahrattas were always uncertain and are now forgotten. Moreover (though on this point one must speak with great hesitation), there would appear to be some signs that the order and unity enforced by British power are gradually producing something like that unity of sentiment which is termed national feeling, and must, if it come into existence, rouse a sentiment of new hostility to foreign rule. The Sepoy revolt was a military outbreak; but it is difficult to resist the conviction that it commanded Indian sympathy and all but turned into a popular insurrection. An imperial government of foreign races is, sooner or later, certain to be forced to the adoption of one of two courses: it may remain in a state of permanent conflict with the national spirit of its foreign subjects, and the very merits of its administration are likely to add strength to a spirit of opposition which if allowed head would be fatal to the existence of the empire. It may, again, incorporate subject nations so completely as to make them citizens of the empire and imbue them with imperial sentiment. To have achieved this feat is the glory of Rome. Whether England has the capacity for the like achievement is a problem of the future. A gaze over the past history of the English people does not inspire one with much hope that the problem will be happily solved. Meanwhile, the partial opening of careers to a limited number of the inhabitants of India is, unless the matter be managed with the utmost prudence, almost certain to be felt, and to be, a grievance to the greater number of England's Indian subjects. The qualities by which a native recommends himself to foreigners, especially to foreigners speaking another tongue, are intellectual suppleness and moral pliability. Characteristics of this kind are almost necessary for any one who is to adapt himself to habits, to a language, to ideas, which are not his by birth. But these characteristics are not those which in the main conciliate the love or respect of his own people. The Germans who served the first Napoleon were not, we may be sure, highly esteemed by the best men of the Fatherland. In like manner one may feel nearly sure that the Hindu who speaks English like an Englishman, and who slips like an eel through all the meshes of a competitive examination, is a thoroughly clever fellow, but is not the man born to be a ruler, with energy and character carrying weight with the different races of India, who see him with something like indignation raised to power. A Mohammedan filled with the traditions of Mohammedan supremacy will feel it no alleviation to subjection that he is governed not by an Englishman, who at any rate has the right derived from might, but by a Bengalee who, if the English armies were withdrawn, would be easily enslaved by some Mohammedan ruler.

That justice and wisdom may meet this difficulty and others is, one hopes, certain; but any intelligent reader of Mr. Wheeler's manual may at least learn that even the attempts to do justice to India may, without supposing any unnatural perversity on the part of the natives of the country, yet inflict real suffering, or, what is very much the same thing, the feeling of injury on the mass of the population. The rule of law should be the rule of justice; but even at its best the rule of law will not excite affection, and it will often appear to be the rule of unsympathizing force.

SCOONES'S FOUR CENTURIES OF ENGLISH LETTERS.*

NOTHING is easier than to quarrel with the editing of Mr. Scoones's book. He has omitted many letters which occur to one as almost indispensable to a work of the scope of this, and he has admitted others whose claims upon our attention seem difficult to discover. But the answer which Mr. Scoones might make to criticism of this sort, that no two persons, however familiar with the treasures of English correspondence, would agree upon the same selection, is a good one, and the most that we feel inclined to say in censure of his work is that he seems to have had no distinct standard in mind by which to measure the availability of different letters for his purpose. Still, we are by no means confident that the application of a standard of any strictness would not have resulted in the exclusion of a good many letters which we are glad to see here printed. Letters have all sorts of value—for the intimate view of the writer which they afford, for the matter which they chronicle, for the importance of the persons by whom they are written and to whom they are addressed, and lastly for the style in which they are written, or, in other words, the quality which makes them literature. There is scarcely one in Mr. Scoones's collection that has not one of these recommendations; many have all of them in some degree. And, in any case, the most conspicuous thing about the book is the happy thought which suggested the making of it, and in regard to which every one will now find it surprising that it occurred to no one before. Such omissions and intrusions as mar it are likely to be remedied in future volumes of the kind, of which we may guess this is but the precursor, or, indeed, in future revisions of this by Mr. Scoones himself.

The first letter given is from William Lorimer to John Paston, 1450, and the last from the late Prince Albert to the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1859; and the 339 between the two are divided into four sections by even centuries—1450 to 1600, 1600 to 1700, 1700 to 1800, and 1800 on—a classification which has nothing to recommend it but convenience, and the difficulty, which certainly might have been to a large extent overcome, of adopting the historical divisions of intellectual and literary development. The ideal arrangement would be, of course, the natural order into which the letters fall as

*'Four Centuries of English Letters: Selections from the Correspondence of One Hundred and Fifty Writers, from the Period of the Paston Letters to the Present Day. Edited and arranged by W. Baptiste Scoones.' New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

letters; but as it is, the reader will have to make his own study of the progress of English letter-writing, for which he has here plenty of material. To our mind, the art is more accurately to be spoken of as a progress than as the decline which it is commonly taken to be. The error, if it be one, has probably arisen from the change in the letter-writer's environment, which has, of course, been very great in many other respects than those affected by cheap postage and the telegraph, and it has naturally been assumed that, under conditions so apparently unfavorable, the writing of letters with any view but that of conveying intelligence is rapidly becoming a lost art. Evidently, however, there is a law of compensation that operates in the matter, just as the delight in and study of landscape is greater now than ever, though, since the introduction of railroads, it is complained that "we do not travel, we arrive." The letters written in this century which Mr. Scoones prints contrast favorably not only with those written in the days of the Tudors, when, it must be confessed, the art had not been carried very far, but with those of the eighteenth century, when no effort was spared that could contribute to its technical perfection. The truth seems to be that as the distinctive charm of letters consists in the freedom with which the writer unbosoms himself (all others are shared with other departments of literature), there will be good letters as long as there are interesting people who write to each other. It is to be said further that we are apt to be unconsciously prejudiced in favor of the older letter-writers, because it is through their correspondence alone that we get this intimate view of them, whereas since the birth and popularity of the English essay the public works of writers perform this service very nearly as well. In the essay, as it has been known to English literature since the plan of the *Spectator* was so happily and successfully executed, the author is, as Taine says of Macaulay, "involuntarily indiscreet." Macaulay pleaded the fact to Jeffrey in extenuation of his looseness, by the way (p. 540); and, at least until very lately, it has been a marked characteristic of much English writing. No one, for example, needs a further revelation of Thackeray after reading a 'Roundabout Paper,' or of Lamb after making the acquaintance of 'Elia.' And graver essayists than the humorists have conceived literature in the same familiar fashion. On the other hand, a bundle of Shakspere's letters, one may say, would be worth having.

For this reason it is agreeable to find that Mr. Scoones has made the first half of his volume so large. Its contents do not display as high an excellence; before the Revolution there is scarcely a letter that will compare with those of almost any of the Queen Anne wits, perhaps not even one if we except Howel's, which are also too pedantic to be quite good. But they give one an idea of English character that cannot easily be obtained elsewhere with the same vivid impressiveness. The popular notion that a great inner change for the better accompanied the conquest of political liberty can but be modified to some extent by the earlier letters, which far more than the later ones, even leaving out those of the Restoration period, testify to the innate dignity and integrity of the national character. The sense of the seriousness and nobleness of the England of Elizabeth conveyed by them is as keen, it may almost be said, as the sense of the intellectal greatness of the epoch conveyed in its literature. In this respect Mr. Scoones's book will not fail of doing a service to such of its readers as are carried away by the contemporary stream; it suggests many reflections that occur too readily to need mention here. A letter from Sir Henry Sidney to his son Philip is an explicit illustration of this. Mr. Scoones very justly says it is "a happy contrast to the parental utterances of Lord Chesterfield," and, indeed, it has a canonical tone. Queen Elizabeth's epistles are characteristic, and their number reminds us that the non-literary writers are not neglected, which is, of course, an obvious advantage. There are three from James I., two to his "sweet boys," Charles and the Duke of Buckingham, and one to Prince Henry, written on the occasion of his accession to the English crown. In the last he admonishes his heir in a vein as un-Chesterfieldian as Sidney's:

"Let not this news make you proud or insolent, for a King's son and heir was ye before, and no more are ye yet. The augmentation that is here like to fall unto you, is but in cares and heavy burthens. Be therefore merry, but not insolent; keep a greatness, but *sine fastu;* be resolute, but not wilful."

A letter of condolence from Jeremy Taylor to Evelyn on the loss of the latter's children is conspicuous for its thoroughly English temper:

"Sir, if you do not look to it, time will snatch your honor from you, and reproach you for not effecting that by Christian philosophy which time will do alone. . . . Sir, by the assistance of Almighty God I purpose to wait on you some time next week, that I may be a witness of your Christian courage and bravery. . . . Sir, I shall pray for all that you can want—that is, some degrees of comfort and a present mind."

Such "condolence" must be called old-fashioned now, we fancy, seeing that books on the value of living at all have a sensational success which imply a different way of looking at consolations. There is not much difference—or, rather, there is a curious essential resemblance—between the tone of it and the postscript of Nelson's on page 369:

"You will have seen Monsieur La Touche's letter of how he chased me and how I *ran*. I keep it; and, by God, if I take him, he shall Eat it!"

Nelson was a little fierce, perhaps, and the flavor of the old-fashioned English character is sweet as well as spirited—Ralegh's letters are an instance in point. But its fine dignity was, perhaps, the main thing about it, and such a strain as this, we venture to think, is as rare in English correspondence as it is in English literature before 1750:

"I had been writing a tender tale of the sorrows of a friendless, poor negro-girl; and my eyes had scarce done smarting with it, when your letter of recommendation, in behalf of so many of her brethren and sisters, came to me;—but why her brethren?—or yours, Sancho—any more than mine?"

Sterne, however, knew how to write prose as nobody did before Dryden, at any rate, and the letters henceforward have naturally more or less of a literary as well as a personal charm. Nor do we say that the latter grows less as we get further away from Sidney and Herrick and Walton; only that the old-fashioned quaintness displays a character that is agreeable to renew acquaintance with often. Mr. Scoones gives us, of course, many specimens of the master letter-writers—Gray, Walpole, Cowper, Lamb, Byron, Sydney Smith—though the temptation to quarrel with his selection in some of the later instances gets to be considerable. As we come nearer our own time, too, we naturally hold to a stricter standard the explanatory and biographical notices with which he introduces a new writer. Nothing, for example, could well be a more depressing blemish in a work of this kind than such a remark as this about Byron's marriage: "That a union between the sea and a forest-pool, between the most fiery and the most chilly of mortals, could continue long or terminate happily, was scarcely to be expected; yet who could foresee the end would be so near, the agony so intense?" "The following seven letters," he justly says, "the first of which was written at the age of fourteen, are considered to be very characteristic of Lord Macaulay." They are indeed. Speaking of the Rev. F. W. Robertson, he affirms rather obscurely: "No man in our day has exercised greater self-denial in the pursuit of the high function of influencing men for good." In Shelley "we are enabled to see the union of the finest moral nature with poetic genius of exquisite sensibility." And so on. One of the merits of the book is that it gives room to few letters that contain reflections of the value of these.

The following confession of Coleridge's, addressed to Godwin, is well worth bearing in mind, though it seems cruel that it ever got into the pillory of print:

"An idea starts up in my head—away I follow through thick and thin, wood and marsh, brake and briar, with all the apparent interest of a man who was defending one of his old and long-established principles."

The reader of 'The Life of Sterling' will remark that this is the precise figure of which Carlyle makes such good use in his memorable picture of Coleridge in that work. In connection with it we must find room for some "Theses Quædam Theologicæ" which Lamb, whom Coleridge had told he should "be happy to instruct on all points upon which he needed information," drew up and sent to him with an ironical context:

"1st. Whether God loves a lying angel better than a true man?

2d. Whether the archangel Uriel could affirm an untruth, and, if he could, whether he would?

3d. Whether honesty be an angelic virtue, or not rather to be reckoned among those qualities which the schoolmen term 'Virtutes minus splendidæ?'

4th. Whether the higher order of Seraphim illuminati ever sneer?

5th. Whether pure intelligence can love?

6th. Whether the Seraphim ardentes do not manifest their virtues by the way of vision and theory; and whether practice be not a sub-celestial and merely human virtue?

7th. Whether the vision beatific be anything more or less than a perpetual presentment to each individual angel of his own present attainments and future capabilities, somehow in the manner of mortal looking-glasses, reflecting a perpetual complacency and self-satisfaction?

8th and last. Whether an immortal and amenable soul may not come to be condemned at last, and the man never suspect it beforehand?"

In printing the letters of Dr. Arnold and of Constable Mr. Scoones exhibits pleasantly the comprehensiveness of his design; a stricter editor would perhaps have rejected them, and in one sense they are as good as any given. There is an excellent letter from Dickens to T. J. Thompson (page 558), whimsically pretending a lover's devotion to the Queen, not, we believe, printed in the recent collection of Dickens's letters, and, if our memory serves us, altogether more amusing than any therein; though it has the drawback, in spots, of conscious whimsicality run mad, there is far less than usual of the disagreeable, though genial, personal disclosure that Dickens was apt to make when he attitudinized on note-paper. The two letters by Thackeray are doubtless as good as any that were at hand, but a little trouble to get better ones would have been repaid.

MORE SCOTTISH HERESY.*

THAT Scotland, hitherto regarded as ultra-conservative in theology, is passing through a religious revolution, is becoming ever more apparent. For three years one of its large Presbyterian churches has been agitated from

* 'Scotch Sermons, 1880.' London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

centre to circumference with a case involving the foundation of Protestant theology itself. Nor has the wave of revolutionary ideas been confined to the Free Church and Professor Robertson Smith, of Aberdeen, in whose heresy case the last word has by no means yet been heard. The religious mind of the whole country is agitated, and the publication of 'Scotch Sermons, 1880,' affords another proof that religious thought in the Scotch churches is in a transition state. These sermons are the production of ministers of the Established Church of Scotland, some of them distinguished in the domains of philosophy and literature. The volume is edited by Professor Knight, of St. Andrews University, who some time ago seceded from the Free Church, and may be regarded as a manifesto by the Broad Church party, which has made for itself a home in the national church especially. The purpose of the publication, as stated in the preface, is to gather together specimens of a style of teaching which "increasingly prevails" among the clergy of the Church of Scotland, and "to show the direction in which thought is moving." The tone and scope of the collection are indicated when it is added that it is the work of those whose hope for the future lies in "a profounder apprehension of the essential ideas of Christianity, and especially in the growth within the church of such a method of presenting them as shall show that they are equally adapted to the needs of humanity, and in harmony with the results of critical and scientific research."

The hostile criticism of the present day may be regarded generally from two points of view. There is the great scientific movement of the time, with its fundamental principle of the absolute and universal reign of law, which admits the existence of no sphere for the action of the supernatural, and whose highest category of thought is that of evolution, by which all the phenomena of human life, as well as of the physical world, are to be explained. Religion is thus resolved into an evolution from the human mind itself, like the development of thought in science, art, or social politics; every element of the supernatural is eliminated from it. Closely connected with and growing out of this scientific movement, as a necessary consequence, there is also the new method of the higher criticism—the application to the Bible of the same historico-literary criticism as is applied to any other literature, sacred or profane, no claim to special revelation or infallibility being admissible. The attitude assumed towards these two tendencies of modern hostile criticism is a fair criterion of the condition of religious thought and feeling in any church. Judged by it, this volume affords abundant evidence that the rationalistic spirit has taken deep root in one at least—the largest and most cultured—of the Scotch churches. Indeed, considering its source, the boldness of its utterances is absolutely startling.

In a sermon on "The Continuity and Development of Religion" Professor Knight fearlessly regards the progress of physical science and the results of modern criticism. Every age, he holds, marks a transition from a lower to a higher order; but religion is no more in danger now than it was in the first century. "Its history is the history of progressive development, and of continuously unfolding life." Ecclesiastical and intellectual scaffoldings may be reared round about it and be destroyed again, but the religious "intuition" never dies. To the objection that religion is endangered when its origin is explained by the modern scientific idea of evolution, Professor Knight replies that the validity of any belief is independent of the process by which it may have arisen. He further affirms that if the human mind has grown at all, its religious ideas must have grown along with it. Adopting the purely scientific method, he takes a comprehensive view of religious phenomena as they appear in history, and the conclusion to which he comes is that the human race, not any particular favored people, "has lived in the light of a never-ceasing apocalypse, growing clearer through the ages, but never absent from the world since the first age began." Man is a religious being, possessed of a religious faculty or instinct as an ineradicable element of human nature, from which, as from a common root, all forms of religion have grown. The fetish-worshipper, as Professor Knight admits, is thus as real, if not as articulate, a prophet of religious ideas as the founder of maturer faiths; and the history of religion is the record of a progressive development, the final stage of which has not begun to be reached. Professor Knight concedes so much to the school of Herbert Spencer as to admit that an ultimate mystery surrounds the central dogma of religion, that of the existence of God. Knowledge of every kind must at last merge into the Unknown, and the "theistic" explanation of the universe is no exception to the rule. He contends, however, that it provides a working theory of life, and, although it leaves a score of puzzles unexplained, it yet lightens "the burden of the mystery" which still remains to elevate the worship it evokes.

In "Law and Miracle" the Rev. D. J. Ferguson seems afraid to commit himself definitely. Christianity being based not upon the outward but the inward, miracles to him have no evidential value; power to work a miracle is no evidence of the possession of spiritual truth. He does not, however, maintain that miracles are impossible; nor, though holding that the Gospels took their rise out of a mass of floating tradition distant in point of time from the events narrated, that they are unhistorical. He writes of them as belonging to the poetry of religion, and of nature in her calm uniformity bearing the stamp of a fixed, unswerving purpose; yet he adds that belief in miracles has still its place in Christian thought. Although not basing our faith in Christ upon our reception of his miracles, "we may base our reception of his miracles upon our faith in Christ."

In a sermon on "Authority," by the Rev. W. L. McFarlan, the whole question of the authority of the Bible is raised and discussed with a surprising freedom. The infallible authority which, since the Reformation, Protestant theologians have attached to the Bible, and which has been the fundamental principle of all their systems of theology, the writer of this sermon boldly questions, his purpose being to vindicate the claims of the individual reason to supreme authority over individual beliefs. Those who maintain the infallibility of the Bible and its superiority to reason, he contends, argue in a circle; the theory itself is ultimately dependent for its origin on the authority of individual scholars, or, what amounts to the same thing, the Councils of the Church. The only authority, therefore, which he claims for the Scriptures is that of their "inherent reasonableness." They are not true because authoritative; they are authoritative only because, and in so far as, they commend themselves as true to the intelligence and reason. With such a view of Scripture, of course, the whole system of dogmatic Protestantism falls to pieces. The writer sees this, and, carrying his premises without flinching to their logical conclusion, in another sermon declares that the dogmas of the old theological systems must now be abandoned as no longer tenable. "The whole of that latest development of theological scholasticism, the Dutch covenant theology, with its solemn bargainings between God and Adam, between God the Father and God the Son, must be regarded as a fashion as quaint and artificial as the Dutch landscape-gardening which along with it came into vogue in the British Islands"! From the wreck of the dogmatic systems, however, there rise up, according to this writer, the truths of Duty, God, and Immortality, as "the things which cannot be shaken."

"The Law of Moral Continuity" and "The Renovating Power of Christianity," both by Dr. Mackintosh, are a valuable contribution to the discussion of a subject upon which much maudlin sentiment has been expended. The first deals with the nature of human responsibility and the mode of divine judgment suggested by the words, "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap," and on the lines of thought pursued in Emerson's Essay on "Compensation." The nature of the eternal order of things is such that good action leads to greater good, and evil action to greater evil, the fruit to be reaped being the same in kind as that sown. Good or evil deeds grow into habits, which tend to develop the higher capacities of human nature or to wither up and destroy them. Divine judgment is neither "externally superadded" nor arbitrarily imposed: it is *immanent* in every action. The popular notion of a "Day of Judgment" on which man's final destinies will be fixed, is, on this view, a purely artificial and anthropomorphic conception. God's judgment on men's actions is only "another name for their natural and inevitable outcome and consequence." Dr. Mackintosh finds no place in his conception of Christianity for an objective atonement. The difficulty with him is not theoretical but practical. The problem of life he defines as deliverance from the sway of our lower, surrender to the control of our higher nature, and "the renovating power of Christianity" is felt as a moral stimulus to man's better nature, by its presentation of a new hope in the infinite possibilities of human nature, and revelation of the love and goodness and "benignantly transforming operation of that Eternal Order which is but another name for God." From this standpoint the writer can see the possibility of the final extinction of evil. Admitting the awful mystery that surrounds the problem, he has a well-grounded hope that "good will be the final goal of ill." For, he concludes, "if for long ages the order may seem to operate indifferently for evil or for good, yet its preponderating tendency in favor of what is good will issue in the transformation of what is evil."

We must not pass over two sermons by Principal Caird, of Glasgow University, which stand first in order as well as in importance in the volume, "Corporate Immortality" and "Union with God." In the former Dr. Caird attempts, by the idea of the organic unity of the race, to explain the standing contradiction between the infinite yearnings and possibilities and the pettiness of attainment of the individual life. The true grandeur of the individual life, he remarks, lies in the very impossibility of individual perfection; for it is taken up and incorporated in the universal and undying life of humanity "to which all the good and great of the past, every wise thinker, every true and tender heart, every fair and saintly spirit, have contributed, and which, never hasting, never resting, onward through the ages is advancing to its consummation." "Union with God" is the apotheosis of humanity. Perfect union with God, Principal Caird remarks, was seen in Jesus Christ, in whom human nature became divinely transformed. But what in him was actually realized exists as a latent possibility in every man. Becoming one with God, like Jesus Christ, men do not transcend, but only realize, their true nature, for human nature possesses divine elements.

Of the remaining sermons of the volume may be mentioned "Home-

Spun Religion," by Dr. Cunningham, an earnest, practical discourse; "Individualism and the Church," by the Rev. Thomas Rain, in which the superiority of the former is vindicated; the Rev. John Stevenson's "Religion, Theology, and Ecclesiasticism," which are carefully distinguished from each other, their spheres being respectively spiritual, intellectual, and political; and "Christian Righteousness," which, according to Dr. Story, has nothing to do with the "dishonest" doctrine of "Imputation," but which "expresses in the earthly the principles and spirit of the heavenly or divine life."

It is impossible to forecast the issue of the controversy to which this volume of Scotch sermons must necessarily give rise. The church to which the contributors belong still recognizes the Westminster Confession as its creed, to which all its ministers are required to assent. In 'Scotch Sermons,' however, there is no pretence to orthodoxy. It shows a complete divergence from, in many instances a direct antagonism to, the Westminster Confession. Its standpoint, method, and results are altogether different from the standards of the Church. By its publication a direct challenge has been given to the Church, which must either recognize the new ideas or cast them out. In any case, a crisis has been precipitated. The authors of the sermons may succeed in liberalizing their church, or they may pull it down about their ears. 'Scotch Sermons, 1880,' at least marks a new era in the church history of Scotland.

L'Art. Tome xxi. (Paris: J. Rouam; New York: J. W. Bouton.)—The contrast manifest between the literary quality and the art quality of this foremost periodical of its kind reveals the abnormal position of all such publications. They are picture collections made into books by a more or less slender thread of literary interest, and choosing to present themselves as examples of typography. *L'Art* has never been very serious in its department of authorship; and its letter-press now exhales into what is as near nothingness as may be, with skittish articles on the young lady copyists at the Louvre, apparently written for *Figaro* and without a shade of right in a critical journal; with gossamer pages in which the theatres are rallied; and with topheavy efforts to elevate Victor Hugo into a painter. Papers of this degree of value are used as cement for a series of magnificent etchings, in the highest degree attractive to picture-buyers, but which it is proposed to force into the purview of book-buyers. Accordingly there are found, sandwiched into a drossy literary farrago, plates so strong, so novel, so indicative of experimental heights and depths in the art, that the beholder whose attention they catch is lost, and becomes a subscriber. By this means, every three months, a quantity of flashy and airy writing, desperately amalgamated with first-class plates, enters the book-collector's house along with the ponderous and patient literary quarterlies. Why there should be an art quarterly, and what class it is for, is not at first apparent to the experts in fine-arts, but the advantage of book-buyers' money is very apparent to the print-publisher. The literary quarterlies enter libraries as by right, and in attaining a position on the bookshelf there is no intellectual barrier to cross for their reports of the state of passing criticism. But there is a bold bravura and a strategy which cannot but extort admiration in presenting the reports of art in the form of etching-portfolios weakly disguised as books, with such an air of good faith that they can steal from the army of collectors to the army of readers, desert from the experts to the bibliophilists, and revolt from the gallery to get upon the shelf.

Once the joke appreciated of its appearing among the quarterlies at all, *L'Art* is seen to be possessed of such artistic cunning as to account for the converts it makes among those who only dream of buying books. There is one etching in the present volume justifying any lover of the pure impressional style. The flesh-treatment of Henner, the painter represented, is not exactly sincere, though novel and conspicuous, aiming rather at gleam than penetrability, being lucid rather than translucent, and having little more sense of blood than a curd; the etching by Courtry from his "Fountain" restores to the artist the quality he loses, and has circulating everywhere beneath its surface a tissue of flooding veins; it possesses carnation in addition to the silvery quality which Henner seeks. It carries the interpretation of pure flesh almost into the sacred region of apocalyptic revelation. The texture, as it seems to vibrate and shrink and swell upon the eye, leaves the exact place upon the page of the fluctuating form continually indeterminate. This aqua-fortis, as of a Rembrandt interpreting a Giorgione, strikes by its triumphant attainment of what is aimed at, in defiance of all rules pronounced by pedants about constructive drawing: a hand and foot without divisions, a neck with a goître, an arm with a broken humerus, are set into a composition of fairy-land opulence and penetrating charm. There are others justifying other loves and foibles. Léopold Flameng introduces a marquise in powder and pearls, from a Drouais in the San Donato collection, breathing the modish gallantry of the old pastel; in this etching the fleece of a lapdog is very sufficiently indicated by a space of pure white paper, surrounding a certain arrangement of flesh-tints and draperies. Unger's Protean style, this time applied to a stout old piece of animal-painting by Snyders, gives solidity to another page. "Lucretia," a rich bit of color from Rembrandt; "The Juggler," a saccharine delicacy of Watteau's; "The Meuse," a vaporous Ruisdael; and a "Forest Scene," a velvety Hobbima, are so many examples of the versatility and pliability of etching. "L'Aveugle et Guzman d'Alfarache" is a plate in aqua-fortis, showing the profound resonance and iron positiveness attainable by the needle, when in the hand of such an expert as Masson; it illustrates a painting by Ribot, a positivist of practical force, whose "Sebastian" braces the eye among the sweet inanities of the Luxembourg; the proprietors of *L'Art* recently arranged an exhibition of the works of Ribot—an indigent laborer who taught himself painting by candlelight in a garret—and the drawings reproduced in these pages do some justice to a man of deep artistic conscience and a painter made up of very stern stuff. In his sketches the language of the hands alone, as evinced in a dozen little dramas singularly fresh and eloquent, gives a new vision of the possible expressiveness of gesture. There are seven etched plates, besides fifty designs in the text, devoted to the Salon of the present year, and going to show that it was not all vanity. Of these the "Makers of Pearl-Beads at Venice," by Ramus after Van Haanen, showing a pretty docile imitation of Velasquez's "Spinners"; "Retrieving," a workmanlike hunting-piece after Philippe Rousseau, by Gaucherel; and "Isle-les-Villenoy," a scrubby landscape with artful catching of lights on the receding planes of distance, by Yon, are the most meritorious where all are good.

M. Burty's article on this Salon is what is called chaff, in two senses: it avoids giving us solid meat of criticism, and it finds irresistible dramatic subject in pointing out the pranks of an inexperienced republican administration. How Deputy Mitchell consented to flutter a handful of clamorous artists' letters in the face of the Chamber, and how Under-Secretary of State Turquet blundered in answering him; how Vollon, Bouguereau, and Van Marcke resigned from the jury, and M. Ferrier cut out his "Salammbô" from the frame and carried it to Goupil's; how the "sympathetic grouping" filled one chamber with Marats and another with Cordays, and had like to have caused the equestrian warriors to straddle in one room and their horses to gallop in a second; how the "grouping by nationalities" offended the colonists, causing Munkácsy to retire altogether; and how, in short, a democratic Ministry of Art had made ducks and drakes of the Salon, and been at once insulting to and insulted by the academicians—all this is too exquisite a comedy to escape M. Burty's keen eye, but he might remember that *L'Art* sends him to a gallery not as a farce-writer but as a judge, and that the public look for an estimate of what is permanent about a Salon, not what is ephemeral. In this notice, it is to be observed, as elsewhere among the contributions, there is occasional attention to American items: the reward by honorable mention of Messrs. Picknell and St. Gaudens is chronicled, as was last year that of Mr. Sargent. Of Miss Cassatt, a contributor to the exhibition of impressionists, it is editorially remarked that, in her picture of a "Tea-Drinking," "the young girl viewed in profile in front is well modelled in full light, without trick or foil." Mrs. Anna Lea Merritt, wife of the picture-cleaner of that name who recently died in London, receives credit for her goodness and assiduity; but it is hardly correct to mention as "the wife whose intelligence he had formed" a lady who, at the time of her marriage, had social position, wealth, and artistic mastery already acquired, and whose relations to her husband were certainly not those of the protected. The conspicuous American débutant of the year, Mr. Picknell, is thus alluded to by M. Burty: "Of the various Americans we have mentioned, Mr. Sargent and Mr. Picknell are the most highly gifted, and have shown proofs of individual acquirement." This is friendly support, but hardly so enthusiastic as that of Marquis de Chennevières, ex-Director of Fine Arts, who in his last article for the *Gazette* observes:

"An American, Mr. Picknell, has here a certain 'Concarneau Road,' all white with dust between green banks, which by its illusion attracts you violently; this painting proceeds from the enameller's furnace, perhaps, but it has got out of its pumice-stonings and glazings a certain deceptive effect and a tone-force to which we have not been accustomed since Decamps."

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*	
Auerbach (B.), The Foresters: a Tale, swd	(D. Appleton & Co.)	$0 50
Brown (Abby W.), Can She Atone?	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)	
Devotional Birth-Day Book	(Pott, Young & Co.)	
Dorsey (Dr. G. V.), Sophocles' Oedipus Tyrannus, metrical version	(Piqua, O.)	
Dumas (A.), Camille, swd	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.)	75
Favorite Authors	(J. R. Osgood & Co.)	2 00
Lincoln (Dr. D. F.), School and Industrial Hygiene	(P. Blakiston)	50
Maclaren (Rev. A.), Life of David as Reflected in his Psalms	(Macmillan & Co.)	1 25
Macmillan (Rev. H.), Two Worlds are Ours: Sermons	" "	1 75
Parker (F. W.) and Marvel (L. H.), Supplementary Reading for Primary Schools	(Robert S. Davis & Co.)	
Poe (E. A.), Select Works	(W. J. Widdleton)	2 00
Preble (Rear-Admiral G. H.), History of the Flag of the U. S. A., etc., 2d ed., revised	(A. Williams & Co.)	
Redfield (H. V.), Homicide, North and South	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)	
Roberts (C. D. G.), Orion, and Other Poems	" "	
Roe (Rev. E. P.), A Day of Fate: a Tale	(Dodd, Mead & Co.)	
Solomon (G.), The Jesus of History and the Jesus of Tradition Identified	(J. W. Bouton)	
Spurgeon (Rev. C. H.), John Ploughman's Pictures	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)	1 00
Sticler (A.), Hand-Atlas, Parts 18, 19, swd	(B. Westermann & Co.)	
Symonds (J. A.), New and Old: Poetry	(J. R. Osgood & Co.)	1 50
Tenney (H. A.) and Atwood (D.), Fathers of Wisconsin	(Madison, Wis.)	
Wandering Thoughts and Wandering Steps	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)	
Write Your Own Stories	(D. Lothrop & Co.)	

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1880.

The Week.

IT is impossible, of course, for anybody to speak with confidence of the present condition of the canvass. Those who know most are least likely to speak their real mind about it. But it is safe to say that the Republicans have recovered somewhat from the depression caused by the Maine election, and their gains in the town elections in Connecticut would seem to show that their condition is better than it seemed a fortnight ago. The prophecies on both sides with regard to the Ohio and Indiana elections are about equally extravagant. The Republican plan of "scaring the business men" seems hardly successful, as the fears of business men show themselves unerringly in the stock market, which gives no sign whatever of depression or foreboding; and, in fact, the accounts from all branches of business indicate that the country is, for all political purposes, insensible to fear. The chances are that we are on the eve of another great speculative fever—there are manifest signs of it already in England—and that the political uncertainty simply prevents its running its course with greater rapidity. The election over, particularly if there is no danger of a disputed count, we shall probably see the "business man" escaping from the political committees to indulge in the wildest excesses of confidence in the future of his country, whether under Hancock or Garfield.

Mr. Evarts has made his speech in this city last week. He castigated the Democrats at considerable length and with great elaboration; eulogized Mr. Hayes and General Garfield; compared Abraham Lincoln to Servius Tullius and General Hancock to Tarquinius Superbus; twitted Mr. English on being a rich banker, and insinuated that he displayed his interest in the toiling millions much in the same fashion as a certain lawyer in the son of his old friend, by charging him $35 for recovering a debt of $50; "pointed with pride" to what the Republican party has done for the prosperity of the country; pointed out, apropos of Hancock's letters, that letters are all very well, but they are not "transactions"; compared the record of the two parties; commented on and illustrated with figures the extent to which the right of suffrage is denied at the South; made fun of the relations between the South and the Northern Democrats, and also of the piety of the Democrats; worked in a eulogy of General Arthur very dextrously and successfully, considering what a delicate task it must have been, by calling him "our townsman and friend," and by declaring that he never sought an honor, "but took such as came to him," and that "in the lead of great administrations of public affairs he has been trusted and honored." The duty which the members of this Administration seem to feel called on to perform towards General Arthur is so difficult that any of them engaged in it is entitled to our deepest sympathy, particularly as they have failed thus far to placate Mr. Conkling, who treats their efforts with undisguised contempt.

Senator Bayard's New York speech has apparently had an effect which illustrates the difficulty Democratic orators find in treating financial questions acceptably to the various factions of their party. It is considered to have been very inopportune in Indiana, we infer from the fact that Weaver, who is giving unremitting attention to next week's election in that State, has made it a Greenback campaign document, and sown it broadcast to show his followers the folly of fusion with Democrats. Some of them are not inclined to pay much attention to it and express great confidence in the "record" of Landers, the Democratic candidate for Governor. Others go so far as to accuse Weaver of being in league with the Republicans, and one Dyer D. Lum, the Assistant Secretary of the Greenback National Committee, has written a letter in which he "discloses" that the Greenback canvass is "manipulated in the interest of the Republican party, and General Weaver's expenses borne, in a large measure, from the Republican campaign fund." He mentions Senator Jones, of Nevada, as an important individual contributor, and refers to various consultations between his own and members of the Republican National Committee in support of his charge. Transactions of this kind, of course, are conducted with a great deal of delicacy, and in the absence of more proof than he has yet given it seems to be as open to the Republicans to maintain that Lum has been bought as to the Democrats to contend that Weaver has been. In any case Weaver and his alleged allies have the better of their opponents, since it is a necessary premise for the position of the latter that straight voting on the part of the Greenbackers will be worse for them than for the Republicans. In the light of Mr. Bayard's speech this must be taken to be ridiculous.

Mr. Schurz has delivered another campaign speech, this time in German to the Germans of Cleveland, Ohio, which was marked by his usual excellence of method. He did not seek to disguise the shortcomings either of the Republican party or of the present Administration, but maintained that both had somehow brought about the three essentials of good government, viz., "intelligent, economical, and business-like administration; a financial policy based on sound principles, and clear and steady in its aims; and internal and external peace, and a friendly understanding between different sections of the country and elements of society"; and if this were true, asked why there should be any change. The only criticism to be made on this is that the Administration, which has had many and great virtues, is not supported or admired by the men who manage the party machinery. On the contrary, they lose no opportunity of deriding and belittling it, and consequently prevent the party from getting credit in the voters' eyes for whatever good there is in the Administration, and lead many Republicans to make up their minds that no party which does not think such an administration a good one is fit to be entrusted with power. This constitutes the great difficulty of any orator who undertakes to speak for both the party and the Administration. Apropos of the German Republicans, we notice that the German Independent Republicans in this city, in giving in their adhesion to the Garfield ticket the other day, considerably enlarged the "rebel claims" argument, and set down the amount of these claims at "thousands of millions of dollars," making them include the Confederate debt. This shows that the excitement is growing. Some wag is also helping the cause by advertising for Confederate bonds, thus enabling the Republicans to say: "Here is a Democrat who wants to buy Confederate bonds, and of course he would not buy them if he did not expect them to be paid in case Hancock is elected." There seems to be a passion among the Democrats for giving away public money. Would they not probably, if they came into power, sell the United States cheap to France?

The *Times* has inflicted a bad "beat" on its Republican contemporaries by getting in advance of them the report of a conversation between General Grant and a Methodist minister, in which the ex-President furnishes a frank explanation of General Hancock's character and career and of the famous "General Order No. 40." It appears, according to General Grant, that after getting one vote at the Democratic Convention of 1864 General Hancock was a changed man. The Presidential bee had got into his bonnet and completely bewildered him both as to his rights and duties. A band of robbers in Louisiana, composed of the then Governor and three Commissioners, had entered into a conspiracy to plunder the State by selling or raising money on its bonds below the limits fixed by the act under which they were issued. General Sheridan, finding this out, removed these guilty officials from office; and Grant, as Commander-in-chief, sustained Sheridan, against the entreaties of President Johnson. But Johnson then superseded Sheridan by Hancock, and Hancock, in spite of a forcible remonstrance from General Grant, removed Sheridan's governor and commissioners, and was going, General Grant gives us to understand, to restore the old set when he stopped him, and Hancock thereupon asked to be relieved on the ground that if he was interfered with he could do no good. This, regarding its source, is the best campaign story that has yet appeared, but its effect is much weakened by a little addendum in which

General Grant gives his reasons for recently desiring the Republican nomination. These were three in number: first, "the character of the men who urged it" (Conkling, Logan, and Cameron); second, the belief that he could have broken up the Solid South; and third, the belief that he could have brought about certain legislation with regard to consulates which would have "given us control of much desirable commerce, for instance, in Mexico, instead of dealing with people who only use slave labor," etc. There is something almost pathetic in the simplicity of this, especially in the notion that consuls in some manner fix the channels of trade, and can take it away from slaveholders who will only take "sterling in exchange for their goods," but it is not judicious to stick it on as a rider to a campaign story. Must not even General Grant's warmest admirers be a little shocked by his descending to the work of a campaign story-teller for the detriment of a candidate whose competitor he sought to be? Is this fit business for a man before whom a whole continent, according to Conkling, "rose up," and on whom monarchs gazed with envy and admiration.

General Grant has subsequently made numerous corrections in his "story," but admitted its substantial correctness. Most of them, considering that they are corrections in a campaign story, are not worth reproducing. He modified his statement about the men who were urging his nomination at Chicago—that he desired the nomination out of respect to them—by saying that what he meant was that it was only out of regard for them that he did not withdraw his name. He closes, in the second version, with the following tribute to his friend, Mr. Conkling: "I regard him as the greatest mind in public life or that has been in public life since the beginning of the Government. He has the advantage of having been trained from his infancy. He had a father of unusual ability, who early taught him to reason and corrected his errors. He has grown to great proportions." It ought to be said in excuse for this that General Grant owed Mr. Conkling this eulogy on current account; but the affair is, from any point of view, a painful episode in the canvass.

The other stories are, perhaps, on the whole better. One is that General Garfield is going to retire from the contest, and that the late visit of Messrs. Grant, Conkling, and Logan to his home at Mentor was made for the purpose of arranging the details of this touching act of self-sacrifice. Another is that Mr. English is going to retire in case Indiana is carried by the Republicans. The activity of the British Free-Traders in spreading their diabolical literature in the rural districts is something atrocious. Two men, evidently Englishmen, were heard by a correspondent of the *Tribune* recently conversing about the tariff in a restaurant. One remarked, "If we don't succeed in getting the tariff removed we shall have to retaliate and put a duty on the cheese and butter that America is shipping to us." The correspondent, listening further, discovered that they were "*ostensibly* agents of English houses." Men of this class ought to be closely watched by the Republican Committee. The threat to clap duties on American cheese and butter could only emanate from desperate adventurers, and their bold utterance of it in a restaurant shows what we may expect from this class in case Hancock is elected.

Mr. Conkling seldom resorts to an historical allusion or parallel without getting things wrong, history, whether ancient, modern, recent, or contemporary, not being in his line. Thus, in his recent comparison of the treatment of the South by the North to that of France by the victorious Germans he says that Germany took from France "a heavy tribute besides the rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine"; but when "we conquered the South not one farthing of tribute was raised," etc. Now, this does not look as if Mr. Conkling's estimable father had taught him to reason in his childhood with the care reported by General Grant. When we conquered the South we inflicted an enormous pecuniary penalty, probably much surpassing the German indemnity, consisting of the enforced repudiation of the Confederate debt and State debts incurred in aid of the Rebellion; of the destruction of the Confederate currency, which had some value, though not much, and, finally, of the enforced participation in the burden of the United States debt incurred in making the conquest. We do not think all this has the slightest bearing on any of the problems now before us, but we maintain that the first step in real pacification and reconciliation must be a total cessation, or at least a considerable diminution, of the lying and falsification on both sides about the war and its consequences, and in this, as in other good things, the victors are bound to set the example.

Foreign gold continues to flow to New York at the rate of about $3,500,000 to $4,000,000 per week, the receipts since the first week in August having been over $28,000,000. What is remarkable about recent arrivals is that they have occurred when the domestic movement of the principal exportable commodities (cotton and breadstuffs) has been comparatively small. A great deal of foreign exchange has been and is making against the shipment to Europe of railroad bonds and stocks. During the week the rates for sterling exchange were again reduced, and the prospect of large gold imports, so far as the commercial situation is concerned, is better than it was at the beginning of August. The week at the Stock Exchange was one of advancing prices and buoyancy. This condition of affairs was made possible at a time when the public are buying few securities by the fact that speculators had "oversold" the leading stocks to an extent which created a large demand for them when they were frightened into buying them back, as they were during the week by the continued heavy imports of gold and the attendant easy money market, by the keeping up of the receipts of the railroads, and by the disappearance of what may be called the political scare. The October interest on the public debt, amounting to something more than $7,000,000, is coming out. The debt, according to the statement issued on the 1st inst., shows a reduction during September of close on to $9,000,000, which makes the reduction since the beginning of the fiscal year, June 30 last, $26,578,112. The Bureau of Statistics at Washington have issued a statement showing that the debt has been reduced since 1865 nearly $900,000,000—to show, of course, how well the public finances have been managed under Republican rule. It shows also the excessive taxation which has been imposed on a country where everything is abundant except capital, and where money is worth, to use in business, probably an average of ten per cent. per annum.

The Pan-Presbyterian Council, whose sessions closed last week at Philadelphia, was perhaps noteworthy for the frankness of its discussions upon matters of faith, and for the indisposition it showed to do anything beyond discussing them. It is reported to have listened with much contentment and frequent manifestations of individual approval to an ultra-Calvinist exposition and enforcement of the doctrine of eternal punishment; but this was wholly unofficial, and, on the other hand, witness was borne to the existence of the so-called "liberal tendencies" which we noticed last week in a review of that very significant work, 'Scotch Sermons. 1880.' Dr. Robert Flint, professor of theology in the University of Edinburgh, was especially desirous that the church should "be on the alert to keep up with the times" and make "progress in faith." The obvious difficulty in the way of this latter, considering the strict conservatism usually insisted upon in interpreting "the faith once delivered," he did not explain except by alluding to "God's fresh disclosures of himself." But in the debate which followed his paper, and in the course of which he was vigorously attacked for preferring to "confront the irreverence of agnosticism with piety," instead of combating it with "the mere exercise of discipline," he was ingeniously defended on the ground that to assume the Westminster Confession to be final and unalterable was to give it the same sanction as the Bible, and was therefore "idolatrous." As to heresy, the ground generally taken was that a preacher who could no longer hold to the express tenets of the church should leave its communion, though there was enough intimation of "private misgivings" to warrant the inference that there is an increasing number, even in the Presbyterian ministry, who value the evident advantages of harmonious and organized action in their main business of teaching their followers how to live, above a perfect concord in details of creeds.

This view is taken with courageous explicitness by the English colonists who, under the leadership of Tom Hughes, are about to institute a community in Tennessee called Rugby. It was formally dedicated Tuesday, and after various religious services Mr. Hughes made an address of some length in which he explained the objects and scope of

the community and announced the colonists' intention of trying the experiment "Whether the members of different Christian denominations cannot agree well enough to use one building for their several acts of worship." There is to be no attempt to interfere with individual freedom on the one hand, and, on the other, the importance to a community of some sort of public recognition of religion is to be acknowledged. It is to be observed that perhaps nowhere else would precisely such a scheme have been as likely to originate as in the Anglican communion, which is more reproached than any other denomination for its variety of views and the looseness with which they are held, at least by the Broad-Church party. As to the social and industrial arrangements, Mr. Hughes remarked that in these they should also endeavor to illustrate the implication of the word "community," and that, though they should all be living in their own houses, they should so far try to have things in common as to modify, if possible, the operations of the law of the survival of the fittest, and in some degree at any rate live for instead of on each other. Practical and material details to this end are, so far as they go, simple and familiar enough both in this country and in England, as Mr. Hughes said. He also took occasion to contradict the impression which has got abroad that the settlement is intended to be an English colony in any exclusive sense; on the contrary, it is open to all who subscribe to the conditions already agreed upon.

The situation in the Levant has not changed. The Sultan has applied to the Emperor of Germany to mediate, but the Emperor has refused, because he is himself a party. The Ulemas are urging the Sultan not to yield to the infidels, and on some days he seems determined to resist to the last extremity, but on others he asks for time for further consideration. He got a postponement until Monday or Tuesday in this way last week, and Prince Nikitka, of Montenegro, is now said to have informed Admiral Seymour that the near approach of bad weather makes prompt action imperative. The delay in the meantime is giving a chance to the Philo-Turks to raise their voices in various places. In Hungary they are so strong as to have extracted from M. Tisza, the Premier, a declaration that the coercion of Turkey will probably not be attempted. In London there is talk of indignation meetings; but the Jingoes are now afraid or ashamed of appearing as friends of the Turks, so it is on behalf of the Albanians that they propose to be indignant. As far as one can judge from the language of the Liberal papers and from the apparent necessities of Mr. Gladstone's position, there seems no doubt that he will, even if left alone by the other Powers, push Turkey to the wall. An impotent demonstration would not simply ruin his whole foreign policy, but bring the fleet, on which England has mainly to rely for weight on the Continent, into contempt; so that he will probably go to Constantinople sooner than resign himself to being foiled at Dulcigno. In any case, he is sure of Russia's standing by him to the last.

The Porte has sent the Powers a fresh note, which, like all the former ones, is dilatory and evasive. It proposes a new Greek frontier line, much further south, and leaving Janina to Turkey; promises to make the "reforms" in Asia Minor in three months and the reforms in Europe as soon as convenient, and invites the foreign bondholders to send delegates to Constantinople to make an arrangement for receiving certain branches of the revenue in pledge for the payment of their interest. All these things, however, on condition that the naval demonstration be abandoned, or, in other words, on condition that the Powers go home and let the Sultan alone for the winter. In the meantime he is reinforcing Riza Pasha at Dulcigno, and a Turkish frigate has been busy landing arms and provisions on the coast. The opinion of the London press seems to be that the note will be treated as simply an excuse for delay. The Russian *Noyve Vremya* is the authority for the statement that England, as a preliminary to further action, has asked Russia, probably as the only Power likely to go on with her, what her ulterior designs in the East are. It seems unlikely, however, that this information should not have been asked for before now.

The Jingo party in England have been for a good while sufficiently sickened with the Afghan war to give up completely their old programme of a subservient Amir at Kabul, with a British resident to watch him. Even General Roberts, who shared the Beaconsfield fever, expressed his gladness at a dinner recently given him at Kabul that no political officers were to remain behind after the army had left. But they have still clung to the hope that the new Government would at least hold on to Kandahar, for the sake of the prestige and the trade which was to spring up about it. The Cabinet has, however, resolutely decided to quit Kandahar also. Recent events have shown that there is no more security for a foreign force there than elsewhere; that Sir Henry Rawlinson's theory about the superior peaceableness of Eastern Afghanistan is no better than his other theories about Western Afghanistan; that the presence of a British garrison there would be a constant provocative to violence, and that its safety would at any time be imperilled by a rising or mutiny at Beluchistan; and that, in fact, the whole Afghan business is from first to last a crazy adventure, for which nobody but the author of 'Vivian Grey' can afford to take any responsibility. A final touch to the performance is given by the news that ever since General Roberts's defeat of Ayub Khan the mollahs have been preaching another holy war, on the ground that the defeat was due to the misconduct of the regulars, and would not happen again.

The latest step in civil-service reform in England has had some curious features about it. It seems that the female clerkships in the Post-office Department have been reserved hitherto for "ladies of good position"—that is, for the daughters of army officers, professional men, clergymen, and of younger sons of county families—whom circumstances have compelled to earn their bread. Mr. Fawcett has brought this régime to an end by throwing these clerkships open to the competition of all women who can bring certificates of proficiency from any female college, or from the University local examiners. The change has raised a great outcry among the Tories, some of whom are disposed to look on it as another assault of the Radicals on the Constitution, and it has also called out some very odd writing on that side in the newspapers in defence of the theory that well-born women, when forced to earn their living, ought to be shielded in some manner from having to struggle against the kind of women who act as shop-girls and do commercial work. Much of this writing would thirty or forty years ago in England have been accepted as a statement of mere truisms; now it excites great ridicule.

In Ireland nothing more important has occurred than the meeting of the Annual Trades' Union Congress, composed of workingmen from all parts of the country. The Irish Land Question was fully debated, and the effect of the present system on the wages of labor in England, by filling the English towns with dispossessed Irish tenants, was presented in strong terms. Mr. James Redpath continues to be the leading agitator, the flames of his rhetoric making that of Mr. Parnell seem feeble and inadequate. Mr. Froude's plan for the pacification of Ireland does not seem to find much favor with Liberals. The *Pall Mall Gazette* says the device of repressing crime by abolishing trial by jury is one "on which the crudest politician in a pot-house could have hit," and the writer cruelly points out to the historian that even if you abolish trial by jury in Ireland you cannot go as far as Jeffries and Scroggs and convict without evidence, and the great difficulty in the way of punishing crime in Ireland is that you cannot get evidence. The Carlylean cure for trouble, that you must find a strong man and set up him to rule over you, which is what Mr. Froude is constantly preaching under a cloud of phrases, in fact never in our day seems to suit the situation. It is like French recipes to the Anglo-Saxon "plain cook," who could always make the dish if she had the materials or knew where to procure them.

The French Ministry have apparently done a very foolish thing in refusing Rochefort, Pyat, Blanqui, and other Reds the permission to hold a meeting and perorate about the Eastern Question. Their excuse is, that as the meeting was to be held to protest against war, and requires the Government license, if it were held it would be thought that the Government believed or admitted that peace was in some danger. This has a very Bonapartist sound about it, and is, in fact, the old justification for interference with the press—namely, that as the papers were published by Government permission, the Government would be held responsible for their utterances. The indifference the Ministry has shown to Rochefort's paper, and the ruin which this indifference has brought on the paper, are illustrations of the expediency of letting the Reds talk to their hearts' content.

THE DEMOCRATS AND STATE RIGHTS.

WE print elsewhere a letter finding fault with the small amount of attention paid by Republicans of an independent turn to the State-rights doctrines of the Democratic party, as produced in its platforms for many years back. The writer thinks these doctrines constitute one of the most formidable objections to the return of this party to power, while conceding that there is no danger of their leading to a renewed attempt at secession. We think, on the other hand, that they constitute one of the very least of the objections to the return of the Democrats to power, and this for reasons which it is not difficult to produce. We think, moreover, that the Republican love of parading them, and making much of them, is very useful to the Democrats, by helping to divert public attention from matters on which Democratic theory and practice are both likely to be really dangerous to the Government. What made the theory of State rights which was held and preached by the Southern wing of the Democratic party before the war really pernicious was the right of secession, and the *à fortiori* right of nullifying Federal legislation which it involved. If this danger, as our correspondent acknowledges, no longer exists, all that remains of the State-rights doctrine is what has been called from the earliest times a strict construction of the Constitution as a list of granted powers. The love of strict construction was a natural outcome both of the Rousseau-Jefferson theory of human nature and of the mode in which the Federal Constitution was framed. What with the belief that man needed as little government as possible, and the belief that the States only parted with enough of their sovereignty to secure them from foreign aggression and make their mutual intercourse easy, and that the new Government was something created by the States out of nothing, the dislike of having this new Government take anything on itself but what was plainly set down in the organic law to which it owed its existence, was natural enough in the old thirteen States. But it is as well known as anything of the kind can be known that this tradition of the early time has never taken root in the States formed since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. They, instead of regarding themselves as the creator of the Union, are forced by the facts of their history to look on themselves as its creatures. They owe it all they have and all they are. There is nothing historical about the State-rights doctrine in these new communities. It is in them simple strict construction, or a very mild form of fondness for and belief in local self-government, such as is found in every country in the world, and puts no Government in peril, and is, in fact, in most countries a useful, if not necessary, safeguard against over-centralization. The activity of the holders of both the strict and loose view of the province of all government is necessary to make any constitutional system work successfully. They form the breeching and the traces of the constitutional harness.

But our correspondent also overlooks the important fact of our recent history, that the view taken by either of the two great parties touching the powers of the general Government depends very much on whether the party itself is in office or opposition. There is nothing very surprising about this; it is what all our experience of human nature would lead us to expect. When the Democrats were last in power —that is, during the terms of Presidents Pierce and Buchanan—they asserted as strongly the power of the Federal Government as the Republicans now do. They tried to make the local State institution of slavery *national* in every sense of the term; they dispersed legislatures with Federal troops; they treated all assertions of State rights, as against the Fugitive Slave Law, for instance, as treasonable; and if they had remained in power they would undoubtedly have made the Federal yoke heavier every year. They were not in the least dominated or troubled by the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798.

On the other hand, the Republican party began its career in 1856 as a State-rights party. Its platform of that year contained as strong an assertion of the State-rights doctrine as any which the Democrats have recently put forward. When it came into power in 1860 the circumstances called for an equally strong assertion of the national or loose-construction theory, and this was accordingly made and has been put in practice until now. Should the Democrats come into power next year—that is, have possession of all three branches of the Government —there can be no reasonable doubt that we shall witness a rapid change of position on their part also. They will claim the largest possible field for the use of their newly-acquired machine; they will take up one by one the devices created or resorted to by the Republicans for strengthening their position against which they have been of late protesting so vigorously, and will probably invent new ones. The notion that they will seek to diminish the authority they will then wield and exalt the sphere of State independence is one to which not only the history of parties in this country, but the history of parties everywhere and all experience of human nature are opposed. Possessors of power, whether monarch, parliament, or party, have everywhere and always sought to magnify their office and extend their jurisdiction. The history of constitutional freedom is, in fact, not the history of a diminution of the powers of government, but of their seizure by a different body—that is, of their transfer from the king to the parliament. The fear that the Democrats will display a magnificent and unprecedented example of self-abnegation in Washington is, in short, a chimera. It would be a chimera even if all the forces of our time, material as well as moral, were not fighting for greater centralization. The rapidly-increasing needs of modern society in every field are forcing on governments more duties than they can perform.

What is to be feared from the Democrats is something to which the Republicans unhappily give comparatively little attention, and for which they have made but little preparation, and that is bad administration. The Democratic party has no distinct policy which it seeks to embody in legislation, and it is bound both by its composition and traditions to satisfy in any way that comes to hand the prejudices and passions of the most ignorant and unreflecting portion of the community. It will seek to do this not by stripping itself, when in office, of any authority which it can exercise without dispute, but by reckless legislation within the sphere of its authority, and by indifference to the public interests in the use of its patronage. The feeling which will dominate the party in office, and against which General Hancock, if he is the kind of man his admirers would have us believe him to be, will have to fight, is that the Federal Government is a mass of good things of which the Republicans have for twenty years had the exclusive enjoyment, and at which it is but fair that the Democrats should now have a chance. The great political problem of our time is no longer the distribution of the sovereignty. That is all settled, and will probably remain settled for ages. What is now needed is improvement in administration—that is, improvement in taxation, in the administration of justice; in the distribution of the results of production, in so far as it is affected by law; in the means of communication by land and sea; in the education of children; in the protection of the poor, the insane, and the criminal; in the promotion of thrift among the improvident. This can only be effected by cautious legislation, based on much enquiry and framed with much forethought and comparison, and by very careful and conscientious management of that great instrument of government called the civil service, in which we include every kind of officer whose duty it is to execute the law. The Republican party has since the war done but little to foster popular interest in these things. The Democrats, unless we greatly wrong them, will do nothing at all. They will, on the contrary, spread and intensify the too-prevalent notion that "politics" is not the art of making the world a pleasanter place for men and women to live and die in, but the art of so distributing offices as to satisfy "claims" and stimulate electioneering activity. We see no sign among them of anything better. The few men in the party to whom government means something higher than numerous elections, count for little when the time for the distribution of power or place comes, and we are unable to recall a single suggestion of theirs that anything can be done to improve this Government beyond turning the Republicans out of office. This is, perhaps, no worse than the Republican contention that the only improvement this Government needs is to keep the Republicans in office —which is, we believe, General Grant's great political discovery. We must repeat, however, what we have already more than once said in these columns: that, on the whole, what is called in the slang of philanthropy "the progressive element" in the population—that is, the portion of the people which believes or can be easily persuaded that there is still much work for reformers to do—is to be found among the Republicans rather than among their adversaries. The United States

Government was formed for a small agricultural population, to whom politics was rather an amusement than a business. It has come to be the government of one of the largest, most active and heterogeneous nations on earth, and if it is to be adapted, either in its structure or working, to the vast possibilities which its material development since the war has opened up, we fear it is not the Democratic party or any party of a similar kind which will do the work.

FINANCIAL EDUCATION.

THE success which various crazes about finance have had during the past fifteen years has furnished the text for much unfavorable criticism of the education given in both the common and high schools of the country. There is probably nothing which a young person, who has either to earn money for himself or keep money which he has inherited, so much needs to understand as the conditions on which what is called "business" is carried on. As soon as the arts of reading and writing are acquired, there is no part of a child's equipment for the work of life so valuable both to himself and to the rest of the community as clear comprehension of what money is; of what interest is; of the ways in which money can be made to produce interest; of the ways in which it is lost; of the various apparently honest devices by which sharpers, both political and private, get hold of other people's money; of the functions of banks, and especially of savings-banks, with regard to money, and of the relation of taxation to profits, and of currency to prices. Knowledge of this sort to ninety-nine boys and girls out of a hundred is the first essential of any education intended to fit them for a life of self-dependence, and for the expression at the polls of a safe or even harmless opinion on public affairs. When it was discovered a year ago that thousands of poor Irishmen and Irishwomen had been entrusting their hard earnings to the care of an archbishop who knew nothing of investments, and kept his accounts on scraps of paper, and had been drawing interest from him for years without enquiring or caring how he produced it, there was a great deal of pity expressed for their ignorance and superstition. But they could not have been expected to know better. They had not been bred in a commercial community. Most of them, doubtless, had never been to school, and could not conceive of anybody's being fitter to take care of their money than a person who they knew would not wilfully cheat them. But we venture to say that neither their ignorance nor credulity came anywhere near matching those of the depositors in a savings-bank in Boston, the operations of which the *Daily Advertiser* of that city has been exposing within the last week. The obvious moral of the affair is, as it seems to us, though the Boston press has not yet drawn it, that there is something sadly defective in the education furnished by the State to the children of the taxpayers when any class of the community intelligent and industrious enough to have savings is capable of being made the victims of so coarse and gross an imposture as this one. A woman named Howe, who now has a third husband—the other two still living—who has passed two years in a lunatic asylum, has been convicted and imprisoned for fraud, for some time followed the trade of an itinerant *clairvoyante* or fortune-teller, and has once or twice changed her name, set up a savings-bank under the name of the "Ladies' Deposit Company." Of course her antecedents as given above were not known, but this means that nothing was known about her to those who were invited to give her their money. These were single women or widows earning their own living, or the wives of sick or decrepit husbands. No deposit over $1,000 was to be taken. All money was to be withdrawable on call. No name appeared in the prospectus or title of the institution. No guarantee of any kind was offered as to its responsibility or solvency. No explanation was made of its operations, or of the nature of its investments, or of the source from which it was to derive the interest on its deposits. Nor did the founder, unknown and characterless as she was, even take the precaution to offer a moderately high rate of interest, such as is actually paid in some parts of the country on bona fide investments, such as eight, or ten, or twelve per cent., or even two per cent. a month. She actually had so much contempt for her possible *clientèle*—that is, the working-women of the State in which the standard of female education and intelligence is supposed to be highest—that she offered eight per cent. a month, and three months' interest at this rate in advance, when the deposit was made. That is to say, a woman depositing one hundred dollars received back at once twenty-four dollars, had one hundred dollars placed to her credit, and three months later was to be entitled to twenty-four dollars more. So that at the end of the year she would have drawn ninety-six dollars as interest, or within four dollars of the total amount of her principal.

Mrs. Howe seems to have been correct in her calculations. Deposits poured in as fast as she could take them, and the concern has actually been flourishing ever since its foundation. When the *Advertiser's* exposure came it had crowds of depositors, and plainly of the higher and more intelligent class of female workers, because only this class can save money. It has been ascertained, indeed, that a considerable number of them are teachers in the public schools, presumably good classical scholars and mathematicians, and full of history and *belles-lettres*. More extraordinary still, although the exposure of course brought a run on the bank, it did not, and up to this writing has not, stopped the flow of deposits. There are apparently considerable numbers of women who look on the exposure as a device of the State-Street bankers and brokers to get rid of a troublesome rival, whose generous methods brings out their own greed and heartlessness in stronger relief. To crown all, Mrs. Howe, even under the fierce light of publicity, gives no account of what she does with the money beyond the clumsy pretence—probably as clumsy as was ever produced by a pickpocket in a police court—that she has been made the almoner of a huge charity which enables her to lose money for the benefit of the poor working-women who have saved a little. She must, even with her experience of human credulity, be astonished by her success. She cannot have expected to find women so gullible as to enable her to purchase, as she has just done, a house for forty thousand dollars after two years' operations.

Now, consider the childlike ignorance and simplicity which this extraordinary story reveals on the part of a most useful, intelligent, and saving class—many of them, too, the teachers of children—with regard to the commonest phenomena of trade. In the first place, they apparently know nothing of the conditions which regulate the ordinary rate of profit, even in hazardous enterprises. If they did, they would see that a proposal to pay them in Massachusetts ninety-six per cent. per annum for the use of money was either on its face a swindle, or a charity on a scale which nothing but the revenues of a nation could keep going very long. They are totally ignorant of the conditions which make an investment safe, and of the effect of safety on the rate of interest. Moreover, they apparently have no notion of the necessity, which is one of the most prominent facts of commercial history, of exacting security for the return of money lent. They do not know why business men in good standing exact it of each other, and why the Government exacts it of banks, and why banks exact it of their customers. Nor have they enough perspicacity to see that Mrs. Howe is simply paying the early depositors with the funds supplied by the later ones, and that, if there should be any cessation in the flow of deposits, or any extraordinary run on the concern, it must burst at once; or enough acquaintance with financial history to know that this is an old and familiar swindle, one of the most familiar in the history of crime. The new feature which Mrs. Howe has added is the selection of women, and single women, as victims. All the rest is very stale and dull and commonplace.

The Boston papers say the Bank Commissioners and the District-Attorney are studying Mrs. Howe's case to see if they can get hold of her under the law, but thus far without success. To our minds the matter is one which merits the attention of the school boards much more than that of the bank authorities or prosecuting officers. It is the school system which supplies people like Mrs. Howe with their prey. No system of education can prevent all fraud. Many frauds are so ingenious that the most cautious and expert business men are imposed on by them. Others, even if clumsy, will find occasional dupes among the unwary and inexperienced. But here is one of the clumsiest frauds ever attempted, with its true character apparent on its prospectus, with all the old and well-known marks of fraud, indifferent to all the ordinary precautions and disguises, and it finds its dupes among a large and highly respectable and most deserving class, of more than ordinary timidity and thrift, and more than ordinarily weighted with care. What is more remarkable than all is that large numbers of them are

said to feel outraged by the suspicions and denunciations of Mrs. Howe by those who have had most experience of the conditions under which safe banking is done, and they have not heard of, or do not attach any importance to, the security for the safe transaction of business which the State exacts of its savings-banks.

ENGLISH JOURNALISM.—VII.

THE EVENING NEWSPAPERS.

LONDON, September, 1880.

THE London evening newspapers which possess any distinct political character are five in number. They are, taking them in the order of seniority, the *Globe*, the *Evening Standard*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Echo*, and the *St. James's Gazette*. The *Globe* dates from the year 1802. It owed its origin to the revolt of the publishers, headed by John Morley, the first of the dynasty, against the extravagant prices charged by the proprietors of the *Morning Post* and the *Courier* of that time for book advertisements, and their tardy insertion. The *Globe* bears under its main title the words, in small print, "*and Traveller.*" The association is happy, for the *Globe* suggests the *Traveller*, but it is merely accidental. It sprang from the amalgamation of a newspaper bearing that name, for the matter-of-fact reason that it was the organ of the commercial travellers, with the *Globe*. What booksellers and bagmen have in common it is difficult to discern. The *Globe and Traveller*, however, has long since ceased to have any special connection either with literature or with commerce. It has for many years been a political journal, and at one time occupied a very high place among newspapers. It was the organ, in a stricter sense than is compatible with the modern idea of journalistic independence, of successive Whig governments, and notably of Lord Palmerston. It used, during the long period of Whig ascendency which followed the Reform Bill, to serve the purpose, day by day, which pamphlets issued on rare occasions under the French Empire answered in greater emergencies. It foreshadowed more or less distinctly the intentions or measures of the Government. Now the relations of the press to politics have so completely changed, newspapers have become so much more powerful for purposes of political debate, than either House of Parliament, that a certain jealousy of them exists in official circles. Ministers, instead of being anxious to prefigure their measures through the press, and so preparing the public mind for them, are jealous of being forestalled by it. They do what they can to keep their proposals to themselves, and seem to regard any disclosure of them through newspapers as a violation of copyright, an indecent taking of the word out of their mouths before they have uttered it. The feeling was very different in the time of Lord Palmerston, who used to reply to curious questionings as to what the ministers were going to do or what the Cabinet had discussed at its last meeting—"Look in the *Globe*, my dear fellow this evening. You will find it all there." There was some evasion in this answer, but there was often a good deal of truth. During its Liberal period the *Globe* was for a long time edited by Colonel Torrens, who was well known as an economical writer. Its fierce controversy with Mr. Disraeli, who was then in his Billingsgate period, and who heaped upon the editor epithets which O'Connell might have envied, belongs to the curiosities, if not of literature, yet of journalism. One of Colonel Torrens's successors to the editorship of the *Globe* was Mr. Gibbon Merle, who contributed articles on the press to the *Westminster Review*. In its best days it was under the direction of Mr. George Hooper, who is now one of the principal leader-writers for the *Daily Telegraph*. With him was associated Mr. Robert Giffen, for a considerable period the city editor of the *Daily News*, and now the head of the statistical department of the Board of Trade—a post once occupied by Mr. Albany Fonblanque, the editor of the *Examiner* in its best days. When Lord Russell's government retired from office, at the close of 1866, the *Globe*, which had been gradually submitting to the adverse conditions under which evening newspapers exist, changed hands. It became a Conservative organ, inspired, and it is said in some degree owned, by Sir Stafford Northcote. It has had several editors during the past fifteen years, of whom the best known was Dr. Mortimer Grenville, who is the author of several books upon those points in which medicine touches upon psychology and on social habits and usages. Its present editor is Captain Armstrong. The name perhaps most eminent in pure literature which is associated with the *Globe* is that of Father Prout, as the Reverend Francis Mahony, a priest faithful to the Church of Rome in his belief, though setting aside sacerdotal usages in his habits and life, chose to be called. Among the more recent features of the *Globe* are scholarly articles upon social and literary topics by Mr. Collins, the author of the articles on Dryden and Bolingbroke in the *Quarterly Review*, and the selected continuer of Mr. Forster's unfinished life of Swift. The politics of the *Globe* are mildly and rationally Conservative. It is faithful to the party which it adopted about fifteen years ago without being servile to it, and adheres to its fortunes both in good and in adverse times. It cannot be said to introduce any very new or strong vein of original thinking and writing into political controversy, but it conducts the fight ably enough with the old arguments, in the old methods, and on the old ground.

The publication of the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1865 marked a new era in journalism. The characteristics which we have just mentioned as not belonging to the *Globe* emphatically marked the *Pall Mall Gazette* during the whole of its career. It has always had a thought and a range of its own, and the influence has been visible from the beginning of a really presiding mind. The editor of the paper from its commencement until the spring of the present year was Mr. Frederick Greenwood, who had previously been known as a graceful, gossiping essayist, an agreeable versifier, and the author of at least one meritorious if not very successful novel. As editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* Mr. Greenwood showed great power of origination and of organization, and a very marked literary capacity. He succeeded in impressing his individuality upon the paper, and upon a group of very able and scholarly writers whom he gathered about him. The *Pall Mall Gazette* has always been more remarkable for its influence upon opinion than for its commercial success. It is a curious illustration of the conditions on which the popularity of a newspaper depends that the stroke which lifted the *Pall Mall Gazette* for a time into prosperity was the publication in it of an article which might have been thought more suitable to the *Daily Telegraph* than to a journal affecting a fastidious refinement. Mr. James Greenwood, the brother of the editor of the paper, took it into his head to personate "a casual" at one of the London workhouses. He went through all the disagreeable experiences of that unhappy order of beings—the dirty bath, the rough clothes, the abominable nightly associations—and described them in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. The impression which the article made was memorable in the history of journalism, and it did for the *Pall Mall Gazette* more than the best writing of the editor, of Sir James Stephen, of Mr. W. R. Greg, of Lord Strangford, and of any other of its thoughtful and cultivated contributors was able to accomplish. The staff of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, speaking of it as it existed up to the spring of the present year, has necessarily changed, as young barristers have become judges, young politicians have been converted into middle-aged officials, and struggling men of less degree have acquired the success which tempts to indolence. But Mr. Greenwood has known how constantly to infuse the new thought of rising men into his paper and to keep it fresh with the life of a succeeding generation. The one element of weakness which marked its later days was the overpowering influence which Mr. Gladstone gained over the mind of Mr. Greenwood. The attraction was the attraction of repulsion, the fascination was one of terror, but it was overwhelming. The dread seemed to become a monomania and to draw to it all the forces of Mr. Greenwood's mind and character. What Coleridge says of love appeared to be applicable in Mr. Greenwood's case to the peculiar feeling of mingled attraction and aversion with which Mr. Gladstone inspired him. "All thoughts, all passions, all desires, whatever thrilled" Mr. Greenwood's "mortal frame—all were but ministers" to this peculiar sentiment towards Mr. Gladstone, "and fed that sacred flame." Mr. Greenwood has exhibited himself in the attitude of an avenger. It was his business to expose and defeat the sinister and mischievous policy of the present Prime Minister, who was to him what the Jesuits are to Mr. Newdegate. He saw his hand and spirit everywhere. He did not see, but he himself was involuntarily and unconsciously the most striking example of Mr. Gladstone's magnetic power over weaker minds. This conversion of the *Pall Mall Gazette* into a paper which was simply anti-Gladstonean, and the treatment of all topics from this narrow point of view of personal alarm, produced, as the public was informed one fine morning this year, a rupture of Mr. Greenwood's connection with the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Mr. George Smith, the proprietor of the paper, who embodies in his own person the apparently plural firm of Smith Elder & Co. (Mr. Smith being himself Smith Elder as distinguished from a real or supposititious Smith Younger, and there being no "Co."), dismissed himself from the proprietorship of the paper, in order that a means might be found of dismissing Mr. Greenwood from the editorship of it. Mr. Henry Yates Thompson, who was private secretary to Earl Spencer when he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland under Mr. Gladstone's former administration, who was one of the Liberal candidates in conjunction with Mr. Gladstone in Lancashire, and who—what was more to the point—was the son-in-law of Mr. Smith, became ostensibly the sole proprietor, and in part the real proprietor, of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Through his instrumentality the conditions with respect to the line to be taken by the *Pall Mall Gazette* in politics were presented to Mr. Greenwood—conditions which implied a reversal of the course he had been for many years pursuing, and which, as a matter of personal honor, it was impossible that he should accept. Mr. Greenwood retired, and Mr. John Morley was appointed his successor. The tone and policy of the paper have undergone in Mr. Morley's hands a complete reversal. It is now not so much a supporter of Mr. Gladstone's administration and of the Liberal party as a supporter of that section of Mr. Gladstone's administration and of the Liberal party which has its most prominent representative in Mr. Chamberlain. It is not only Liberal but Radical; not only radical but democratic. Its vigorous and straightforward

writing makes it a new element of power in the Liberal party, and its literary ability is likely to find for it an entrance among the cultivated but rather timid classes, who are apt to shrink from plain speaking and forcible thinking in politics. Mr. Louis Sergeant, who was at one time the editor of the *Examiner*, and who has recently published a valuable work full of information and generous feeling, entitled 'New Greece,' is Mr. Morley's assistant-editor. Among the writers who have been most prominent and active since Mr. Morley's accession to the editorship we may mention Mr. Leslie Stephen, from whose pen the papers entitled "Confessions of an Author and a Peripatetic" have proceeded; Mr. Anthony Trollope, who is the writer of the sketches on "London Tradesmen" which are now appearing in the *Pall Mall Gazette*; and Mr. William Minto, who, like Mr. Sergeant, was formerly editor of the *Examiner*, and who is better known as the author of a critical history of English literature. Mr. Minto has recently been appointed to the chair of logic and rhetoric in the University of Aberdeen, in succession to Mr. Alexander Bain, thus passing through the purgatory of journalism to that paradise of Scotch men of letters—a professorship north of the Tweed.

The *St. James's Gazette*, which appeared within a few weeks after Mr. Greenwood's retirement from the editorship of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, is simply the old *Pall Mall Gazette* in somewhat different form and with a new name, with an exaggeration of its antipathy to Mr. Gladstone and its dread of what it calls the latter-day Radicals. It sees these enemies of the human race everywhere, as French alarmists in the early days of the Revolution saw and heard the approach of brigands who were merely the creatures of their own imagination. The intensity of the language and sentiment of the *St. James's Gazette* has led a profane wit to nickname it "the Twopenny Damn," a phrase derived from a favorite oath of the late Duke of Wellington, who was accustomed to convey in that form of speech his disparaging estimate of persons and things which he held in slight account, occasionally descending to the fractional valuation of "the tenth part of a twopenny damn." Mr. Greenwood's force of character, though wasted upon a sort of craze, and the personal liking which he awakens and keeps, are shown by the fact that he transferred with him from the *Pall Mall Gazette* to the newspaper which he now edits almost the entire body of writers who had been associated with him on the elder journal. Mr. Greenwood himself is indubitably the most potent influence in his paper. After him the principal political writer is Mr. H. D. Trail, whose articles in magazines have attracted considerable and deserved attention, and who has a faculty of political parody which does not extensively exist or is not much cultivated at the present time. Other writers for the paper are Mr. Gilgud and Mr. Syme, who write of foreign politics; Mr. Frederick Pollock, a very accomplished scholar and lawyer, and also a dextrous if somewhat mechanical versifier; Mr. Grant Allen, who explains the universe in all its minutest details according to the principles of Mr. Herbert Spencer; Mr. Andrew Lang, who has been mentioned already in connection with the *Daily News*; and Mr. Sutherland Edwards, who is, I believe, the musical and dramatic critic of the *St. James's Gazette*. Mr. Lathbury, the editor of the *Economist*, and Mr. E. D. J. Wilson, of whom I have before spoken, were among the writers for the *Pall Mall Gazette* under Mr. Greenwood's editorship, and have, I believe, transferred some portion of their services to him upon his new journal.

The *Echo* has had a various history. Started a few years ago by Messrs. Cassell, Petter & Galpin, the publishers, as a Liberal paper, and published at what previously had seemed to be the impossible price of a halfpenny, it acquired under the editorship of Mr. Arthur Arnold, now member of Parliament for Salford, a political influence which its ability and straightforwardness merited. Its political success was not attended with a corresponding commercial prosperity. It was sold to Mr. Albert Grant, the well-known projector and speculator, and shared his declining fortunes. When Mr. Grant's property of various kinds was disposed of, the *Echo*, which had become Conservative, passed into the hands of Mr. Passmore Edwards, who was returned at the last general election as one of the Liberal members for Salisbury. Its editor is Mr. Howard Evans, and one of its principal contributors is Mr. James Beal, a well-known London house-agent. Mr. Beal is a busy party organizer, who is especially interested in questions of municipal reform in London. The *Echo* is written with a vigor which commends itself to the artisan class in the large towns, all the more for its frequent disregard of the conventional courtesies of discussion. During Mr. Gladstone's illness it thought it worth while to signalize with two marks of indignant exclamation —thus (!!)—the announcement that Sir Henry Drummond Wolff and Mr. Gorst, political opponents of Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, had called in Downing Street to make enquiry after his health. "How dare the counsel for the other side," said Mr. Pickwick, "tell my counsel that it is a very fine morning."

The most prosperous of the evening papers is the *Evening Standard*, which is the satellite and duplicate of its morning namesake, its politics being to those of its principal what moonlight is to sunlight. Its success, however, depends not upon its party connection and zeal, but upon the diligence and completeness with which the latest news of the police courts, of races, and of whatever may happen in the concluding hours of each day is brought to the knowledge of the London reader. It is a favorite paper, I am told, of the workingmen, who in London, at any rate, are not a very political order of beings. The latest murder and the latest race interest them more than the latest ministerial announcement in the House of Commons or the reply of Turkey to the demands of the great Powers. It may be doubted, however, whether the *Evening Standard* is not more of a drag upon its morning associate than a help to it. Evening newspapers can scarcely ever become great properties or attain any considerable commercial success. The advertisements do not come to them, for advertisements appeal to men in their business hours. They refer very often to things which are to take place during the actual day, and they would in many cases be too late to be of practical service in an evening paper. Before telegraphs were invented and when railways were either unknown or had superseded the stage-coach or the still slower stage-wagon only on the main lines of communication, the evening newspapers brought to country districts the first news of what was happening in London or abroad. They had, therefore, a considerable and lucrative country circulation. All that has been knocked on the head by the altered conditions of locomotion and of the transmission of news. The principal sale of the London evening newspapers is in London. Ability and originality such as mark much of the writing in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *St. James's Gazette* may acquire for those journals a circulation sufficient for political and social influence and for a moderately prosperous existence. In the case of the two papers just named their mutual antagonism of principles keeps up a certain interest in both which would not exist to the same degree if either of them stood alone. They are stronger in virtue of their rivalry, but the experiment cannot be said in either case to have been successfully made, though it has been hopefully begun.

CURRENT FRENCH TOPICS.

PARIS, September 23, 1880.

IT is decidedly the opinion of the extreme party, who are for immediate action, which now influences the Government councils. I do not pretend to rival the telegraph and give you, properly speaking, political news, but what I believe worthy of interest is an appreciation of the situation, now become difficult through rapidly succeeding events. From every point of view M. de Freycinet's resignation is serious. First of all, it proves that the moderation he wished to show in the application of the second decree respecting the unauthorized religious orders is not acceptable to the majority of the Republican party, for M. de Freycinet only retires because he is convinced that the prudent speech he made at Montauban will not be approved of by the Chamber. This conviction was acquired on finding himself entirely at variance with the three Ministers, who, in the Cabinet, are the representatives of the most influential political group (whose leader is M. Gambetta), "the Republican Union group." M. Constans, Minister of the Interior; M. Cazot, Minister of Justice; General Farre, Minister of War, are the legal representatives of it. Until lately it was thought that M. de Freycinet, the former coadjutor of Gambetta during the defensive war 1870–71, was alike the confidant and more or less the executor of his political ideas. It is certain that on this ground he took the presidency of the Council, and until latterly he remained in accord with the all-powerful chief of the Republican party. The late incidents clearly prove that it was without his consent that M. de Freycinet expressed himself so wisely and moderately at Montauban, and probably began conferences with the Holy See. His retirement entirely confirms what I told you in my last letter about the probability of a secret negotiation with the Papal Court, which resulted in the Declaration of the congregations. I do not pretend to say that the declaration was textually presented to M. de Freycinet, and that its actual tenor was approved by him; but he doubtlessly asked for something similar, and he calculated on bringing forward this document as a reason for delaying the execution of the decrees and thus gaining time to propose a general law on associations. This was opening quite a new political line. M. Gambetta's approval was necessary to its success, and this he would only have given if the plan had originated with himself. It was sufficient that his former friend, placed by him at the head of affairs, appeared for an instant to act independently of him, for M. Gambetta to make him understand, as in 1877 he rightly said to the Maréchal de MacMahon, that he ought to submit or resign. M. de Freycinet has, indeed, endeavored to submit by seeking to agree with the three Ministers who tendered him their resignation, but he soon found too much was required of him; for in the same evening's Agence Havas telegrams the resolutions passed in the Council held were commented on in such a manner as to exaggerate their import to the detriment of the President, M. de Freycinet. In such circumstances, nothing was left but to resign. M. de Freycinet carries into his retirement the esteem and sympathy of all moderate and liberal Republicans. He displayed rare qualities as a parliamentary orator, was perfect master of himself, never carried away by passion, and endowed with the facility of expressing himself in a clear, elegant, subtle way; and he was thoroughly

competent in business matters. We regret infinitely that he did not distinctly claim the general law on religious societies, the preparation of which he announced at Montauban, instead of accepting the dangerous policy of the Decrees. He then would have fallen by a vote of the Chamber, but it would have been for a principle and not for a mere question of applying the law. Let us not forget, however, that this question of application had lately become very important, and that in seeking a moderate and wise course the religious dispute might have been stopped or at least confined within just limits. I much fear it will acquire dangerous bitterness after M. de Freycinet's retirement. The exact extent of this political change will only be known after the first few sittings of the Chamber of Deputies. The most serious part in all this is the rôle M. Gambetta plays; he exercises more and more a kind of dictatorship without wishing for the responsibility of power. England has had its "king-maker," Warwick. Our Warwick in France breaks up ministries without consenting to be minister himself. In this there is a great drawback, for it is contrary to the rules of parliamentary government. I think M. Gambetta is mistaken in thinking he thus saves himself for the future. He is using his power up, on the contrary, and the time may come when he will have thus lost the moral credit without which there is no real power in a country where public opinion reigns. A near future will disclose to us the result of these recent events. How much need we have of the counsel and firm, wise guidance of the great statesman whose statue was inaugurated at St. Germain on Sunday, the 19th of September, the town where he died three years ago! On that occasion M. Thiers's memory was honored as it ought to be. M. Léon Say, President of the Senate, who was his last Minister of Finance, retraced with commanding clearness the marvellous operations by which, without check, the liberation of the French territory was effected at the cost of a ransom of four milliards. M. Jules Simon, who was also his minister in the public education department, speaking as representative of the French Academy, threw into full light the great qualities of the historian, writer, and orator, reminding France of those words, so fit for meditation at this moment, "The Republic will be conservative, or it will not exist." It was touching to hear his old friend, his elder and called by Thiers his brother, the illustrious historian Mignet, trace his portrait in the broad, flowing, grand manner still intact with him in spite of his eighty-four years. Thiers remains incomparable, to all those who have known him, for the marvellous and varied gifts bestowed upon him —capacity for work unparalleled, brilliant facility, such natural and lively fluency, and which rose to grandeur when treating of subjects which evoked his patriotism, as during the cruel trials of his country; a knowledge of mankind which did not exclude kindness of heart, penetrating sagacity which made him see the possibility of everything and kept him from the onesidedness of party spirit; lastly, that patriotism which was his dominant passion. Those who were honored with his friendship know all the goodness hidden under such brilliant mental capacity.

A fortnight previous to the St. Germain solemnity a similar one was celebrated at Clermont-Ferrand, not less worthy of sympathy. A statue was there erected to the memory of the man whose birth has honored the town, the illustrious Pascal, one of our greatest writers and most fervent Christians, the truer that he rejected all that altered the real character of Christianity. If he had formed a sect, or rather if his doctrine had triumphed, the national French religion would have been reconciled to liberty of conscience and freedom of thought, instead of prohibiting them. The Sybilline book has been twice presented to France. First, during the sixteenth century, the first page was thrown to the winds stained with the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Then, again, in the seventeenth century, when Jansenism threw off its rude theological exterior in the person of Pascal, untrammelled and lofty genius, at the same time austere and fervent Christian, one of the most authentic representatives of French intellect, with its luminous intelligence, piquant grace, flame without smoke, and its formidable causticity, the real creator of national prose, but the second page was torn like the first. Pascal, admired though he be, is beaten. He was only vanquished entirely ten years ago. The Vatican Council was a complete revenge for the 'Provinciales' and 'Les Pensées.' We think liberty has gained nothing by it. The temple of God is now, as it was eighteen centuries ago, thronged with traders. We are of opinion that they ought to be driven out, but we cannot forget it was Christ who scourged the Jewish ones and overthrew the money-changers' tables. To triumph over a religion of subjection our religion must be free. Mere denial is like the blade of a sword without hilt. Denial is only efficacious when it is the sharp culminating point of powerful affirmation. Such was indeed the shining sword Pascal used to deal Jesuitism blows with, which would have been mortal had they not, after him, encountered adversaries at once more frivolous and more accommodating. That is why we are rejoiced to see this grand and noble figure again placed in broad daylight before the French nation. Pascal always remained faithful to true Christian liberty. Therefore he never positively submitted to the authority of his church, and was to the last a vigorous opponent. Doubtlessly he admitted the authority of councils and traditions, but he made it subservient to that of Christ. Questions of truth with him outweigh those of authority, and he had no scruple in contending against Rome when his dearest convictions were at stake. At the close of his life his opposition to Papacy became stronger and deeper. It is more caustic in the 'Provinciales,' but treats less of the basis of things. Let us judge of it by these words, almost the last Pascal wrote, which may be considered as his religious will:

"Each time the Jesuits deceive the Pope they make all Christendom perjurers. The Pope is easily deceived, on account of his affinity to and belief in the Jesuits; and the Jesuits are very able to mislead him through calumny. All Inquisition is corrupt or ignorant. You yourselves are corruptible.

"'If these are silent the stones will speak.' The saints have never held their peace. Silence is the greatest persecution. When we believe we have written the truth, and Rome speaks, condemns the truth, and censures the books which hold views contrary to her own, we ought to cry all the more loudly that we are censured unjustly, and that the Pope wishes more violently to stifle all speech, until a pope comes who will listen to both parties, and who is willing to consult antiquity to render justice."

"Ad tuum, Domine Jesu, tribunal appello."

The whole of Pascal is in this appeal to supreme authority.

It has seemed to us needful in this season of imbecile superstition and unbridled submission to recall what was the grand Catholicism of the seventeenth century in its most eminent representatives. Let the noble spirits who now in silence lament this universal subjection remember what Pascal thought of such silence, and of the responsibility they incur by allowing the belief to grow that religion is, indeed, what those before the scenes make of it. Montalembert proved himself a faithful disciple of Pascal when he said before dying, respecting the silence of those who protest with bated breath against the triumphs of Jesuitism: "They are prevaricators." The best prayer which can be made for Catholicism and France is to see a reawakening of Pascal's spirit, which was not fettered by the forms of his belief. May the statue just erected in his natal town evoke such a welcome remembrance!

Correspondence.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have read with a great deal of interest the correspondence in your paper in regard to the formation of a civil-service reform society, and wish to add my name as one heartily in favor of such a movement and am ready to subscribe $5 at any time towards that end.

Yours very respectfully, J. D. Cox, Jr.

Cleveland, Ohio, September 29, 1880.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I will gladly subscribe $25 a year for five years to a civil-service reform league. An organization to effect anything should be non-partisan, and should not be a resurrection of a society formed years ago and useless all these years. Moreover, it should not be sectional. If civil-service reform is preached from the seaboard in as foolish a way as the single-standard was, within a year the West will be in favor of rotation in every Federal office six times a week. Respectfully yours, A. B. M.

Chicago, September 27, 1880.

DEMOCRATS AND STATE RIGHTS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: As a reader of the *Nation* and one who coincides with most of its views upon political topics, yet feeling profoundly the importance of the success of the national Republican ticket in this campaign, may I not ask if the independent element in the Republican party do not, in their attention to other matters, mistake in ignoring to so great an extent the so-called "State-rights question"?

The Democratic party, in its platform, pledges itself anew "to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party, as illustrated by the teachings and example of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots, and embodied in the platform of the last National Convention of the party."

What are those constitutional doctrines and traditions illustrated in the long line of patriots and statesmen to which they renew their pledge? The clause "and embodied in the platform of the last National Convention of the party" cannot limit the former clause, their pledge of devotion to the Constitution with its amendments, as stated in the platform of '76, because Democratic fealty to those amendments has been of too recent origin to have become a tradition, and has not been illustrated by a very extended line of Democratic "statesmen" and "patriots." Hence it must refer to constitutional doctrines of long standing and of very frequent exposition by succeeding generations of Democratic statesmen to come within the meaning of "tradi-

tion" and to have been illustrated by a long line of such "patriots." What peculiar views have the Democratic party entertained that answer to the foregoing definition, if it be not their adherence to what is commonly known as the doctrine of "State Rights," or "State Sovereignty." Looking into the Democratic platform of 1856 we find the party adopting and upholding the principles of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798 as "constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed," resolutions which are supposed to have been the forerunner if not the parent of nullification and secession, and to have led to all the objections upon constitutional grounds to the rigorous measures adopted for the suppression of the rebellion as well as those for reconstruction. In 1860 we find both wings of the Democratic party affirming the Cincinnati resolutions of 1856. In 1868 they put themselves on record by pronouncing the reconstruction acts as usurpations, unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void. In 1872 they take a new departure and adopt a Republican platform. In 1876, still hoping for assistance from Liberals and Independents, they abstain from advancing any constitutional views further than to recognize the amendments to the Constitution. Is not this further step in renewing (as if they had ever abandoned) their fealty to their ancient doctrines and traditions significant? And is not this significance heightened by the conduct of the party in Congress in reference to the national elections law, the use of troops at the polls, etc.? Has not their opposition been chiefly based on the alleged unconstitutionality of those laws, on the theory that the United States is not a nation, that we have no national elections, no national officers, and no national voters? Did they not vote down every proposition to amend the laws so as to forbid any armed person attending the polling places, on the ground that Congress has no *power* to legislate on the subject? Did they not pronounce the judgments of the Supreme Court affirming the constitutionality of the acts of Congress a sort of eight-to-seven decisions, and refuse to acknowledge their binding character so far as to require political recognition as a part of the settled law of the land?

Again, we find Hon. W. S. Groesbeck saying at Cincinnati, in his speech of September 17, "The danger now threatening us is centralization or imperialism. The Federal Government has already taken a new name and calls itself the nation, and claims to be our all in all, and the State is remembered with derision and contempt." . . . "Yesterday the State was boastful; its pride has been humbled. To-day the Federal Government is boastful; be it ours to humble its pride also and keep it in its true position." And in his speech at Utica, September 15, Horatio Seymour says: "When, therefore, questions arise as to the authority of the general Government they should be decided by the letter of the law. If this does not solve the problems they should be turned over to the State authorities, if they are competent to deal with them. Instead of this rule we find a disposition to disregard its spirit, and if possible to torture its language, in ways to give power to Congress which is hurtful to the people, injurious to the morals of the legislators, corrupting officials, etc. Here, then, we find the sources of the evils and abuses which afflict our general Government, and through it the people of the country. Until within the last twenty years the executive, the legislative, the judicial departments gave honest construction to the Constitution. They did not seek to usurp power by strained definition; they sought to carry out its spirit. They did not summon crowds of men with schemes, who were pushing, rightfully or wrongfully, to get at the public treasury, by calling this a nation and teaching the false doctrine that we should follow the usages of other and not the constitutional law of our own Government."

We find in the platform, in the attempts of the Democratic party to repeal certain acts of Congress, and in the utterances of the party leaders (and I certainly have not selected extreme exponents of Democracy in citing the words of Mr. Groesbeck and of Mr. Seymour), not a proposed change in the currency or condition of the public credit, but open and avowed determination to change the practices of the Federal Government in its relations to the States, not upon grounds of expediency but of constitutional construction and interpretation conformably to those doctrines and traditions alluded to. And such change of views and practices seems to be the principal change promised in the platform or demanded by the leaders of the party. What may we apprehend, then, in those respects from a Democratic victory? In your last number you speak of the refusal of the party to allow legislation demanded by the amendments. May we not expect a repeal of all legislation already had by virtue of them?

In returning to such honest construction as Mr. Seymour says we had up to twenty years ago by the executive, legislative, and judicial departments, presumably including the construction of the powers of the Federal Government as given on the part of Buchanan and his advisers, will the Democratic party be content with the control of the executive and legislative departments? If the judicial department has also given dishonest and strained construction, ought it not to be reconstructed so as to have all the departments of the Government return to the honest and constitutional expositions which preceded the advent of the Republican party in power? I have no disposition to believe the Democratic party would again countenance secession. I will concede that slavery and secession are dead. But would not Democratic success be the signal for the abandonment of the negro to the mercy of the Southern whites, so far as his political rights are concerned, as well as of the claim of any power or authority on the part of the general Government to secure him in his rights of citizenship? Furthermore, would not such success furnish to the South and to the Democratic party somewhat of a basis for a historical justification of their course in relation to constitutional questions, including secession and their opposition to reconstruction and the federal legislation of which they have complained? Could they not claim with considerable reason that the people and the Government had receded from the ground heretofore taken, and had thereby practically admitted the charges of usurpation and abuse of power? And if this may be so, ought not the questions of the nature of our Government, of the relation of the States to the general Government, to be put prominently forward in this canvass? and is not the prospect of so extensive changes in the conduct and policies of the general Government, for the reasons urged in behalf of such proposed changes, a matter of sufficient gravity to receive our careful attention? It seems to me we may make a deplorable mistake in ignoring these matters, to the recognition of which we may awake too late when we find a Democratic legislature and executive urge such changes as having been endorsed by the people in the election, and the "constitutional doctrines and traditions" approved.

Respectfully yours,

J. A. PARKINSON.

JACKSON, MICH., September 27, 1880.

Notes.

THE first number of M. Jules Lévy's *Le Français* (Cambridge, Mass.) confirms our favorable anticipations of its quality. It is edited with taste and discrimination, and will be read with a lively interest. M. Lévy unobtrusively indicates his intention to avoid the uncleannesses of current French literature by quoting F. Sarcey's account of the genesis of About's 'Roman d'un Brave Homme' and his critique upon it. A delightful trifle, "Circé," by Octave Feuillet, gives the number its specific levity. The "Lettre à corriger," "Correspondance grammaticale," and "Phrases vicieuses" will commend themselves to students. The "Nouvelles de France" is skilfully selected.——'Write Your Own Stories' (Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.) is a little book containing thirty woodcuts on the left-hand pages, the right-hand pages being blank, with ruled lines for writing. Each of these pictures is supposed to be "suggestive of a story." The publishers offer three prizes, aggregating fifty dollars in cash, to the three children under fourteen who shall write the best complete set of stories before July 1, 1881. Considering the pictures, the legends they bear, and the model "story" given, we should say that the money would be earned, and that it is very doubtful if there is any other benefit to be derived from this sort of thing loosely conducted.——A new work by Bancroft, continuing his History of the United States, under the title of 'History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States, forming a History of the United States from the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain to the Inauguration of Washington as President,' is to be soon published by the Appletons. It will form two octavo volumes, with an appendix containing many unpublished personal and political letters of the public men of that epoch, collected from different parts of the United States and from Europe. The volumes will be published uniform in style and size with the original Little, Brown & Co. 'History of the United States' in ten volumes.——John Wiley & Sons will publish soon a 'History of the Mississippi Jetties,' revised by Captain Eads.——A volume on Troy, prepared by S. G. W. Benjamin, will form the next of Charles Scribner's Sons' 'Epochs of Ancient History' series. The firm is to issue in this country Dean Stanley's 'Christian Institutions'; the biography of Dr. Charles Hodge, of Princeton, by his son; and the final volume of Lange's Commentary.——Scribner & Welford are preparing 'A Picturesque Tour in Foreign Lands,' which is apparently likely to be one of the more elaborate of the holiday gift-books, bound in vellum inlaid with morocco and gold, and printed on Dutch paper, with 250 illustrations on India paper; other announcements by them are 'An Introduction to Historical Theology,' by John Stoughton, D.D., and 'The Chain of Life in Geological Time,' a sketch of the origin and succession of animals and plants, by Dr. J. W. Dawson.——Auerbach's new novel 'Brigitta' forms the latest of the Leisure-Hour Series. We learn from the *Athenæum* that a new modern English novel, by George Macdonald, called 'Mary Marston,' is to be published in the Manchester *Weekly Times*. Miss Rhoda Broughton has been cramming at Oxford for a new book about university life, the oddity of which we are justified in predicting from the nature of the subject and the characteristics of the writer. J. & R. Maxwell have in press Miss Braddon's 'Just As I Am.'——Among weightier foreign announcements are a work, by Dr. Chas. Mackay, explaining 'Obscure Words and Phrases in Shakspere and the Elizabethan Dramatists' by Celtic origins and the vernacular idioms of sixteenth and seventeenth-century English, and a new edition in four volumes, by Hinrichs of Leipzig, of Overbeck's 'Geschichte der griechischen

Plastik.'——The *Oriental Church Magazine* for September contains several Russian papers that will convey interesting information to the ordinary reader, but it would be hazardous to say the same of "E. V. B.'s" "Journalism in the United States," and difficult in any case to discover the pertinence of its publication here.——Houghton, Mifflin & Co. issue this week a new form of the "Cambridge" edition of all Longfellow's works down to the present year, the prose in two volumes and the poems in four instead of three each, as heretofore. They also announce Stedman's *Scribner* essay on Poe, with a portrait; 'XXXVI Lyrics and XII Sonnets,' selected from T. B. Aldrich's poems, and Horace E. Scudder's 'Stories and Romances,' with eight titles.——The success of Judge Tourgee's 'A Fool's Errand' possibly led to 'A Year of Wreck: A True Story by a Victim,' being the account of a business venture made by two Northern men in one of the lower Mississippi States, which is announced as nearly ready by Harper & Brothers; it is written anonymously, and works of this kind, it is to be observed, get credence from an author's signature.——In the September number of the *Portfolio* Mr. Hamerton reinforces his own "Notes on Æsthetics" by some "Notes on Landscape Painting," by Hubert Herkomer, who executes a suggestion of Mr. Hamerton's to the effect that painters themselves ought to talk more about art, with great modesty but perhaps without succeeding in demonstrating the brilliancy of the notion. It is worth bearing in mind that the great painters who were also great literary exponents of painting were the latter in virtue of being something besides merely the former. The first paper of the number, by the way, an account of Mr. Briton Rivière, A.R.A., begins by calling him "a rare instance of a successful and distinguished artist, who has taken the Oxford degree of Master of Arts."——In the *American Art Review* for September, Mr. T. H. Bartlett, the Boston sculptor, begins an account of the late Dr. William Rimmer, the enthusiastic general tone of which is more justified by accompanying illustrations than is an explicit exaggeration now and then; the realism, to use the current slang, of the work is very striking, very anatomical, but the conceptions, though large and simple, will seem to the reader who has never seen the originals to display almost an imitative sympathy for Michael Angelo. We may also mention a paper by the editor on Wilhelm Leibl for an incidental allusion to "realism" that is peculiar. He quotes a malicious criticism by Tardieu on Gebhardt's "Last Supper" as follows: "This is not, perhaps, the historical 'Last Supper,' any more than the ideal 'Last Supper,' and still less is it the academical 'Last Supper,' on which score we highly congratulate M. von Gebhardt. It might pass for a conclave of socialistic workingmen, filled with fear by the rigors of late Prussian legislation, and betrayed by a son of Israel in the pay of the Berlin police." And he asks, in protest: "But is not this realism, yea, even this naturalism, which is in such bad odor with the one-sided partisans of idealism, a marked feature of all thoroughly German art? Does it not penetrate every line drawn and every stroke painted by Dürer?" We feel justified in assuring him that M. Tardieu would reply no to this, and explain certain grave points of difference between the realism of Dürer and that of Gebhardt, say.——The November number of Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.'s *Magazine of Art* will be enlarged both in the size of the page and the number of pages; its general character is promised to be improved also, and the price will be raised accordingly to forty cents.

—After a "preliminary season" of the character which tradition prescribes as suited to the very untheatrical months of August and September, the theatres have begun their regular seasons with every prospect of a very successful winter. All the causes which last year contributed to fill the various places of amusement during the winter months are still in operation. New York is fuller than ever of strangers and money is abundant, while successful speculation has filled the hearts of the theatre-loving class with the desire for enjoyment, at the same time that it has given them increased opportunities for gratifying their tastes. At Daly's Theatre a new comedy of manners, written by Mr. Edgar Fawcett, has been produced, entitled "Our First Families." It is an American play, in which the author lashes with his somewhat mild satire the follies and absurdities of society as it at present exists in this city. This society, according to Mr. Fawcett, consists of two distinct classes—the old Knickerbocker families of very ancient descent and pure strain, who keep much to themselves and frown upon the new people constantly coming up by means of money, of whom *Mrs. Pomeroy Stanhope* (excellently acted by Miss Fanny Morant) is supposed to be a type. There is nothing very new about this, but the author has succeeded in introducing a novelty in his ridicule of Anglomania as at present practised in the principal city of the Union. The *nouveaux riches* in New York are, it appears, passionately fond of marrying their daughters to Englishmen, and to Englishmen who are not the finest specimens of Anglo-Saxon manhood, but generally to broken-down gamblers and rakes, such as the *Hon. Plantagenet Handycap*. Some of Mr. Fawcett's ridicule of the New York Anglomaniacs is very good. There is a *naïveté* about Mrs. Stanhope's exclamation on hearing that one of the young ladies of the play is engaged—"I hope to heaven he is an Englishman!"—that is very telling. The best piece of acting in the play is that of Miss Rehan, who plays the New York girl of the half-hoidenish, half-sentimental variety. Miss Rehan is altogether the best actress for young parts in Mr. Daly's company. She has in her acting the germs of real comic power, and it is therefore a pity that she should be made to play the part of *Eva* to such a lover as *Leonardo Tompkyns* (Mr. James Lewis). Mr. Lewis, amusing as he undoubtedly is, is always a farce actor, and his part, too, is on a much lower level than that of the young lady with whom he is in love. Mr. John Drew plays the part of *Geoffrey Knickerbocker* very well, though he plays it in the same way that he does many other parts. A lack of variety seems to be his principal defect. It is needless to say that Mrs. Gilbert played *Mrs. Manhattan*, "the great, great, great-granddaughter of old Peter Stuyvesant," with all the taste and delicacy permitted by Mr. Fawcett's text. This implies certain limits, for Mr. Fawcett, under some malign influence, has frequently sacrificed taste in the interest of humor. Want of taste is the besetting sin of Daly's Theatre, and we cannot help suspecting that Mr. Daly himself is responsible for such absurdities as the introduction into a comedy of the farcical dance in the third act.

—The Boston "Ideal" Opera Company, which first made itself known by its performances of "Pinafore" last year, has been continuing its success at Booth's Theatre, first in the "Pirates of Penzance" and now in "Fatinitza." The first opera has, on the whole, never been so well given in New York as by this company. Mr. M. W. Whitney, who has a very fine bass voice, must be convinced now, if it never occurred to him before, that he has been wasting his time in singing in oratorio to the Bostonians. Oratorio music is, of course, very much finer and more improving music than that of comic opera, and the cause of culture is, perhaps, advanced whenever "Elijah" or "The Creation" is sung in the Boston Music Hall, but Mr. Whitney, as is now sufficiently apparent, has other qualities besides a fine bass voice, which enable him to appear better on the lyric stage than in singing biblical parts in oratorio. He is really a very good actor, and his conception of the parts of the *Pirate King* and *Count Kantchukoff* leaves very little to desire. His voice, too, which is heavy in serious music, gathers life and character in opera, and becomes, what we confess we never formerly thought it, agreeable. Miss Phillips's voice was always delightful in quality, and though no longer possessing its early strength or certainty, it is still one of the most pleasing voices which can be heard in opera. She has steadily kept to the old dramatic fashion of singing operatic music. This involves more expression than it is now in these degenerate days thought proper for highly-trained singers to exhibit, and the music both of "Fatinitza" and of "The Pirates" lends itself to expression. Miss Phillips makes as much out of the part of *Ruth* as could possibly be made by anybody, and sings it with a seriousness which doubles the absurdity of the conception. In *Vladimir* she also succeeds admirably, though, of course, in appearance she cannot rival the very extraordinary young actress who last year sang the same part and afterwards that of *Boccacio*. Miss Beebe and Miss Stone, who alternate in the part of *Mabel*, have both very nice soprano voices. Miss Beebe sings the part of the *Princess Lydia* with great taste and delicacy. *The Sergeant* in the "Pirates" was also a great hit. "Fatinitza" is an opera which ought always to be played in French or German, or at any rate in some language not English. The English libretto is very bad, and fine voices and good singing do not make up for a poor libretto, and that nameless faculty for *bouffe* which seems to be wholly wanting in the Anglo-Saxon composition. "Fatinitza" had a tremendous run, if we remember aright, in Vienna; but it is almost impossible to imagine it running tremendously here. The music is light, lively, and replete with melody. It just falls short, perhaps owing to the fact that the action drags in places, of being the best opéra bouffe ever written.

—"La Fille du Tambour Major," Offenbach's latest opera, does not appear to draw very well at the Standard. It resembles "Madame Favart" in being half opéra bouffe and half opéra comique. The *Drum-major*, for instance, is the half-amusing, half-pathetic father of opéra comique, and, although Duplan acts it very nicely, he is essentially a bouffe actor, and ought not to be given anything but bouffe parts. Mezières plays *Le Duc Della Volta* very much as he played the part of the old *General* in "Madame Favart," and, indeed, as he plays all parts of similar character. There is not much variety in his conception, but wonderful skill in all the details of the acting. The blindness, the foolishness, the vanity, and the feebleness of old age of a certain kind this actor understands to perfection, and represents it with just that exaggeration which the stage makes necessary. Madame Delorme acts the duchess's part with a great deal of comic force. The opera belongs by common consent to the class of proper French operas. Therefore we shall say nothing more than that Madame Delorme gets all the impropriety she can in a very laughable way out of a part which is perfectly unobjectionable. M. Nigri plays and sings the part of *Robert* excellently. He has a voice which, without a very extensive register, is quite ample enough for his purposes, and his acting is uncommonly good. M. Tauffenberger makes his first appearance in America as *Griolet*, and we trust it may be his last. He must at some time have

had a voice, but he has one no longer. The notes which issue from his throat sound like the ghostly echo of a voice that is quite dead and gone, and his acting is simply awkward, without being amusing. Mlle. Paola-Marie's voice and acting are very much what they were last year, and Mlle. Merle can hardly be considered much of an addition to Mr. Grau's company. Mlle. Mary Albers has not yet made her appearance. On the whole, Mr. Grau must feel that he has made a mistake in bringing out this particular opera as his first effort. He has a large chorus and increased orchestra, and a very fair company. If he would bring out a number of the old operas, with the music of which everybody is familiar, and which do not require acting of the first order to make them succeed, he could probably fill the Standard Theatre without difficulty night after night. If what he is attempting to do is to make French opera thoroughly respectable, and to fill his theatre with the same sort of audience that fills Wallack's or Booth's, he is altogether mistaken. French opera can never be made in New York thoroughly proper and thoroughly attractive at the same time, and Aimée's former manner of managing the business—that is, giving a large number of well-known and thoroughly-amusing opéras bouffes—was much better than Mr. Grau's plan of giving two or three operas which have got the reputation of being operas to which anybody can go.

—At the Park Theatre "Lawn Tennis," by Mr. Woolf, has proved a success. It can hardly be called a play, and the author calls it a "Peculiarity in Two Acts." To describe what is done on the stage would be an impossibility. The principal parts are those of a dramatist who endeavors to involve the other characters of the play in all sorts of compromising situations, by imposing upon their credulity or vanity, and a recently-married man who afterwards takes the part of a woman. The first of these parts is taken by Mr. Digby V. Bell, who was, if we remember aright, one of the singers at the Bijou Opera House last year, an actor and singer of a good deal of ability. The second is taken by Mr. John Howson, who also has a considerable amount of talent. Owing to the dramatist's manœuvres all the relations of all the characters are continually confused and involved in the most hopeless obscurity. Incidentally what is called a "New and Original Operettina" is introduced, founded on the rhyme of Jack and Jill. Where Mr. Woolf got this from we know; but where he discovered his original score would be much harder to say. As he says the music is new and original, we are bound to believe him; but many of the airs are either strangely mimetic, or else the originality is not that of the author of the "Mighty Dollar." The humor of "Lawn Tennis" is abundant, but generally of a very simple character. The tone of the play may be described as that of the comedies usually performed by the San Francisco Minstrels, and everybody knows that it is a tone which is very popular. The singing is very fair throughout.

—A descriptive paper upon primary public education in Greece contributed by Dr. S. Antinopoulos to the *Minerva* contains matter of interest for Western readers. It briefly summarizes the laws governing the foundation of state and private elementary schools, and appends a catalogue of societies, of various composition and scope, which undertake to further the cause of education by establishing schools in Greek districts under Turkish rule—schools for the poor, like the London "ragged schools," evening schools for workingmen, and so on. The Royal Decree of 1834 is still in force by which communal schools with a modified system of "mutual instruction" (the teachers instructing the two higher classes and monitors the lower) were instituted. The course of instruction which is arranged for children from seven to twelve includes: "Catechism, elements of the Greek language, writing, arithmetic, explanation of the weights and measures adopted by the legislature, linear drawing, and vocal music; if possible, the elements of Greek geography and history and of the natural sciences"; twice a week gymnastic exercises under a teacher, and practical lessons in agriculture and gardening, with special attention to the cultivation of trees, silkworms, and bees; girls to be "practised in pursuits suitable for women." The constitutional policy of religious toleration is conformed to by a provision which allows parents or guardians of other than the established religion to teach their children at home in the catechism of their respective creeds, unless the number of such children in the schools warrants the appointment of a special teacher; but whether taught at home or at school they are obliged to pass an annual examination before a committee containing members of their creed. Private persons may found schools by obtaining an authorization of the Minister of Worship and Public Education, which must be granted on presentation of a guarantee of capacity and morality from the proper prefect. All such schools and teachers, however, are superintended by the state as directly as the communal schools. According to the decree, education is compulsory under penalty of fine, but this provision has never been executed, chiefly owing to the lack in some instances of any communal schools. The educational societies referred to consist of "The Children's Friends Society," founded in 1837, for girls, and which also supports elementary schools in some of the poorer communes; the "Association for the Propagation of Greek Literature," founded in 1869, which maintains schools in the Greek countries under Turkish rule; the "Friends of the People Society," founded in 1865, which maintains evening schools for workingmen; the "Literary Club 'Parnassus,'" founded in 1865, which does a work corresponding to our Young Men's Christian Associations, besides maintaining "Poor Infant Schools"; and the "Hellenic Professorial Association," founded in 1873, which is devoted to the science of teaching, and has "instituted competitions for the composition of works on teaching," and carries on a Review treating of reform in educational work.

—Those who have read Ebert's 'Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande,' the first volume of which, extending to Charlemagne, was published at Leipzig in 1874, will be glad to hear that the second volume has recently appeared. The sub-title is, "History of the Latin Literature from the time of Charlemagne to the death of Charles the Bald" (Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel. 1880). Another volume will be necessary to complete the history of the Carolingian period—the sixth book containing the history of the national literatures (in this case the Germanic ones alone) to the death of Charles the Bald; and the eighth, the literature of both fields, the Latin as well as the national, to the end of the period. The present volume fully sustains the expectations raised by the first. It is marked by the same profound research and luminous method, and will be found a trusty guide through the tangle of ecclesiastical literature, which is occasionally relieved by an interesting chronicle or life of a saint. The revival of studies under Charlemagne and their decline after his death are treated in two careful introductions. Especially valuable are the elaborate biographies, scattered through the work, of such widely known writers as Alcuin, Paulus Diaconus, Rabanus Maurus, Johannes Scotus Erigena, etc. We can but express an earnest wish that the author may live to complete a work of such inestimable value to all students of the early Middle Ages.

LADY LAURA: AN AGNOSTIC'S TRACT.

"THERE is a religion for us as well as for our fathers. A religion of humanity that will use these things (systems of philosophy, science, art, and industry) as the religion of God used and controlled them in the past. It is much simpler than any system, and at the same time much harder, for like the religions of the past it is made up of devotion and self-sacrifice, of prayer and dependence on the one side, of mercy and help on the other. We have dared to say that man must no longer look to God for help. We must not stop there. We must go on to say: All that man once asked of God he must ask henceforth of his fellow. All that man believed God to be in the past he must himself be in the future. That is the new covenant. We must be gods on earth or we shall be eternally condemned for having hinted that there is no God in heaven."

Thus speaks, preaches, or rhapsodizes Cassandra Gwinn and sums up, if a lady so wordy can be said to sum up anything, the moral of Miss Christie's tract. For after all 'Lady Laura,' though unlike in doctrine to the ordinary religious novel, is in spirit (we speak quite seriously) a tract; and Miss Christie is, whether she knows it or not, a descendant, though an odd one, of the whole line of edifying story-tellers of whom Mrs. Opie, Hannah More, and Mrs. Sherwood were the representatives in the past generation. Indeed, there is something quaint in Miss Christie's family likeness under all apparent dissimilarity to the revered friends of our childhood. She, like them, writes with a distinct purpose. With her, as with them, the moral of her tale is the really important matter to the writer, whatever it may be to the reader. She, like her predecessors, exhibits a singular *naïveté* in the mode of introducing edifying reflections. She must pardon us for saying that when we hear of Cassandra's "little book," in which she chances so opportunely to have written down for the ultimate use of her cousin a lot of eloquent prayers addressed to no God, we are irresistibly reminded of one John, the pious man-servant of 'The Fairchild Family,' who was so well provided with devotional material that when Master Henry fell (through his innate naughtiness) into the pigs' wash and was with difficulty saved from drowning, the excellent footman at once produced (from *his* little book, we presume) a hymn and prayer appropriate to the occasion. Nor is the purpose of Miss Christie essentially different, as might at first sight appear, from that of the older writers. She is as much bent as was, say, Mrs. Sherwood on converting her readers to "the truth." She is as earnest as any religious writer in warning men and women against the snares of the world and the flesh, even if she can hardly be said to think much of perils arising from the devil. She, in common with every moral teacher, cautions those who will hear her against falling below their own ideal. Her whole attitude in regard to Maurice Herne, the young free-thinker, who, after an early manhood, sacrificing his prospects to his principles, disappoints, through want of courage and decision, the hopes of his youth, is very much that which Miss Sewell or Miss Yonge might occupy towards some imagined clergyman whose later life disappointed the hopes grounded on the religious fervor of his early years.

* 'Lady Laura. By Mary Elizabeth Christie.' In 3 vols. Strahan & Co.

Miss Christie, again, is very likely to meet with the fate which has before her time befallen religious novelists. She has considerable literary skill and can sketch in outline characters which, if not striking, have yet a certain individuality, and can write a story which, though very defective as a tale, yet contains some impressive situations. Readers will pick out the story and miss the moral reflections. We fear that we used thus to serve the excellent Mrs. Sherwood. We have certainly a far keener recollection of the minor incidents of 'Henry Milner's Life' than of the didactic remarks copiously interspersed with the biography of that child "brought up not after the manner of this world." Yet, though it will doubtless be Miss Christie's fortune to find her novel read whilst her teaching is skipped or forgotten, she is so obviously in earnest about her work, she is so clearly convinced that her message to mankind is of supreme importance, she stands in such a different position from writers who treat the deepest problems of religion and morals as subjects on which to display their intellectual ingenuity or supposed literary deftness, that we intend to deal with Miss Christie's work as it will not be dealt with by one reader in a thousand. We shall dismiss her story and consider what is the worth of her theories, or rather, for we have no inclination to enter into a theological discussion, consider whether Miss Christie's teaching is likely to produce the effect she expects from it. We do not affect for a moment to be horrified at anything she says. We doubt whether many young ladies living in English vicarages and teaching Sunday-schools with ardor are, like Cassandra Gwinn, disbelievers in the doctrines which they teach, but that there are some such persons is more than probable, and we are pretty sure that there is a considerable number of men who occupy intellectually a position not unlike Maurice Herne's. We fully agree, further, with Cassandra and, as we suppose, with Miss Christie, in holding that it is clearly desirable that men and women should act up to their beliefs, whatever these beliefs may happen to be, and, above all, that they should be honest with themselves and with others. We have, further, no wish to start any rival theory, religious or non-religious, in opposition to Miss Christie's perfervid agnosticism. Our only object is to criticise her views, just as we might criticise the opinions of Hannah More or Mrs. Sherwood, or as we have in another number criticised the creed of Bunyan, and consider whether her doctrine is or is not likely to produce any great effect on mankind.

The peculiarity of "agnostic piety," odd as the expression seems, is not precisely that it sets to itself a different object from that of ordinary religious exposition; the enthusiastic if too verbose Cassandra occasionally, indeed, uses expressions which one, say, of Miss Yonge's heroines might conceivably address to some pupil who is the subject of their hopes and fears. "Promise me," she says to Maurice, "that wherever and whenever we meet here on earth or hereafter, if there be a hereafter, promise me that when we meet and I look into your eyes, I shall see the light burning within and know that the glory of God has not departed from you." It would perhaps be wiser if reformers who have thrown off theological beliefs would, even at some rhetorical sacrifice, discard theological expressions; still, we take this language as embodying the truth that Miss Christie is as anxious as any evangelical or Anglican authoress to press on her hearers the obligation of cultivating the highest and best part of one's nature. The essential feature of agnostic teaching is the means by which it proposes to convert or elevate mankind. Its theme is that all that man once asked of God he must ask henceforth of his fellows, and that the motive power by which men are to be stirred and elevated is sympathy. It is not, in short, an unjust summary of Miss Christie's doctrines to say that sympathy with man is henceforth to perform the part of faith in God, and that such sympathy, stimulating men towards the service of mankind, is to form the religion of humanity.

Now, to an outside critic the obvious remark at once suggests itself that the preachers of the religion of humanity stand at a great disadvantage as compared, say, with the Methodists. These religious revivalists appealed to sentiments of which the mass of their audience admitted the force. The language of the reformers themselves is, no doubt, that their hearers were cold, dead, unbelieving, and the like. But such terms, though natural and true in the sense in which they were used, conceal the fact that ninety-nine out of every hundred of the men and women who traced their new birth to the evangelical movement admitted, in theory, the soundness of the principles to which their teachers appealed. The task of Wesley and his friends (and the same thing holds good, in its degree, of all modern reformers) was to give new life to admitted truisms; they were not called upon to establish the validity of doctrines which their audience did not in any sense believe. The agnostic stands in a different position. He cannot appeal to theological beliefs which he has himself ceased to share. He preaches what, to take the most favorable view, is a new religion. Whether he can gain acceptance for the very elements of his faith is open to doubt. At any rate, the preacher who is occupied in establishing the validity of his principles stands on a different and less favorable standing-ground than that occupied by the preacher whose whole efforts are directed to the task, sufficiently difficult in itself, of bringing home to men's consciences principles already admitted by their intellect.

Most men, however, it will be said, feel sympathy with their kind and recognize the duty of caring for their fellows. This assertion is undoubtedly true, and such truth as it contains forms the essential basis for the religion of humanity; but this very assertion, in spite of its partial truth, suggests a further difficulty. Is not more stress laid upon "sympathy" than the feeling—real as it is—will bear? The capacity for sympathy is limited and fitful. To speak the plain truth, there is much in all men with which no one can, one may perhaps say no one ought to, sympathize. Whoever wishes to see the truth should dismiss such terms as mankind, humanity, and the like and turn his mind towards definite human beings, his brother, his nephew, his cousin, his most intimate friends, or his casual acquaintance. Can he candidly say that with such definite, concrete, flesh-and-blood human beings he is, or indeed can be, wholly in sympathy? We all know what must be the answer. Miss Christie herself is like other writers, far nearer the truth in her painting of character than in her moral platitudes. Cassandra, who is the prophetess of sympathy, is on cold terms with her sister, despises her mother, abominates her father, and has a contemptuous affection for the cousin whom she loves, and a sentiment which in real life would certainly not be sympathy for the other cousin who has robbed her of her lover. Is it, again, at all certain that the attempt, even when successful, to extend sympathetic sentiments may not also fatally increase the insatiable craving for sympathy which one may fairly suspect to be rather the weakness than the strength of the present age?

Another feature, and in some respects the most striking feature, of our author's religious teaching is the bold acknowledgment that men need happiness. "*People can't do without happiness.* To be unhappy is to be maimed, diseased, stunted, to have one's heart soured, to have one's life turned into temptation. People *must* be happy." This doctrine contains far more truth than most of the platitudes about the good effects of calamity or affliction, but the difficulty at once occurs to one whether this religion of humanity, with all its supposed self-sacrifice and devotion, is adapted to secure happiness, which after all, if it exist at all, must be the private and particular happiness of Tom, Dick, and Harry, and not of any logical entity such as humanity or mankind. Here, again, Miss Christie the novelist is at war with Miss Christie the preacher. Hardly a personage in her tale is happy. Cassandra is miserable, and has caused the misery of those she loves. Her two lovers are, each in his way, unhappy. By what may be termed a fiction of romance Laura is supposed to attain felicity. But even Miss Christie feels the supposition to be utterly unreal. Laura has lost her own faith and has gained no other. She is parted for ever from Cassandra, her bosom friend. She has been once driven to the brink of the grave by jealousy which certainly was not groundless. She knew or must have known that her husband repented of his marriage, and cursed his blindness in not recognizing Cassandra's superiority until it was too late for him to accept her love. Any woman in the position of Lady Laura would feel herself doomed to wretchedness. It is idle to pretend that she could have been happy. It is vain to suggest that existing religions do not secure human happiness. The reply is obvious. They do not profess to secure happiness in this world and they do hold out hopes of it in another. The religion of humanity is intended to secure the blessedness of human beings while living in the only world of which it takes cognizance. If it fails in this it fails of at least half its promise. Nor can it be said that the miseries depicted in 'Lady Laura' are mainly owing to the vicious constitution of society. Some may be traced to this source, but the greater number are surely due to the very nature of human beings. Given the facts of the case, it is almost impossible to see how a man like Maurice could have failed to cause misery both to Laura and Cassandra. When, moreover, you once turn your mind to the question of individual happiness, a doubt arises whether the apostles of the religion of humanity are not really at war with the nature of things? Every sensible person will admit that men do care for the welfare of their neighbors, and that deliberate egotism is not in general conducive to individual happiness. But every one not blinded by a theory must also admit that a care for one's own happiness, one may say a predominant care, is also an essential part of the constitution of man. Is it at all clear that the best or wisest men will, in the long run, adopt the creed, and still more the practice, of arduous self-sacrifice which Cassandra preaches with such fervent confidence? She, in common with teachers of very different schools, does not allow nearly enough for the strength of the position held by men who form no elaborate theory of life, who admit that much is uncertain and that something or even a great deal is due to others, but at the same time act more or less consciously on the view that each person must, avoiding all extreme theories, seek his own happiness through the free development of his talents and capacities, in a world where at the best happiness is capable of but very imperfect attainment.

It's common sense and can't be sin
To take it as we find it;
The pleasures to take pleasure in,
The pain, try not to mind it.

CAMPAIGN BIOGRAPHY.*

AT the time of the last Presidential campaign we endeavored to state the principles on which campaign biographies are now generally constructed. They differ from ordinary biographies from the necessity of the case. Presidential nominations being generally accidental, and the lives of the candidates down to the period of their selection being frequently involved in great obscurity, it becomes the duty of the campaign biographer to make a career out of such materials as are at his command, and to construct it at the same time in such a way that it will appear that the nomination is the natural consequence of everything that has gone before, the goal towards which all the candidate's acts, thoughts, and words have naturally carried him, and not the sudden and unexpected result of a throw of the political dice. The campaign of 1876 did not yield as good a crop of pure campaign biography as the present one seems to promise. Mr. Tilden was not at the time of his nomination either an obscure or accidental candidate, and Mr. Hayes was fortunate in having for a biographer Mr. W. D. Howells, whose literary sense and taste caused him to avoid in his account of the Republican candidate's life playing the part which the assumption of such a task generally involves. In the present campaign General Hancock's position is certainly more accidental than Mr. Tilden's in 1876, but at the same time he has long been looked to as a probable candidate of the Democratic party, and the events of his military career are part of the history of the country. Neither can General Garfield be called anything but a well-known public man. His political life covers a long term of years; his speeches in Congress have dealt with a great variety of subjects; he has for some time been a leader of his party. At the same time he must be regarded as an accidental candidate. He was emphatically a "dark horse" before the "break." For this or some equally good reason campaign biography in his case seems to have run riot. The writers of his life, instead of confining themselves to a discussion of the record he has made as a public man, give themselves up to their subject with a wild exuberance of fancy which shows, if not General Garfield, at least campaign biography at its best. In the case of General Hancock, on the other hand, curiously enough, with plenty of incidents of an exciting character, the authors of the books whose titles are given below seem to have imposed upon themselves a severe restraint.

The first part of Mr. Riddle's book was prepared, as he tells the reader, two years since for a history of Geauga and Lake Counties, Ohio, and has been inserted as it originally appeared. This part covers the life of its subject down to his election to Congress. The second part contains an account of his subsequent career, an examination of the charges against him, and an analysis of his character. Mr. Riddle's style is very peculiar. It may be difficult to say whether it is a better or a worse style than that of Mr. Bundy; but an extract from it will show its character. The following is a description of General Garfield: "Himself a force, simple and sweet as a child to whom God is and the heavens are—one who will never largely depart from the great simples, the spirit, the life, and significance of things." With regard to his intellect: "His is an intellect of great creative power, capable of quarrying a mountain and throwing up a temple in a single day. Every great monolith would be polished and inscribed with classic legend, the whole chastely garlanded by fancy, and bearing rare flowers of poetry."

As Mr. Riddle very justly observes, "one likes to know the methods of such a man," and these are his methods: "He must have plenty of rich, red blood. His power of work can be estimated by the hints and glances, rather than a full survey, we have taken of it. He seldom, almost never, writes a speech. He walks as he thinks, and thinks in words which he speaks aloud, accompanying the expressive parts with the swing of that left hand, the gift of Eliza Ballou."

One of the curiosities of campaign biography is the importance which the writers always seem to attach to ancestry. Of course in ordinary biographies a good deal of attention is paid to the subject's family, ordinary biographies being written upon the theory that birth, parentage, and ancestry have an important bearing in shaping any man's life. In campaign politics, however, this influence is generally ignored or treated as non-existent, because it is important for the magnification of a political career that it should seem to have no adventitious aid from inherited qualities or aptitudes. The motto selected for General Garfield's campaign is generally "From the Tow-path to the White House"; and, of course, the transition is much more startling and impressive if our first introduction to the hero is actually made upon the tow-path. Nevertheless, here the biographer generally fails to meet the requirements of his task and falls into the error of tracing with considerable care the pedigree of his subject. Thus, it is not surprising to find Mr. Bundy devoting a chapter to what he calls General Garfield's "noble ancestry." By this he does not mean, as he distinctly says, that the name of Garfield has been found "in court chronicles or books of the peerage across the water," but that the Garfield family have always been distinguished for noble qualities of one kind or another, and, as he poetically says, that "the most wonderfully developed specimen of American manhood in this country has come to his present commanding position as legitimately by the help of as favorable influences and by virtue of as inexorable laws as the big pines of the Yosemite." The fact is that very little is known about the family or its origin. General Garfield was born in a log-cabin on an Ohio "clearing," and his early circumstances and surroundings cannot have been very different from those of other Ohio boys born of families which settled in the West in the early part of this century. Mr. Bundy says that his father on the occasion of a fire which broke out in the woods fought it "like a viking"; but this is only Mr. Bundy's poetical way of saying that his father did what he could to put the fire out. Indeed, we have some doubt whether he fully understands what the word means, for he afterwards applies it to the son and calls him his mother's "young viking." It is hardly worth while to go over in detail Mr. Bundy's account of General Garfield's childhood and youth. The story is substantially the same in all the lives before us. His adventures upon the canal, at college, and afterwards as a teacher seem to have been commonplace enough; but if the reader wishes to see how commonplace incidents become glorified in the light of subsequent success he cannot do better than study Mr. Bundy's earlier chapters. The volume contains an appendix giving an extract from a number of the *Phrenological Journal*, from which it may be inferred that the phrenologist and the campaign biographer in their analysis of General Garfield's mental characteristics reach curiously identical conclusions.

General Brisbin's book gives more attention to General Garfield's military than to his civil career, probably for the reason that his service in Congress has not a specially sensational or exciting character. While the record of his speeches shows that he has expressed decided views on most of the subjects which have occupied the attention of the country during the last twenty years, the debates of which they form a part have rarely been of a character to attract attention after the occasion has gone by which gave rise to them. General Brisbin has accordingly fallen back upon Gen. Garfield's military career, and has done his work in a masterly manner. His accounts of the battles in which General Garfield took part are not written in that dry, historical fashion which his other biographers have adopted, but are magnificently picturesque and dramatic. How accurate they may be is a question, of course, of minor importance. His accounts of the battle of Middle Creek, Chattanooga, and Missionary Ridge will be found of great interest, and are full of details which lend vividness and reality to the scene. All this part of the book would be greedily devoured by boys of twelve or thirteen. The story of the Republican candidate's childhood, as given by General Brisbin, reads like the beginning of a novel. "Abram Garfield, worn out with a night of bitter toil, bead-drops of perspiration standing upon his forehead and coursing down his heated, cinder-stained cheeks, walked to his home with a weary step. All night long the fires had ravaged the woods surrounding his little homestead, and all night long, assisted by the stout arms of his neighbors, he had valiantly fought the flames that threatened his all, twenty acres of good wheat growing on land he had himself cleared around his cabin." This volume, like most of those below, contains a picture of the home of General Garfield's childhood. We regret to say, however, that on comparing this with the log-cabin in the other volumes we observe important differences in the construction and details of the edifice, which seem to show that there is some uncertainty as to its exact architectural character. Of the various homes thus presented to the reader, the cabin as reconstructed by General Brisbin is, perhaps, most like an actual cabin in an Ohio clearing. That of Mr. Bundy is by far the neatest and most picturesque, closely resembling, as it does, the log-cabin as we see it at State fairs and centennial exhibitions. General Brisbin adds to his volume a few pages containing an account of Mr. Arthur, from which it seems that his career has been mainly that of a lawyer, though his political life is said to have been begun at the early age of fourteen.

President Hinsdale's biography is the best of those before us. He is an intimate personal friend of General Garfield of many years' standing, and has endeavored, as he states in his "introduction," to present the Republican candidate for President to his readers as a public man. His volume also contains a variety of other political information for campaign use, and a

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*'The Life, Character, and Public Services of Jas. A. Garfield. By A. G. Riddle.' New York: F. S. Bogue. 1880.
'The Life of Gen. James A. Garfield. By J. M. Bundy.' Illustrated. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1880.
'From the Tow-Path to the White House. The Early Life and Public Career of James A. Garfield, Maj.-Gen'l U.S.A. The spicy record of a wonderful career, which, like that of Abraham Lincoln, by native energy and untiring industry led this man from obscurity to the foremost position in the councils of the nation; including also a sketch of the life of Hon. Chester A. Arthur. The whole very carefully prepared by General James S. Brisbin.' Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers. 1880.
'The Republican Text Book for the Campaign of 1880. A full history of General James A. Garfield's public life, with other political information. By B. A. Hinsdale, A.M., President of Hiram College.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.
'The Life of James A. Garfield, Republican candidate for the Presidency. With extracts from his speeches. By Edmund Kirke.' (Franklin Square Library.) New York: Harper & Bros. 1880.
'Maxims of James Abram Garfield, General, Patriotic, Political. Compiled by William Ralston Balch.' Philadelphia. 1880.
'The Life of Winfield Scott Hancock, Personal, Military, and Political. By Rev. D. X. Junkin, D.D., late Chaplain United States Navy, and Frank H. Norton, formerly Assistant Librarian Astor Library. Illustrated on wood with battle-scenes by A. R. Waud, and steel portrait by Hall from Sarony.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.
'Hancock. The Life and Public Services of Winfield Scott Hancock, Major-General United States Army, Democratic nominee for President in 1880. (Sumner's Popular Biographical Series.) By A. T. Freed.' Chicago: Henry A. Sumner & Co. 1880.

sketch of General Arthur is also included. Our impression as to the somewhat mythical character of the accounts given of General Garfield's childhood and youth, by his other biographers, is confirmed by what Mr. Hinsdale tells us with regard to this part of his life. He quotes Mr. Bagehot as saying, with regard to an interesting political anecdote of Lord Melbourne, "I cannot vouch for its truth; Lord Melbourne's is a character about which men make stories," and suggests that men like also to make and tell stories about General Garfield's early life, a tendency of which plenty of proof will be found in these volumes. Mr. Hinsdale's account of General Garfield's public life will be found interesting and valuable. It is written, however, in altogether too low a key for a campaign biography, and neither thrills the nerves nor stirs the blood. General Arthur comes in for a very slight notice, taken from the New York *Times*.

Mr. Edmund Kirke is an imaginative writer, and by this very fact well qualified for the task of campaign biography. It seems that in the early part of the year 1863 he passed several weeks with General Rosecrans in Tennessee, and there met for the first time General Garfield, then Chief-of-Staff of the Army of Cumberland. Circumstances threw them together, and "probably no two men ever came to know each other better in six weeks' intercourse than we did." . . . "Thrown thus closely together, it was natural for two men to open their hearts to each other. He opened his to me—told me the story of his life, of his early battle with poverty, his later struggles in securing an education, and his subsequent brilliant career in the Ohio Senate and in the war, which career had just been crowned by his wonderful campaign in Eastern Kentucky. The man's noble nature won my affections and his remarkable story fascinated my imagination, and I determined to write his life as an example and encouragement to other young men who might be engaged in a like hand-to-hand struggle with adverse circumstances." For various reasons the writing of the book was postponed until 1880, and Mr. Kirke states that "it is the result of a careful gathering and sifting of material during a period of fully seventeen years, in all of which time I have intimately known and closely observed the career of this most interesting man among the public men of this country." Mr. Kirke gives the early facts in General Garfield's life in great detail, and we have been particularly pleased with his manner of treating what we may call the tow-path period in his subject's life. It was, it seems, while he was engaged in the job of chopping twenty-five cords of wood for a farmer in the township of Newburg, for which he was to receive the paltry sum of $7, that his imagination was fired by the distant view of Lake Erie. He had already made himself familiar with the contents of such standard works as 'Sinbad the Sailor,' the 'Lives of Eminent Criminals,' the 'Pirate's Own Book,' and Marryat's novels. These volumes had their natural effect, and while chopping his twenty-five cords of wood he began to dream of life upon the ocean, and "determined to go out into the great world and carve out for himself a destiny—where carving is easy—on the breast of the waters." At length he announced to his mother his intention of beginning life as a sailor, and shortly afterwards left home, walked seventeen miles to Cleveland, and, going to the docks, "sat down on the head of a pier and looked out on the great lake heaving and foaming and rolling in broken waves all about him. He watched it creeping up the white beach and gliding back, singing a low hymn among the shining stones or muttering hoarse cries to the black rocks along the shore, and then looked out on the white sails that were dancing about all over its bosom. His mother's little cottage and the lonely woman herself—even then, it may be, seated in the open doorway, looking up the road for his coming—faded from his sight as he gazed, and he stepped down upon one of the tossing vessels." This vessel, it seems, was a "fore-and-aft schooner" with a drunken captain who was probably much more like the pirates that young Garfield had read about than the author of the 'Pirate's Own Book' would have admitted. On the boy's application for employment on board the captain drove him off the schooner with a volley of oaths. But this rebuff, Mr. Kirke says, "did not cure his longing for the sea." He saw that "he must go through an initiatory process," and that "the quarter-deck was not to be reached except by successive steps upward." "As the lake was a step to the ocean, so the canal was a step to the lake, and he would begin with the canal." We are compelled to say, after an examination of Mr. Kirke's volume, that sceptical readers may be inclined to doubt the statement that it is the result of seventeen years' labor; but it is unquestionably an admirable campaign biography, whatever period was occupied in its preparation. The military portion of it is particularly good. The author's military style is only rivalled by that of General Brisbin.

Mr. Balch says in his preface that his book is a compilation of maxims "taken entirely from the public utterances of the Republican nominee for the Presidency." "Maxim" is a much-abused word, and Mr. Balch has permitted himself a very wide latitude in its use. Many of the quotations contained in his volumes are no more maxims than the contents of standard "speakers" are maxims. For instance, at page 9, under the head of "Science," we find the following: "We no longer attribute the untimely death of infants to the sin of Adam, but to bad nursing and ignorance," while under the head of "Railroads" is given this sentence: "The American people have done much for the locomotive, and the locomotive has done much for them." The following can hardly be called a patriotic maxim: "I doubt if any man equalled Samuel Adams in formulating and uttering the fierce, clear, and inexorable logic of the Revolution." The fact is that Mr. Garfield, while having a good deal of oratorical power and effectiveness as a speaker, has not a particularly terse and sententious style, and consequently very few of the things that he has said in Congress have taken the form of maxims at all.

The biographies of General Hancock, as we have stated above, are mainly occupied with his military career. They are written more simply and less imaginatively than most of those devoted to General Garfield, and, of course, a simple account of a fighting general's career is the best. His civil record is still to be made, and it seems hardly worth while to say much about that branch of these biographies now. His biographers, from the way in which they have done their work, seem to have abandoned at the outset all idea of entering into the usual competition with the rival candidate. Perhaps, after looking over all these volumes, the chief feeling left in the reader's mind is that of simple wonder that such a crop should be produced once every four years in any civilized country. They bear to literature somewhat the relation that a stump speech bears to oratory. The audience is large and attentive; the subject is exciting; the interest is intense while it lasts. But it cannot last long. The life of campaign literature can be no longer than the campaign itself. One short month and the stump speeches will be forgotten sound and fury, and the campaign lives will be waste paper. Some one will have been elected, and whoever he is, of one thing we may be pretty certain, that he will not much resemble either of the dolls labelled "Garfield" or "Hancock," whose lives are given in these volumes.

TCHIHATCHEF'S 'SPAIN, ALGERIA, AND TUNIS.'*

THE series of letters addressed by M. Tchihatchef to the late Michel Chevalier, and which under the above title constitute a large octavo volume of six hundred pages, will be heartily welcomed, not only by those specially interested in the countries of which they treat, but by all who are desirous of obtaining ample information concerning a portion of the earth's surface about which they have been hitherto more or less ignorant. The object of the work, it will be inferred from the preface, is to present its readers with the *impressions de voyage* of a traveller whose mind is free from the preconceived notions which so frequently encumber the observations of tourists, and therefore to present in their natural light the aspects of countries whose historians have been more or less influenced in their narrations by national prejudices. The author's intimate acquaintance with the most recent materials bearing directly or indirectly on his subject, whether contained in published volumes or collected in the transactions of learned societies, together with the desire to impart mainly that which is new, has given his work a vigor and freshness which eminently distinguish it from the large majority of similar books of travel. Chapters i. and ii. briefly summarize personal experiences in the more interesting portions of the Iberian peninsula, and afford us a glimpse of some of the most characteristic traits of the Spanish people. Their reserved and dignified bearing both in public and private life, and the profound sentiment of respect which they entertain toward each other and for strangers, are sharply contrasted with the habits of other civilized nations, and more especially the English, who, in M. Tchihatchef's eyes, represent one phase of civilization while at home in the streets of London and quite another the moment their feet have touched the shores of the Continent. A possible thrust at American manners is contained in the remark, p. 16, "Ce n'est pas en Espagne qu'on verrait dans les réunions parlementaires les députés prendre de telles poses que la salle, vue d'en haut, laisse apercevoir autant de jambes que de têtes presque au même niveau." Chapters iii.–xix., devoted to Algeria, constitute the bulk of the volume, and will be found particularly valuable from the number of suggestive comparisons which the author's careful studies have enabled him to make.

Contrasting the results of British colonization in British India with those of French colonization in Algeria, M. Tchihatchef does not fail to see a very decided advantage in favor of the latter, and therefore repels with some warmth the assertion made by many, and notably by the French themselves, that France is as yet unequal to the task of colonization. The brilliant future of Algeria is to be inferred from the rapid strides which statistics prove to have marked the progress of almost every branch of industry connected with the improvement of the people and the country. The remarkable advance in the state of agriculture, which previous to the French occupation was beneath consideration, is most obvious in the fact that the exportation of grain and pot-herbs, which only commenced in 1871, reached in 1876 the value of 50,000,000 francs. The number of acres devoted to their cultivation (20,000 hectares in 1850) was estimated in 1875 at about 7,500,000

* 'Espagne, Algérie, et Tunisie. Lettres à Michel Chevalier. Par P. de Tchihatchef, Correspondant de l'Institut de France.' Paris: Baillière et Fils. 1880.

(3,000,000 hectares). Although the present mining industry represents but a mere fraction of the total development of which it is capable, the returns for the fifteen years covering 1859–73 show results which, if not quite as satisfactory as those derived from the data of agriculture, nevertheless equally prove determined efforts made to expand the resources of the colony. The total mineral production, which in 1859 was valued at only 860,000 francs, rose to nearly 6,000,000 francs in 1873. The exports of iron, which is mainly derived from the metallic mass of Mokra, were estimated in 1874 at 500,000 tons (460,000,000 kilogrammes). Public instruction is said, on the authority of General Chanzy, to be, as regards the European population, on a par with that in the most advanced of European countries, the total number of pupils in the primary and secondary schools being upwards of 69,000 out of a total foreign population of 353,000, or about seventeen per cent. The indigenous population, on the other hand, numbering nearly 3,000,000 souls, counts but 23,000 students, or about one-thirteenth of one per cent.! An interesting fact in connection with the population of Algeria is that brought out by the *Moniteur de l'Algérie* (1877), which states that at the present rate of increase the non-French European element will very shortly surpass the French, so that in 1887 the French will number about 221,000 souls, and the other Europeans together about 250,000. The author, who decidedly favors, at least for some short future period, the maintenance of military authority, is a firm admirer of the government of General Chanzy, as well as of the general himself, and deprecates the attempts made by the home government to meddle in the affairs of the colony, more especially in its religious matters.

M. Tchihatchef's scientific observations, which embrace the fields of geology, meteorology, and particularly botany, and which are to some extent summarized in chapters xviii. and xix., and in the *pièces justificatives* at the end of the volume, will be equally appreciated both by the specialist and by the naturalist in general. Perhaps the only objection that can be raised against the author's numerous and valuable observations, largely derived from his own personal investigations, is the tendency to lay too much stress on the assertions of those whose researches would as yet scarcely entitle them to rank as first-class authorities. Thus, in reviewing the question of glacial phenomena (p. 430), the author, an anti-glacialist, finds ample confirmation of the views set forth by him in 'Une page sur l'Orient' in the observations of Kingsmill ("Inaugural Address to the Shanghai Royal Academy," 1877) and Campbell ('Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society,' 1879), the last of whom rejects the assumption of a general glacial epoch as such at the close of the Tertiary period, and denies *in toto* a cosmical explanation of glacial phenomena. The alleged absence of direct evidence of the existence of such an epoch in Algeria, China, and Asia Minor ought not to be considered as summarily disposing of the question, and, indeed, it would be difficult to harmonize Mr. Campbell's views as to the restriction of the last glacial period to the European continent with the evidence afforded by the United States. In like manner, in treating of the formation of the Sahara (p. 418 *et seq.*), it appears as though too much importance were attached to the theory of M. Pomel as to the continental origin of the desert, inasmuch as the discovery in the basin of fossil marine shells by MM. Desor and Charles Martins (cited by M. Tchihatchef) ought, in addition to other evidence, to place beyond doubt the former existence of a sea in that region.

In addition to the purely scientific reflections scattered throughout the volume will be found others of a more general character, which cannot fail to be appreciated by all classes of readers. On p. 362 the author cites in support of the theory advanced in his 'Asie Mineure,' as to the modern origin of hydrophobia, the fact that this affection was unknown in Algeria prior to the French occupation, and calls attention to the equally remarkable circumstance that in Constantinople, *par excellence* the city of dogs, the canine race enjoyed perfect immunity from rabies up to the time of his visit, twelve years ago. Equally interesting, perhaps, will be found the statement, on p. 442, that the camel was almost unknown in the north of Africa previously to the Christian era, its presence even in Egypt being rendered somewhat questionable by the complete absence of figures illustrating this animal on any of the ancient monuments of the country. Chapter xxi., relating to Tunis, embraces a careful summary of the arguments brought forward in favor of and against the Roudaire plan of submerging a portion of the northern desert. Doubtless many who are in search of a new winter resort, and of a locality where life may be conveniently prolonged, will be attracted, by the enthusiastic accounts of the climate of Algiers, to a city where, according to Dr. Bertheraud, the number of centenarians is comparatively nine times as great as in France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, and Sweden.

It is to be regretted that a work of such importance as the one before us should not have received a more accurate revision before its final publication; especially ought more care to have been bestowed upon the correct orthography of foreign names. On p. 19 we note "Subaran" for Zurbaran, and on pp. 35 and 36 "Neaper" for Napier. We would also call attention to "Descloizeau [x]," p. 390; "Marsch," p. 412; "Riadorf" for Rixdorf, "Gambridge" and "Bayd Dawkins," p. 417; "Richthoven," p. 430; "Napal" for Natal, p. 460; "Deut[s]ch," p. 463; and "Sizzim," for Sikkim, p. 467. A writer rejoices in the name of Bourjot on p. 94 and Bourgeot on p. 403. The year of the destruction of Carthage is 146 B.C. and not 210, as stated on p. 536; its capitulation to P. Cornelius Scipio Major took place in the year 201. Rome was conquered by Brennus about 391 B.C. ("311" on p. 527), and Ricimer became master of the city in 472 ("412" on p. 527).

Samuel Lover. A Biographical Sketch, with Selections from his Writings and Correspondence. By Andrew James Symington, F.R.S.N.A. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.)—This volume consists chiefly of selections from Lover's writings in verse and prose, most of which are to be found elsewhere. Ten of the poems, however, are now first published by Mr. Symington. The biographical part of the volume is very slight, as was necessarily the case with an author who had such an uneventful life as Samuel Lover. Mr. Symington is not particularly well qualified, except by his great capacity for admiration, for the task he has undertaken. His preface begins with what is a fair example of his style of criticism and of biography: "Painter, etcher, lyric poet, musical composer, executant, novelist, and dramatist! Such an enumeration of amateur accomplishments, to say nothing of a formidable array of well-earned and acknowledged professional designations, seldom falls to the lot of one man; yet these were each and all fairly won by the late Samuel Lover, a brilliant, modest, self-reliant Irishman, who, dowered with versatile genius and capacity for work, was every whit as good, genial, and lovable as he was largely and rarely gifted." He adds, "Although not now generally known to the public, his highest art achievements were his miniature portraits." For various reasons, however, it is chiefly through his Irish peasant-songs (with what Mr. Symington calls "their unique blend of love, pathos, and humor") that his name will live. The last statement is undoubtedly true, but it is open to doubt whether fifty years hence it will be known, except to students of literature, that Lover was either painter, etcher, novelist, or dramatist.

Lover was born in 1797, in Dublin, and died in 1868, in the Island of Jersey. He was twice married, and at one period of his life was sufficiently adventurous to cross the Atlantic and make quite extensive travels in this country. As a young man he was a member of the Burschenschaft Club which Lever founded; but he never had been, as Lever had, to Germany; and it may be suspected that the humor which he introduced into the meetings of that association was even more purely Irish than that of its originator. The name of Lever suggests the parallelism which cannot but be frequently noticed between the Irish literary activity of the early part of this century and that which made its appearance at the same time in England. There could not well be two writers more widely different in character and capacity than these two; but if Lever played the part of an Irish Scott, as the author of romances which answered the same purpose in Anglo-Irish literature that Scott's novels did in English, Lover wrote songs which in a certain way bore the same relation to Hibernian literature that Moore's did to English letters. The similarity between Moore and Lover has occurred to many critics, and Mr. Symington devotes a good deal of space to a comparison between the two. To Mr. Symington's thinking, Lover in several respects stood higher than Moore, Moore having more fancy than imagination. "Moore, though polished, bright, and sparkling, seldom dived beneath the surface. He could certainly in 'Lalla Rookh' breathe an outward Oriental atmosphere and disport himself in it like 'a creature native and imbued into the element.' Still, however pleasing, his tales are lay-figure reproductions rather than creations. We often see studied art aim at scenic effect in Moore. He is then somewhat like a fine lady conscious of her diamonds and moving solely with a view to exhibit their sparkling flash. His verse is like Rossini's music, light, airy, and popular, but seldom deep. . . . In Lover's songs imagination fuses the commonplace with the grave or the gay, raising it into the domain of art, . . . and all is borne along in tide of song. His are all natural voices *of* the heart, tender and true, and speaking home *to* the heart, instead of merely appealing to sentiment and pleasing the ear. . . . And if Moore be Rossini, Lover is more like Mozart." This comparison, it seems, Mr. Symington communicated to Lover during the latter's life, and he prints a letter received from Lover in reply. Lover agrees with Mr. Symington (in his always modest way) in thinking that there is more feeling in his verse than in Moore's, and that the quality of his songs is much more Irish; but he goes on to point out that with all these drawbacks Moore was keenly alive to the *character* of a melody, and that in writing verses to be sung, not merely read, he was "matchless." All this is to a very great extent perfectly true, but it seems to us that both Lover and his biographer fail to see what is the important point of difference between the two songsters. Moore possessed, unless we are greatly mistaken, an infinitely greater power and range than Lover. However much we may criticise Moore's lack of nature or genuine sentiment, or object to his artificiality, he is within his own limits a master of expression and of sentiment; and this can hardly be said of the author of "Molly Carew." Lover was always more or less an amateur

in literary work. His stories are amateurish stories. His sketches of Irish life are amateurish sketches. Even his songs, as we read or hear them now, sound more like the clever performances of a ready amateur than the melodies of a man who wrote songs because he was born to do so. It is unfair to compare Lover's poetry with Lever's, as it is his prose, for any other purpose than to emphasize this distinction; but if the comparison is made, with what a pale light such stories as the "Gridiron" or once popular songs like "Rory O'More" shine when placed by the side of the vigorous and masculine performances of the rollicking author of 'Charles O'Malley.' Lover's literary fame was undoubtedly greatly magnified during his lifetime by his great variety of general accomplishments. He not only wrote simple, natural, pathetic songs with a real touch of the national humor, he sang them, too, and sang them both with humor and pathos. This of itself gave a reality to his melodies which they necessarily lose now that he no longer lives to impart it to them. It is difficult to imagine his fame lasting for any great length of time. "Rory O'More," which seems at its first appearance to have taken the polite world by storm, is hardly any longer a song which would be sung in drawing-rooms. 'Handy Andy' may be called almost obsolete. Lover had what would have been called in the last century a very "pretty" talent, but pretty talents have a hard struggle for posthumous fame.

Mr. Symington's volume contains, in its sixth chapter, a valuable criticism on English song-writing and an account of Lover's theories on the subject, which it would be well for all English song-writers to take to heart. The leading requisites of good English melody-writing have never been better pointed out than by him. Having a musical as well as a poetical ear he saw very clearly the difficulties which the language presents, and at the same time the way to surmount them. A song, he says, "must be constructed for singing rather than for reading, and hence it should be built up from words having as many open vowels and as free from guttural and hissing sounds as possible; in English this is no easy task." He points out, also, that a song to be a good song should have a thought in it, but, at the same time, not too much thought; that the feelings to be excited should rather be suggested than ostentatiously paraded. The number of English songs which have been spoilt from a want of attention to these principles must be enormous. Lover always adhered to them as far as he possibly could, and it was, no doubt, partly owing to this as well as to the great naturalness and simplicity of feeling expressed in them that he had such a great success. As a composer he had the gift of melody to an unusual degree. His voice was slight, but powerful in its effect from being very sweetly modulated, clear, expressive, and true. Like a genuine Irishman of his day, he gave way without restraint to his own emotions, and is said to have sung the "Angel's Whisper" with the tears trickling down his face. He belonged to a sentimental period and a sentimental race and a sentimental calling. Since his day the position given to sentiment in music has wholly changed. In the effort to reach perfection of execution sentiment has almost been banished. In reading the account of Lover's life we go back to a period in which music without sentiment was for the cultivated public no music at all. We may have gained something which Lover's generation did not possess. On the other hand, have we not lost something as well?

The Life of Agricola. By C. Cornelius Tacitus. Edited by Wm. F. Allen, A.M., Professor in the University of Wisconsin. (Boston: Ginn & Heath. 1880.)—The 'Agricola' of Tacitus, in respect both to subject-matter and literary style, is so wholesome and fascinating a book that the efforts of scholars to establish the correct text and furnish all needed comment must be especially commended. Nor can it be said that the reasonable requirements of American readers have heretofore been satisfactorily met. The editions of Professors Anthon and Tyler, however they may have been judged a generation ago, are certainly far short of what teachers and pupils now look for, while the recent edition of Mr. Stuart is but one in a series of Latin books to which, with little reference to the period or thoughts or style of the particular author, a Procrustean standard of compilation and of minute grammatical treatment has been applied. Professor Allen's superior attainments in Latin scholarship and Roman archæology, his habit of historical research, and his practical acquaintance with the actual needs of pupils exceptionally qualify him to elucidate the 'Agricola,' and, all in all, his book marks a clear advance in the history of classical editing among us.

The introduction contains the life of Tacitus, somewhat meagrely told. The public appearance of Tacitus as advocate for the province of Africa and his appointment to pronounce the discourse at the obsequies of Verginius Rufus are points of too great interest to be omitted. The date suggested for the birth of Tacitus is earlier than the one (54 A.D.) held by most investigators, and the new view is certainly ingeniously supported; but there are too many tantalizing variables in the problem to admit of a conclusive solution. In deciding upon his text the editor has acted with intelligent conservatism, deviating from the manuscript readings only when he felt forced to do so, and in all cases giving reasons for his deviations. The textual condition of the 'Agricola' is so bad that the temptation to offer what Tacitus might have written, or what, as it may seem to us, he ought to have written, is very great, and that Professor Allen has so generally resisted this temptation is one of the positive merits of his work. Two or three times, however, we think he has quite needlessly forsaken the manuscripts. Thus, we cannot justify the insertion of *subiit* in chapter xvii. As the previous sentence is virtually negative, *que* after *sustinuit* may well have the adversative force which it not unfrequently has in such a connection. If any change is to be made it would be less violent and more Tacitean to make an adversative asyndeton by the omission of *que*. And in chapter xliv. the insertion of *non licuit* seems to us gratuitous. Are not thought and syntax satisfied by regarding *durare* and *videre* as nominatives, and by supplying (mentally, of course) the substantive verb? In the commentary historical and archæological points are treated with unusual fulness, while comparatively slight attention is given to elementary grammatical details. This is certainly a change in the right direction. Whoever needs the many references to the various grammars and the copious translations in the editions above referred to is not yet ready to read Tacitus with much profit or enjoyment. As illustrating the editor's excellent work, we refer to his note on Mons Graupius, chapter xxix., and to his clear version of the somewhat tangled battle-piece in chapters xxxv. and xxxvi.

A minor feature which we have noticed in no other edition is the doing away with the wide typographical spacing which often rudely separates closely-connected chapters. Of course, the division into chapters at all is a modern and often misleading device. Here it is pleasing to the eye that such wholes as the harangue of Calgacus and the apostrophe to Agricola are kept together. The mechanical part of the book is in excellent taste, and the proof-reading seems to have been done with unusual care. On page 3 *flores* should be *floreres*. We trust that Professor Allen will speedily carry out his intention of editing the 'Germania,' and that these two treatises, unlike though they are in themselves and requiring very different editorial treatment, may for convenience' sake appear as a single volume.

Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Coins in the Numismatic Collection of Yale College. By Jonathan Edwards, M.D., Curator of the Collection. (New Haven. 1880.)—We heartily congratulate Yale College on having formed the nucleus of what we hope may become in time one of the important coin cabinets of the world. From a résumé of the history of the numismatic collection now at Yale, published under the supervision of the late Henry Champion, in 1863, and reprinted in the catalogue before us, we learn that for many years previous to 1860 there were a few coins belonging to Yale College deposited in Trumbull Gallery in glass cases with little attempt at order or arrangement. "The gem of that cabinet, as well as of the present, is the New England threepence. For a long time supposed to be unique, its value is not lessened by the recent discovery of a similar piece in Boston, which puts the genuineness of the issue beyond a doubt." In 1854 Mr. Thomas H. Johns, of Canandaigua, N. Y., left by will a sum of money to Yale College, the corporation consenting, however, to take over as part payment a collection of between seven and eight hundred miscellaneous coins. A better location being thought desirable, the collection was moved to the college library. In 1860 the collection was arranged by Mr. F. P. Brewer, and at first increased rapidly from contributions. The catalogue first published was a general one of the whole collection, and described 2,402 specimens. This was followed about two years later by a supplement of four pages, prepared by Prof. Brewer, giving a list of the additions made to the ancient coins in the collection between August, 1863, and February, 1865.

The present publication describes the Greek and Roman coins now in possession of the college, making a total of 3,328, and we refer numismatists to the tabulated statements showing the increase of the collection given at page iv. Eckhel's system has been adopted in the arrangement of the Greek coins; in this arrangement the "Greek Imperial" have been included. "Of specimens of the coinage of the early Romans the collection is lamentably deficient, but 82 different Roman families and 175 emperors and empresses are more or less fully represented. The arrangement of the imperial series, in a chronological sequence under the various emperors by whom the coins were issued, is the ordinary method and the one used in this catalogue." We perfectly agree with Dr. Edwards as to this system being preferable to the classification under mint-marks, a system which ought never to be adopted excepting in specimen cases set aside for special study. In the list of authorities mentioned we are surprised not to find the names of either Mionnet or Marsden. An edition of the latter author, re-edited by Mr. E. Thomas, which has recently appeared in London, would prove a valuable addition to the college numismatic library, the "Numismata Orientalia" having never been laid before the public in a better or more valuable shape than in the present edition. We regret also to see that many of the coins mentioned are illegible. These scarcely deserve a place in any catalogue, the most valuable information being naturally that found in the legend. Should Dr. Edwards at any time be called upon to issue another edition of this catalogue, we would strongly recommend to his notice the advisability of adopting one form of nomenclature. The confusion of the names of the Greek with those of the

Roman mythology detracts seriously from the merit of this catalogue. We read, for instance, on the coins of Heraclea, "Obv., Head of Pallas. Rev., Hercules kneeling and strangling a lion." In this case the adoption of Heraklês seems self-imposed. On a coin of Hiero we find one catalogued as bearing the head of Zeus; another the head of Neptune. This inconsistency would have been avoided by reference to the exemplary catalogues and handbooks published by order of the Trustees of the British Museum under the supervision of Messrs. Stuart Poole and Barclay Head. The coin of Cleopatra with the head of Marcus Antonius should not have been classified among the coins of Egypt, but among the so-called family coins, and we refer Dr. Edwards for the classification of the series of the Ptolemies to the later works of Messrs. Poole, in England, and Feuardent, in Paris, on this branch of numismatics.

Following the arrangement of Cohen, Madden, and other writers, the Roman coins have been catalogued in chronological sequence. That this collection might be largely added to may be seen at a glance, but it is interesting from its iconographical value. Here it would be well to call the attention of young numismatists to Cohen's note ('Monnaies Romaines,' vol. iii., 512) on the readings of the title Antoninus on the coins of Antoninus Pius, Caracalla, and Elagabalus, and the best method of distinguishing these emperors. The arrangement of the so-called family coins is that adopted by Cohen, and may be considered on the whole the most useful, though the late M. de Salis attempted a chronological arrangement which, unfortunately for the scientific world, he was unable to complete. Cæsar was the first person permitted to engrave his portrait on the current gold and silver coinage, and this example was followed by many others, as may be seen from the coins of Sextus Pompeius. From the time of Augustus it became the exclusive right of the emperors to coin silver and gold; the Senate retaining the right of coining copper, which is usually found marked S. C. This right lasted till the time of Gallienus (A.D. 253–268), when the right of coining became the exclusive privilege of the emperors. As, however, the magnitude of the Empire demanded more than one mint, we find various mint-marks stamped on the exergue of the reverse of the coins, a list of which may be found on p. 235 of this catalogue. To give some idea of the number of mints, we find coins of Maximian Hercules, bearing on the obverse the legend IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG, struck at Alexandria, Antioch, Aquileia, Carthage, Cyzicus, Gaul, Heraclea, Londinium, Lugdunum, Nicomedia, Rome, Sardica, Tarascon, and Thessalonica. Under Diocletian this vast territory was divided as follows: Gaul, Spain, and Britain were handed over to Constantius; Galerius defended the Illyrian provinces; Maximian, Italy and Africa; Diocletian, Asia, Thrace, and Egypt. The arrangement, according to mint-marks of the coinage of that time, will be valuable to students of that period of history, and the list to which we have already alluded will assist those who have not the time to study Cohen's larger work.

The Skies and Weather-Forecasts of Aratus. Translated, with notes, by E. Poste, M.A., Oriel College, Oxford. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1880. Pp. 71.)—The first half of this book is a description, much more readable and coherent than those in astronomies, of the constellations recognized by the Greeks, which are the same as ours, excepting the smaller, fainter ones and the group named Hercules. The author's style contains just enough of imagery and obscurity to add to a subject otherwise arithmetically dry the fascination of a series of easy puzzles. The second half, the "Weather-Forecasts," are valuable only as curiosities of credulous ignorance. Of the very few which present even a plausible appearance of reasonableness not a tithe are accurate; perhaps as many more are true of the eastern shore of the Atlantic but not of the western, such as "Premonitory of wind are the heaving seas," and "When he [the sun] begins to travel with the Lion boisterous north winds periodic then fall on broad ocean"; but far the largest number of the rules relate to phenomena which are as impotent to affect weather as are the coincidences of astrology to influence human lives—such as the inclination of the moon's crescent, the "changes" of the moon, and the mythical significance of the names of the constellations. It does not increase our respect for Aristotle that it was from a treatise by a disciple of his that Aratus compiled his materials.

That we have thus far been able to speak of the book without discriminating between its Greek author and its British translator is a high compliment to the transparency of the translation. So is the fact that no one would guess that it was not an original English work were it not for a few slips of taste, such as "the sphery globe," "heavenly bears" (instead of celestial), "arm-borne she-goat," and "he safeguards his own fortunes." The form is very odd. The first nine lines are plain prose; then a few metrical lines intrude (seventeen among the first fifty); and the proportion increases steadily till it becomes thirty-two out of the final fifty lines. An example will show that the needlessness of these abrupt transitions proves that the translator attached no importance to the form. We select it from the closing paragraph:

> "Set light by none of these: confirm one warning
> By a second: two pointing to one end
> Strengthen belief; a third breeds confidence.
> And count the passing season of the year
> Among the signs: comparing the forecast with the normal promise of the stars."

Of these five lines the third and fourth are regular blank-verse, and the others could easily have been moulded into the same, with great improvement to the general effect, if ingeniously done so as not to forfeit naturalness. The preface apologizes for this *mélange* with charming simplicity:

"The monosyllabic character of our language causes even a prose translation to assume more or less of iambic rhythm. A little malice prepense on the part of the translator has aided this tendency. Once courted, however, the iambus intruded more than had been designed, and has prevented the following nondescript from being styled in the title-page a prose translation."

As the habitat of a meteorologist, alone among scientists, affects his doctrines, it is pertinent to add that Aratus, though writing in Greek, was a native of Cilicia in the Levant.

Story of the Thirty-Second Regiment Massachusetts Infantry. By Colonel F. J. Parker. (Boston: C. W. Calkins & Co. 1880.)—Not much need be said of this book. It is rather more readable than most regimental histories, but it contains very little valuable information. It is written throughout in the first person plural, and this gives it an air which hardly belongs to an account compiled by an officer whose connection with the regiment, as with the army, ended in the second year of the war. How far the memory of the author may be trusted is doubtful. He says that when the last hope of junction with McDowell had disappeared, McClellan "hastened to abandon the Pamunkey for the broader and safer James. The movement was actually in progress when Johnston attacked what was already the rear of McClellan's column." This is an astonishing mass of errors; for, not to mention the substitution of Johnston's name for Lee's, McClellan was not hastening to abandon the Pamunkey, but was almost in the act of attacking the Confederate army before Richmond, when the blow came. Of course the movement (of abandonment) was not in progress, and Lee (not Johnston) did not attack the rear of our column, but the right of our line, in position under Porter. It is incomprehensible that a Massachusetts colonel should give such an account of the battle of Gaines's Mills, especially at this late day.

If the book were important enough, there would need to be something said of the author's very singular treatment of his brave successor in command, Colonel Prescott: but the members of the regiment and their friends probably know the comparative merits of the two men, and as for other readers, the fair fame of the soldier killed in action, sixteen years ago, will not suffer from the silence or the slurring mention of an officer who left the service at the close of 1862, without (so far as appears) being either wounded or ill.

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For the purpose of preparing for a special meeting of the stockholders to be held at Portland, Oregon, October 20 (of which special notice will be given by circular-letter to stockholders), the transfer-books will be closed from September 28 until November 5.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1880.

The Week.

THE October elections, at the present writing, appear to have resulted favorably for the Republicans in the main. In Ohio, at all events, their success has been nearly complete, the State ticket having received a plurality which has been estimated at 25,000, but will probably turn out about 10,000. Quite as important as this increase is the gain of Congressmen, the present delegation standing eleven Democrats to nine Republicans, and the next containing probably thirteen and possibly fifteen Republicans. From Indiana there is no definite intelligence as yet. Both sides claim the election of their candidates for governor, the Republicans that of Porter by about 1,000 plurality, and the Democrats that of Landers by 2,000 or 3,000. Such "claims," it is obvious, amount to nothing, and are simply biassed views of probabilities. It is possible that Landers, who suited exactly neither the Greenbackers, for whose votes he was nominated, nor the hard-money Democrats, may have been beaten and the remainder of the Democratic State ticket elected. It should be remembered that in 1876 the Republicans were at first confident of a victory, which the Democrats indeed conceded, but that the ticket of the latter proved to have some 5,000 odd majority. The canvassing machinery this year is in Democratic hands, and wary Republicans already pronounce exultation premature. The Democrats claim the Legislature, which elects a successor to Senator McDonald, a majority of the Congressional delegation, and the defeat of De La Matyr. There is no indicative news from West Virginia, but of course none is needed.

The result is nevertheless unexpected, though it is, of course, not to be considered final, and, in spite of the value attached to "moral effect"—an influence which everybody believes to be potent in the case of everybody else, but impotent in his own—the Presidential contest is still to be decided. The size of the majority in Ohio, however, shows that the "drift" of opinion is as clearly in favor of the Republicans as in October four years ago it was in favor of the Democrats. If it turns out that they have carried Indiana too, it is fair to presume either that there is no "desire for a change," or that the "business men" who control the doubtful States are powerful enough to prevent its expression, which, of course, amounts to the same thing, so far as the result is concerned. It is also plain that the Maine election was a "straw" of no service whatever, and that the West, being in a different material condition, looks upon the party now in power with complacent toleration at the least. Furthermore, the result bears witness to the wisdom of the abandonment of the plan of campaign mapped out at the Fifth Avenue Conference last summer and the substitution of even the parody of economic discussion for denunciation of the Solid South. Such "statisticians" as Senator Conkling are not especially convincing, but when they treat historical and administrative questions they make discussion possible; and if, as now seems not unlikely, the Republicans should regain the lower House of Congress, the final elimination of the "war issues" may be brought about quite as effectually as by the election of General Hancock.

The quiet with which the elections were everywhere conducted puts the terrible stories about the importation of ruffians from Eastern slums in a rather ridiculous light. Very few repeaters were arrested, and these seem to have been distributed between the parties with commendable impartiality. So far as appears there was no concerted attack upon peaceful citizens attempting to vote by Gorham's troop of red-shirted villains, five hundred strong, and we are compelled to believe their enrollment was originally a fiction of a feverish imagination. The size of the vote in both States was unusually large, and in South Carolina would, of course, afford just grounds for suspicion of wholesale frauds. The Democrats made comparatively little effort in Ohio, where, we believe, they conducted the "still-hunt" that Mr. Tilden's candidacy brought into such popular repute, but there was probably never such a campaign as that just closed in Indiana, where the entire population of the State seem to have given themselves up to the noisiest and most excited kind of political demonstrations for weeks. We suppose that "October elections" in Presidential years are as productive to the States in which they are held as the establishment of a dozen new manufactories or the opening of a trunk-line of railroad, but from the point of view of healthful politics it would be an excellent thing if those that have just taken place should be the last.

On Friday last the *World* published the full text of the correspondence which led to General Hancock's retirement from the command at New Orleans under the Reconstruction Acts in the month of February, 1868. The *Times*, which had been the first of the city press to publish the Grant-Fowler interview, had already said, editorially, that the statements in that interview relating to the removal of the Governor and Levee Commissioners by General Sheridan and their attempted reinstatement by General Hancock were not sustained by the public records. The main point in General Grant's statement, as given by Mr. Fowler and not materially changed in the subsequent interview, published in the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, was that General Sheridan had removed certain officers who were about to perpetrate a great fraud on the people of Louisiana by the issue or hypothecation of levee-bonds and had appointed others in their stead, that Hancock removed Sheridan's appointees and was ordered by himself (Grant) to suspend the orders of removal, whereupon he (Hancock) asked to be relieved. This, we say, was the main point in the statement, for it was the only thing that had any moral bearing upon General Hancock—making him the tool and instrument, knowingly or otherwise, of an intended fraud upon the taxpayers of Louisiana. The remainder of the interview contained nothing but General Grant's surmises as to General Hancock's schemes for the Presidency, couched in language better suited to the horse-play of Barney Biglin and Henry D. Purroy than to grave discussion of important public matters, as, for instance: "At the Democratic Convention of that year (1864) he got a vote, and from that time he had the Presidential bee in his bonnet; when I met him afterwards his smile was so broad that you could almost see it when his back was turned."

The official correspondence as published by the *World*, far from showing any removal of General Sheridan's appointees, exhibits General Hancock as punishing or attempting to punish the Board of Aldermen of the city of New Orleans for the offence of disobeying one of Sheridan's orders. Sheridan had ordered, under date March 28, 1867, that no elections should be held for State, parish, municipal, or judicial officers until the provisions of the reconstruction acts should have been complied with. On the 28th of January, 1868, General Hancock learned that the Board of Aldermen were about to elect a recorder of the second district of New Orleans, an officer falling within Sheridan's prohibition as he understood it. In an official communication he called the attention of the mayor to the prohibition, and the mayor presented the communication to the aldermen, who nevertheless voted by a majority of one to go on with the election of a recorder; but before voting for the recorder two members retired from the room and left the body without a quorum. General Hancock thereupon removed the majority from office "for contempt of the orders of the district commander" and appointed others to take their places. General Grant directed him to suspend the order of removal, and he replied in the long telegrams which cost so much money. Eventually General Grant directed him to reinstate the removed aldermen, which he did and on the same day asked to be relieved from the command, on the ground that he could no longer be useful there. This is the whole of it, and the case of the Fowler interview may now be considered closed, with

the addition that a *Herald* interviewer has learned from a high army officer that General Hancock received no vote whatever at the Democratic convention of 1864, and therefore did not get the Presidential bee in his bonnet at that time. We have to repeat that this episode in General Grant's career is a very painful one, because, owing to the conspicuous places he has filled, his fame has become to a certain extent identified with that of the country, which thus suffers from the steady process of degradation which he has been long undergoing at the hands of his political supporters. His appearance as a loose and reckless campaign story-teller is the longest step downward he has yet made.

Mr. Edwards Pierrepont, in an address at the Cooper Union, was so indiscreet as to take up this report of General Grant's Fowler interview, apparently without enquiry, and quote its very unbecoming attack on General Hancock, as "ambitious, vain, and weak," as words of wisdom. But his indiscretion did not end here. He informed the mob of New York that "it only needed a resolute leader of the populace, with courage in his heart and brains under his hat, to make the rich men very uncomfortable." This was by way of recommending "strong" or Bonapartist government, which is what all the Grant admirers really desire. But, bad as it was, it was not quite as bad as the respectful quotation of the following extraordinary language of General Grant's in this same Fowler interview, or rather the corrected edition of it. "If General Hancock should be elected," he said, "the North would submit quietly and watch closely. As soon as things begun to go wrong every Northern legislature would be convened and compel their representatives to resign or resist the Solid South." In General Grant's mouth this is the talk of a man who must be charitably supposed not to know his own meaning; but its adoption by an elderly Republican lawyer and politician, at a public meeting called to protest against the alleged secessionist, anarchical, and State-rights tendencies of the South, is certainly extraordinary. Suppose a Southern politician were to call on the State legislatures to meet when they thought "things were going wrong" in Washington and recall the members of Congress, what name should we give their action?

The Republicans have during the last week produced a "story" about Mr. English which appears to be genuine and will hold water. It seems that his grandmother was the widow of a Revolutionary officer, and thus became entitled to about $4,000 as arrears of pension, but died in 1843 without claiming it, leaving six heirs besides Mr. English himself. He became soon after a clerk in the Treasury Department, and while there discovered his grandmother's claim, went out to Indiana and obtained letters of administration in the wrong county, without notice to the other heirs, and drew the entire sum and kept it to himself. The heirs, however, two years later, found him out and claimed the money, but he refused to pay it over, pleading insolvency. They then applied to the Government for it, on the ground that the payment to their slippery cousin was not a legal payment, as he was not entitled to receive it and the amount was still due to them. This brought the transaction under the notice of William L. Marcy, who was then Secretary of War, and Isaac Toucey, who was then Attorney-General, and their letters and opinions seem to place it beyond doubt that it was a fraudulent one. There seems to be some question as to whether Mr. English has since settled with the heirs, but two of them at least were last month in pursuit of him on this account, and their letters make useful campaign documents. The comfort the Republicans are deriving from this affair is very great, as it helps to ease their minds about the Crédit Mobilier and De Golyer matters.

The Republican torchlight procession on Monday night was a great success, as far as numbers and enthusiasm go to make success. About the numbers in line there is a nearer approach than usual to concurrence in the estimate of the various daily papers, though probably no estimate is of much value. The *Herald* gives 52,000; the *Times*, 60,000; the *Tribune* between 40,000 and 50,000. The *World*, however, cruelly cuts it down to 20,000, and supplies statistics intended to show that of these only 10,000 were legal voters of this city. The *Sun* magnanimously makes it 30,000. There is thus a difference of 40,000 between the highest and lowest calculation, through which the imagination of the country reader is free to roam. There was much music and cheering, but little illumination. The marching, too, was excellent, and it was whispered about that most of the marchers were substantial business men. General Grant reviewed the procession from a platform in Union Square, and it must be said that he drew most of the triumph and honor of the occasion, leaving little or none for General Garfield. In fact, it was impossible to conceal or disguise the fact that the demonstration celebrated, more than aught else, the victory of the Third Term men over Garfield, and was a formal announcement of the intention to put their candidate in the field again in 1884. General Garfield's surrender to them in his letter of acceptance naturally prepared the way for this, and it is instructive to see how little it has done to abate the insolence of their attitude towards him. Meanwhile, General Grant has thrown aside all the old pretence of modesty or reluctance to serve, and now travels about somewhat in the character of a permanent candidate.

Superintendent Walker accounts for the "extraordinary gains" which the South Carolina census shows by discrediting the census of 1870, which he does with every appearance of reasonableness. It was taken, he says, under the defective law of 1850, besides which "peculiar difficulties" attended the Southern enumeration owing to the disturbed state of the country then recently in rebellion, and to the "supposed necessity" of appointing negro enumerators, who naturally exercised as little intelligence as they probably did industry in the discharge of a function for which their pay was assured in advance. General Walker's language is less pointed in deference, doubtless, to the verbal etiquette of official reports, but this is the gist of what he says. On the other hand, the present census he affirms to be trustworthy for the reason that it could not have erred through negligence or in any way except by positive fraud, and that there are found, after strict investigation, no traces of any fraud whatsoever. The lists returned to the census-office were submitted to the examination of United States officials, or of citizens vouched for by the United States Marshal or Internal Revenue Collector of the district, and, in all but two of the doubtful cases, members of the Republican party. The General concludes his report by urging various statistical confirmations of the results of his investigation, and saying that not only is there neither proof nor presumption of fraud, but proof and a strong counter-presumption of accuracy in the present enumeration. This, we imagine, is the conclusion to which most people familiar with the management of the census of 1880, and of analogous measures of all sorts in the South just after the reconstruction period, had already come. It disposes of another "campaign story."

A convention of shipowners has been sitting in Boston during the week, and has had some interesting discussion of the free-ship question. There was more support for the free-ship policy than might have been expected, but the remission of taxation on ships and shipping materials and stores, or a bounty to vessels engaged in the foreign trade, seemed to find most favor. A resolution was finally adopted asking for a bounty of so much per ton per year, both for sailing and steam ships engaged in the foreign trade, and not over fifteen years old. This is certainly the shortest and most complete remedy for the scarcity of American ships. If the bounty be only made large enough the ocean will soon be covered with them. Captain Osborn, of New York, who was strongly opposed to free ships, called attention to the influence of "British gold" on this subject, alleging that this agency was very freely used in creating opinion favorable to the free-ship doctrine. This, of course, means that it is used to subsidize the press and pay public speakers. Considering how long British gold has been at work on the public opinion of the United States—fully one hundred years—it is marvellous that the recipients of it have never been detected and exposed. No better illustration of the perfection of the corruption machinery both of the British Government and traders could be offered. We doubt very much, however, whether the perpetuation of these de-

grading practices will be possible in view of the rapidly-increasing detective powers of the press. Quy—Is there no way of finding out in England how much gold goes abroad annually for the seduction of foreign journalists and statesmen? The drain on the vaults of the Bank of England alone must form a very important item in the specie exportation account, because we believe the money for this purpose is always sent in coin, and never by draft, and is delivered in a bag.

The Democrats have made two attempts within the past week to resist the jurisdiction hitherto assumed by "Johnny" Davenport over naturalization papers presented by applicants for registration. The first of these was in the case of one Walsh, who applied to be registered on the 5th of this month. His papers bore date September, 1868, and the State inspector, under the advice of a supervisor, Hilt, refused the application. Hilt then refused to return the certificate, and Walsh made an application to the United States Circuit Court for his arrest, under the provision of the Revised Statutes "that every person who by any unlawful means hinders, delays, prevents, or obstructs, or combines or confederates with others to hinder, delay, prevent, or obstruct, any citizen from doing any act required to be done to qualify him to vote, or from voting at any election in any State," shall be liable to fine and imprisonment. Judge Blatchford decided that no warrant could issue, on the ground that the refusal to permit Walsh to register was the refusal of the *inspector*, that Hilt had nothing to do with this, that his retaining the certificate was no obstruction, and was not covered by the provision of the Revised Statutes above quoted. On Monday an application was made before Judges Blatchford and Choate for the removal of Davenport from the office of chief supervisor, on the ground of unfitness for the position as shown by his instructions to the supervisors. The judges both thought that these instructions did not of themselves show unfitness, and consequently refused to entertain the application. In the course of their opinion, however, they gave Mr. Davenport some very wholesome advice on the subject of retaining certificates assumed by him to have been fraudulently issued. They regard his instructions on this point as "tending to a breach of the peace and totally unauthorized."

Few people will question the soundness of the second decision. The first seems more open to criticism. If taking a man's papers from him by a supervisor is "totally unauthorized," *i.e.*, illegal, it is difficult to see why it is not an illegal act which very effectually obstructs the applicant in his attempt to exercise the right of suffrage. As to Mr. Davenport's unfitness for his position, the lawyers who endeavored to have him removed do not appear to have gone to the root of the matter. His instructions may or may not be right, but the true reason for his removal is his notoriously partisan character. The office which he administers is a judicial one, requiring for the proper discharge of its duties an even temper and a fair mind. "Little Johnny" Davenport, as he is called, is a party "worker" with no pretence to either. It was, in fact, by being a partisan that he got the office. He has done a great deal to prevent electoral frauds in New York, but he has not done it in such a manner as to make opponents believe in his impartiality. Mr. F. R. Coudert, who was, we believe, one of the counsel in the removal case, advises all voters to yield to any supervisor's demands and not attempt resistance; to give up his naturalization papers, or his watch, or anything else that may be demanded. This is sound advice. The efforts of Democrats to "resist tyranny" and to make a bold stand for "liberty" hugely delight Davenport, and to fill a "cage" with them on election day and hear them groan and whine about their "rights" and discharge them when the voting is over is his greatest pleasure.

About three and a quarter millions of foreign gold arrived here during the week, making the total receipts of foreign specie this year $36,770,000 against $47,855,000 during the corresponding time in 1879; since August 1 the arrivals this year are $31,600,000 against $41,700,000 last year. The foreign exchange market was a little firmer at the close of the week on account of the slow movement of grain and cotton, and at the rates then ruling there was no profit in importing gold; but as the reasons for this check in gold imports are temporary they caused no anxiety respecting the money market, which continues extremely "easy" for borrowers at almost midsummer rates. The New York banks lost only $31,350 in surplus reserve last week, and their surplus is now about four times as large as it was a year ago. At the Stock and other Exchanges, as well as in trade generally, business was restricted during the week by the attention given to political affairs, partisan feeling having run about as high as ever known. There were no important changes in the foreign financial markets except a large reduction (5¾ per cent.) in the Bank of England reserve, but this is, at the reduced figures, 45 per cent. of liabilities. The price of silver bullion remains tolerably steady, and the bullion value of the "buzzard dollar" at the close of the week was $0.8739.

The Tories in England have been watching eagerly for weeks for the break-down of the "European concert" before Dulcigno. Anything that would discredit Gladstone would have been delightful to them. They liked a vigorous foreign policy when it was the Beaconsfield Ministry which was carrying it out, but in Gladstone's hands they cannot bear it. The concert certainly has borne the strain on it wonderfully well, but the English Ministry must have had many anxious moments about it during the past few weeks. A threat to bombard Dulcigno seemed as much as it was equal to, but if the Turks had stood the bombardment without surrendering and had repulsed the Montenegrins, it would have been hard to say whether the "concert" would hold out. The contingency of Turkish resistance, however, seems to have been met and disposed of by an arrangement which made England, Russia, and Italy the mandatories of the other Powers, with authority to adopt other and further means of coercion, such as the seizure of some Turkish islands, or the occupation of a Turkish port like Smyrna, and the confiscation of the revenues. There was even talk of a demonstration against Constantinople itself, but the Sultan announced that if the fleets came near him he would abdicate, and abdication would, of course, result in a general scramble for his assets. The news has now come that after another consultation with his "Cabinet" he has agreed to surrender the place without conditions, but, of course, this leaves the Greek question and the Macedonian question and the Armenian question still open, and there is no doubt that coercion will be required for them all.

There is no change in the Irish difficulty which is worth much notice. Mr. Parnell has produced a fresh development of his plan of operations, which is to agitate vigorously during the winter in order to force the Government to make his promised land bill of next session adequate to the emergency; but apparently it will not be easy for the Government to satisfy him on this point, for what he proposes is the purchase of the landlords' interest by the Government for the benefit of the tenants, who are thus to get their land in fee for nothing. If this is not done he recommends a general strike against rent-paying, and promises that if the 500,000 tenant-farmers strike the landlords will be powerless, and the Government will be unable to help them with any military or police force at its disposal. It is quite evident from the tone of the English press that the Government is a little afraid of Parnell and his scheme, and are at a loss for a reply to him. The *Spectator* has nothing better to promise, in case his plan should be carried out, than that the Government will wait, support the landlords, and let the arrears of rent accumulate until, apparently, the tenants get sorry and pay up, which does not seem a very terrible programme. Mr. Molinari, a Belgian economist of note, has visited Ireland and examined and reported on the situation. He tells pretty much the same story as all the economists. He thinks whatever the Government does in Ireland well done, the taxation very light, and the continuance of English rule an essential condition of prosperity. But he is satisfied that small farmers cannot make a living in Ireland—they might if they had, which they have not, the thrifty habits of the Belgians—and thinks it will be a good thing when they are extinct. At "Home Rule" he scoffs. He has published his observations in the *Débats*. Nothing is more striking in the present Irish crisis than the absence of all sympathy from France.

THE SILVER QUESTION IN THE CAMPAIGN.

THE tariff question has acquired a degree of prominence in the later weeks of the campaign almost overshadowing the Southern question, and, although very little intelligence has been brought into the discussion of it (except in the speech of Mr. Abram S. Hewitt at Trenton), it is an encouraging sign of the times to find politicians compelled to take cognizance of economic questions on the stump. Some little attention has been given to the matter of legal-tender notes, but scarcely any to silver, the speakers on both sides having generally agreed to ignore it by using the convenient phrase "coin" to distinguish a sound from an unsound medium of exchange. The problem thus sought to be shuffled out of sight is, nevertheless, the one that most engages the thoughts and excites the apprehensions of business men. The Republicans have an undoubted advantage in dealing with it, and now that the Indiana election is disposed of there is an opportunity for them to give it its due weight and prominence in the remainder of the canvass.

According to late reports from Washington there have been coined under the operation of the two-millions-per-month law sixty-eight millions of silver dollars, of which forty-seven millions remain in the Treasury. At the present moment there is a demand for silver dollars about equal to the monthly coinage. This demand is in consequence of an insufficient supply of small notes, and will be soon satisfied, after which the enforced product of the mint will again accumulate in the Treasury vaults. If the coinage were limited to the demand for silver —as it must certainly be after more or less suffering—no great harm could arise from the existing stock. The United States are rich enough to "carry" sixty-eight millions of silver, and that number of dollars might be permanently absorbed in the circulation by retiring all the small notes not absolutely needed for petty remittances. It is the continued mandatory coinage of two millions per month that constitutes the danger to public and private business, and compels prudent men to enquire which political party is most likely to put a stop to such folly before the mischief becomes irreparable.

The Silver Bill was passed over the President's veto February 28, 1878, by the votes (taking House and Senate together) of 93 Republicans and 149 Democrats in the affirmative against 59 Republicans and 32 Democrats in the negative, General Garfield voting in the negative. December 9, 1878, Mr. Durham, of Kentucky, introduced a bill to require the Secretary of the Treasury to receive the existing trade-dollars at par and recoin them into standard silver dollars—in other words, to buy silver bullion from China at six or eight per cent. above its true value as measured by either the gold or silver bullion of the United States. On this bill the yeas were 48 Republicans and 105 Democrats, the nays 71 Republicans and 20 Democrats, General Garfield voting in the negative. The bill did not reach the Senate. On the same day Mr. Fort, of Illinois, introduced a resolution declaring that the refusal of any national bank to receive silver dollars on deposit "shall be deemed a defiance of the laws of the United States." On this ridiculous proposition the yeas were 40 Republicans and 111 Democrats, the nays 73 Republicans and 16 Democrats, General Garfield voting in the negative. February 7, 1879, Mr. Brewer, of Michigan, proposed as an amendment to a pending bill that the Secretary of the Treasury be required to exchange greenbacks for silver dollars on the request of any holder of the latter. It was moved to lay the amendment on the table, and on this question the yeas were 104 Republicans and 25 Democrats, the nays 14 Republicans and 91 Democrats, General Garfield voting in the affirmative. June 27, 1879, Senator Vest, of Missouri, offered a joint resolution in favor of the full remonetization of silver and its free coinage by the mints of the United States. Senator Allison, of Iowa, moved to refer it to the Committee on Finance, on which motion the yeas were 19 Republicans and 4 Democrats, the nays 21 Democrats and Senator Davis, of Illinois. April 5, 1880, Mr. Weaver, of Iowa, offered a resolution requiring among other things that the mints of the United States be worked to their full capacity in the coinage of standard silver dollars to enable the Government to meet that portion of its bonded debt which shall become redeemable in the year 1881 and prior thereto. On this resolution the yeas were 1 Republican (Belford, of Colorado), 9 Greenbackers, and 75 Democrats, the nays 92 Republicans, 1 Greenbacker, and 24 Democrats, General Garfield voting in the negative.

These are all the votes taken in Congress, or in either branch thereof, since the President's veto of the Silver Bill, which can be considered important to an understanding of party divisions on the question. They show that while the Republicans were badly demoralized in the early stages of the controversy (sixty-two per cent. of them voting with eighty-three per cent. of the Democrats to pass the bill over the veto), they have to a large extent recovered their senses, while no improvement whatever has been shown by the Democrats. The latter mustered twenty-two votes in the House against the Silver Bill, and fourteen months later they cast only twenty-four votes against the Weaver resolution, which was a much more objectionable measure. They furnished nine votes in the Senate against the Silver Bill, and only four against the subsequent motion of Senator Vest, which was a much more dangerous proposition. It will be noted that the only Republican who voted for the Weaver resolution was one whose constituents are mainly producers of silver.

The inference to be drawn from this record is, that if either political party may be expected to put a stop to the enforced coinage of silver dollars before disaster ensues, it is the Republican and not the Democratic party which is to be trusted with that undertaking, and that of the two candidates for President we know that General Garfield has been right in every instance, while of his competitor we know nothing in this regard. It is not likely that the Republican party will take the responsibility of coining silver dollars at the rate of two millions per month, or at all, after the Treasury shall have been stocked with say one hundred millions. It is not likely that the Republican party will require the Secretary of the Treasury to force silver upon public creditors who do not want it, or take measures to punish banks which refuse to receive silver on deposit on the same terms with gold. What the Democratic party is likely to do if it has the power can be best deduced from what it has already done or attempted to do.

In the natural course of things, the Silver Bill continuing in force, the Treasury will become gorged with "buzzard dollars" to such an extent that there will be a popular agitation respecting the use to be made of them. The demagogues will demand that they be paid out to the bondholders and other public creditors. At present the Treasury officers draw checks on the depositaries (and principally on the Sub-Treasury in New York) for all payments to public creditors, including those entitled to interest on United States bonds. These checks pass through clearing-houses like other checks, and the balances are settled between the Treasury and the Clearing-house in the same way as between any bank and the Clearing-house. The essence of the matter is that nobody, whether bondholder, mail contractor, or what not, having claims against the Government is obliged to take any particular sort of money against his wishes. He deposits in his own bank the check he has received from the Treasury, the amount is credited in his bank-book, and to him that is the end of it. The agitation, inevitable when the Treasury becomes gorged with silver dollars, will be to compel the public creditors to receive and carry off silver—to receive it at par and carry it off at their own expense. The banks at the two principal financial centres having refused to receive it on deposit (except where the depositors agree to receive it back in payment of checks), and all the banks being driven eventually to refuse it, except upon the same conditions, the relations of the Treasury and the clearing-houses will become involved in the controversy, since nothing but bankable funds can be received at the Clearing-house. The silver fanatics, although not remarkably perspicacious, have already discerned the point of attack. During the recent session of Congress they raised an outcry against the Treasury's connection with the New York Clearing-house, alleging that this connection is part of the Secretary's "unfriendliness" to silver, instead of merely a means for adjusting the vast financial transactions of the Government in the most expeditious and economical manner.

Akin to this agitation, and a necessary part of it, will be the strife against the banks themselves for alleged violation of the law in refusing to receive silver on deposit on the same terms with gold. No formal action has been taken on this subject by the banks outside of New York and Boston, but it is not probable that any solvent bank in the United States would receive ten thousand silver dollars in a single deposit with-

out some understanding with the depositor that he should take it back in payment of his checks, and this is the sole offence of the New York and Boston banks. So long as the silver coinage outstanding is small, and so long as the bulk of it is warehoused in the Treasury, no practical difficulty will arise; but whenever it becomes excessive in the circulation, or whenever its mass in the Treasury is large enough to be an object of popular apprehension, and therefore an inviting theme for demagogues, we may expect the war against the banks to be resumed for the ostensible purpose of compelling them to receive two articles differing in value twelve or thirteen per cent. as of the same value, their customers, the public, being allowed to demand from them silver or gold at their option. Such a demand upon the banks is really a demand that they alone, of the whole community, shall *not* be allowed to discriminate against silver. Everybody else may discriminate by declining to receive silver in payment of checks, or objecting when tendered to them, but the banks shall not be allowed to refuse it or make difficulties about it when tendered to them.

To break down the clearing-house system, so far as the Treasury is concerned, is the first step toward paying the bondholders in silver and getting silver into circulation in sufficient quantities to change the monetary standard from gold to silver, and make the latter, instead of the former, "money of account." It will be no easy task to accomplish this, the laws of commerce run so counter to it; but if it can be done, either by coercing the Secretary of the Treasury or frightening the banks, the significance of the change will be very great to that portion of the community who have laid up something against a rainy day. All bank deposits, savings and other, will become silver instead of gold deposits. That is, they will fall in value about thirteen per cent. Annuities, life-insurance policies, and all fixed incomes not specifically payable in gold will decline in the same ratio. The savings deposits in the State of New York alone amount to more than six hundred million dollars, and the number of depositors is about nine hundred thousand, which is about the number of voters in the State, of both political parties. Probably one-half or more of these are women and minors; but the number who are voters, and who will one day, if not now, understand the significance to them of such a change is sufficient, not merely to defeat, but to annihilate any political party in New York.

It behooves these and all others who are interested in maintaining the existing value of their savings to give heed to the antecedents and composition of political parties in the present canvass. We have shown what votes have been given by them in Congress. The conclusion is irresistible that, as regards this question, the Republican party is the safer of the two, and, if not wholly trustworthy, is much more so than its antagonist, while the course of General Garfield himself has left nothing to be desired.

THE TARIFF DIFFICULTY OF THE DEMOCRATS.

THE canvass, as might have been expected, has tended more and more from the beginning towards a simple comparison of the character and history of the two parties. The Republicans started off in the beginning with the "Solid South" cry, but without any "outrages." Without outrages, however, the "Solid South" is a little tiresome, and when the Maine election came it was found that it had lost its power to arouse Northern voters. A prompt change of tactics was then made, and the policy of "scaring the business men" was adopted, by predicting the probable course of the Democrats with regard to the "Southern claims" and the tariff. The Southern claims were disposed of by General Hancock's letter, and then there was nothing for it but to bring the tariff to the forefront of the battle, and this we believe has been done somewhat effectively in Indiana and Ohio, partly, if not mainly, owing to the Democratic want of preparation for this sort of assault. There is something very amusing and very characteristic about this want of preparation. The phrase "a tariff for revenue" was inserted in the Democratic platform apparently as a mere phrase intended to describe an article which was not kept in stock at the Republican store, but to which really no definite meaning was attached by the Democratic politicians, and which none of them was prepared either to explain or defend. The Republican attack on it, therefore, took them quite by surprise, both because of its suddenness and because of its simplicity. Far from taking the form of an abstruse economical argument, it consisted in the plain assertion, made to the workingmen, that a tariff for revenue meant the shutting up of all the furnaces, iron-mills, and factories in the country, and the reduction of the American artisans to hopeless destitution. The Democrats could not believe that a revenue tariff was really as bad a thing as this, but they were not ready to deny it with any appearance of intelligence, and had not even prepared General Hancock for any troublesome questions which might be asked him on this subject. Accordingly, when he was overtaken by a New Jersey interviewer, who wished to know what the effect of his election on the tariff would be, he was compelled to answer that "the tariff question would not affect the manufacturing interests of the country in the least," and that "his election could make no difference either one way or the other." He further added that the manufacturing classes "will have just as much protection under a Democratic administration as under a Republican one"; and, further, that the "tariff is a local affair," which is probably the darkest saying which has come from any one in the present canvass. The other oracles of the party are equally puzzled by the tariff question, and probably most of them wish heartily they had never mentioned it in the platform. The Republicans are, of course, delighted to find that they have lighted upon such a strong position and have been fortifying it with appropriate "stories," one of which is that the Cobden Club has sent over $5,000,000 in gold, in five bags, to be used in promoting Hancock's election, not knowing, of course, that his election will not affect the tariff in the least. If he had been consulted he could have told them that they were going to throw their money away. In fact the tariff is to the Republicans what Plevna was to Osman Pasha. When Osman first occupied Plevna he had not, it has been ascertained, the smallest idea of staying there or of doing anything in the place beyond having a street-fight with the Russian advance-guard. But the fight having ended successfully, he then threw up works and determined to save the Turkish Empire on that spot, and came near doing it. The Democrats, on the other hand, are probably thoroughly disgusted with themselves by this time for having said anything about a tariff for revenue, considering that for most of them a tariff for protection would do just as well, and that they could defend and explain the one just as lucidly and successfully as the other. They would have done much better not to mention the tariff at all, or to proclaim their indifference to all tariffs, or, like Horace Greeley's Convention, to relegate the whole subject to "the people in the Congressional districts." It is quite plain, too, that when the Republicans began the canvass the chiefs did not know what was the exact value of the danger with which the country was threatened, and from which they were determined to save it. Their favorite danger, and the one they were most familiar with, was the Solid South; but it was seen, after the first month, that this had lost its terrors. The revenue tariff was then tried in great haste and tentatively, and it was discovered that this was the true peril against which the country needed to be put on its guard, and almost the only danger by which any considerable portion of the community could be scared. But, of course, if this had been discovered sooner much more effective use could have been made of it, and the hideousness of a revenue tariff much more fully depicted. Of the two, however, we confess we have most sympathy on this point with the Democrats. They are really innocent men, exposed, by a very thoughtless and well-meant act, to the most odious suspicions. They would undoubtedly never have mentioned a revenue tariff if they had known it was a bad thing, or that the mention of it would hurt any one's feelings.

The way in which the two parties have at last joined issue at the eleventh hour is a striking and instructive illustration of the mode by which the leaders on both sides prepare their followers for the solemn duty of voting. There is no real interest among the managers on either side in any question of the day, and their debates in the campaign are very like the battles of the Italian condottieri, which were fought under contract, and sometimes lasted a whole day without injury to life or limb. When they rush furiously at each other about the "Solid South," and the tariff, and State rights, it is in order to entertain and move the spectators and earn their pay, and not by any means to give vent to passions or convictions of their own. They are about as well prepared to fight on one subject as another. If the orator thinks the

audience would like him to groan over the fate of the poor negro hiding in the swamp, he is ready for that question; but if the audience shows signs of doubting whether the negro *is* in the swamp, the orator is ready to groan over the threatened extinction of American industry; and he can groan as deeply over the one as the other. Nor is he greatly to blame for this. He knows no more about the negro in the swamp than he knows about the tariff, and he has not time to learn anything. It is not possible to unite the functions or qualifications of statesman and "manager" in the same person. The nominating and electing machinery of the country has gradually passed into the hands of the men who have also to do the legislating and political thinking, and the result is that the legislating and political thinking are totally neglected through sheer want of time. Both parties in this canvass seem really to have gone before the people very much in the condition of two opposing lawyers, who come into court to try a case without any preparation, and beat about to find some topic with which to entertain the judge and jury and divert attention from their own shortcomings. The well-known tendency of gentlemen in this condition is to abuse each other personally, and we find a similar tendency among politicians who spend, in managing primaries and conventions, the time which should be given to the study of subjects. The "stories" about the bad character of the candidates, and the devotion of long speeches to an examination of party history, are too frequently a refuge from the discussion of the real questions with which the Government, no matter in whose hands it may be, will have to deal.

THE LATE PROFESSOR PEIRCE.

THE name of Benjamin Peirce, who died in Boston, October 6, has shed lustre upon mathematics and physics in America for many years. Born at Salem, Massachusetts, April 4, 1809, he was graduated from Harvard College at the age of twenty, and two years afterwards was appointed tutor. For forty-nine years he was directly connected with the faculty of the college. He published a series of text-books on pure mathematics, also a quarto volume on analytical mechanics, and a lithographed volume on linear and associative algebra, besides making numerous contributions to scientific periodicals, the proceedings of learned bodies, and the appendices of the United States Coast Survey Reports. The enthusiastic admiration felt towards him by his intimate friends was due to his moral as well as to his intellectual character. Making the concession that there was occasionally a touch of intolerance in his manner towards pretentious mediocrity, they would allow nothing in him to have been aught else than of the highest quality. Persons who could not understand a word of his abstruse speculations were compelled to listen to his earnest argument, and knew that his conclusions must be important and true even when they did not know what his conclusions were. Successive classes complained of him that he did not make himself plain to the ordinary understanding, that he was not a good teacher; yet they felt a potent influence from him stimulating them to higher efforts of the mind and to a nobler moral stand.

His published works are remarkable for the novelty or originality both of their lines of thought and of their methods. He was singularly direct and clear; the only obscurity which is ever found in his writings is that which arises from the omission of the simpler links in the chain of reasoning. But to a well-grounded mathematician this very brevity becomes an efficient source of perspicuity. No fog is more bewildering than verbosity, which never approached Peirce's writings. His mind moved with great rapidity, and it was with difficulty that he brought himself to write out even the briefest record of its excursions. In a mathematical society over which he presided for some years the contrast between him and the secretary, Prof. Winlock, was as noteworthy as the remarkable talent of both. The society comprised half a dozen other men of some reputation in Cambridge and Boston, who met to discuss purely mathematical topics. Each member would bring forth something novel in his own particular branch of enquiry, and in the discussion which followed it would almost invariably appear that Peirce had, while the paper was being read, pushed out the author's methods to far wider results than the author had dreamed. The same power of extending rapidly in his own mind novel mathematical researches, which ordinary men could have done only by days of labor with paper and pencil, was exhibited at the sessions of every scientific body and every chance meeting of a scientific character at which he was present. What was quite as admirable was the way in which he did it, giving the credit of the thought always to the author of the essay under discussion. His pupils thus frequently received credit for what was in reality far beyond their attainment. He robbed himself of fame in two ways: by giving the credit of his discoveries to those who had merely suggested the line of thought, and by neglecting to write out and publish what he had himself thought out.

Professor Peirce's activity of mind was by no means confined to the special topics of physics and mathematics. He was among the first to read any new and noteworthy poem or tale, to hear a new opera or oratorio; and his judgment and criticism upon such matters was keen and original. His interest in religious themes was deep, but it was in the fundamental doctrines rather than in the debates of sectarians; he was a devout believer in Christianity, but held to no established creed. The quickness of his observation of external things was as decided as was his power of abstraction. The plants and insects by the roadside he observed as a naturalist observes them. To his paper read, in 1849, before the American Association for the Advancement of Science the botanists and zoölogists are indebted for what will, we think, in the future progress of biology prove to be a great intellectual step in physics. He showed in the vegetable world the demonstrable presence of an intellectual plan: that what had been called phyllotaxis involved an algebraic idea; Mr. Chauncey Wright afterward showed that this algebraic idea was the solution of a physical problem. There the matter dropped, but it will not lie neglected for ever; and in future discussions the value of this and of sundry other of Peirce's contributions to organic morphology must be acknowledged.

The higher mathematical labors of so eminent a geometer must, of course, lie beyond the course of general recognition. Among the things which give him a just claim to this title may be mentioned his discussion of the motions of two pendulums attached to a horizontal cord; of the motions of a top; of the fluidity and tides of Saturn's ring; of the forms of fluids enclosed in extensible sacks; of the motions of a sling; of the orbits of the comet of 1843, Uranus, and Neptune; of the criteria for rejecting doubtful observations; of a new form of binary arithmetic; of systems of linear and associative algebra; of Espy's theory of storms; of various mechanical games, puzzles, etc.; of various problems in geodesy; of the lunar tables, and occultations of the Pleiades, etc., etc. When in 1846 he announced in the American Academy that Galle's discovery of Neptune in the place predicted by Le Verrier was a happy accident, the President, Edward Everett, "hoped the announcement would not be made public; nothing could be more improbable than such a coincidence." "Yes," replied Peirce, "but it would be still more strange if there were an error in my calculations"—a confident assertion which the lapse of time has vindicated. None of his labors, perhaps, lie farther above the ordinary reach of thought than his little lithographed volume on Linear and Associative Algebra. In this he discusses the nature of mathematical methods, and the characteristics which are necessary to give novelty and unity to a calculus. Then he passes to a description of seventy or eighty different kinds of simple calculus. Almost no comment is given, but the mathematical reader discovers, as he proceeds, that only three species of calculus, having each a unity in itself, have been hitherto used to any great extent—namely, ordinary algebra, differentials or fluxions, and quaternions. Whether the clinant algebra of Ellis would stand Peirce's tests we have not examined. But what a wonderful volume of prophecy that is which describes seventy or eighty species of algebra, any one of which would require generation after generation of ordinary mathematicians to develop! Besides his labors as professor at Cambridge, Peirce was always of great assistance in the *American Ephemeris*, and in the Coast Survey, of which he was for a time superintendent. The reports of that Survey and the tables of the *Ephemeris* have rapidly raised the scientific reputation of America, which, in 1843, stood in astronomy among the lowest of civilized nations, and is now among the highest, a change which was by no means ungrateful to Peirce's strongly patriotic feeling, and which he could not but know was as much due to himself as to any other person.

THE GLOUCESTER FESTIVAL AND PARRY'S "PROMETHEUS UNBOUND."

LONDON, Sept. 18, 1880.

THE festival of the three choirs that took place last week is one of the institutions that England owes to the shelter of the Church; but, unlike many others, it sprang from her poverty rather than her riches. One hundred and fifty years ago one Dr. Blisse, chancellor of the diocese of Gloucester, instituted a special cathedral service with a collection for the widows and orphans of poor clergymen, and thence in unbroken succession is derived the present festival, lasting over four whole days, and collecting performers and audience from all parts of the country. It is a truly catholic festival. Its vitality may be gathered from the programme, which, besides the never-failing "Messiah" and "Elijah," comprised every variety of music from an operatic air out of Hérold's "Pré aux Clercs," sung as only Madame Albani can sing it, up to Palestrina's "Stabat Mater," Beethoven's Mass in D, and a new and remarkable work by a living English composer, Mr. Hubert Parry's "Scenes from Shelley's 'Prometheus Unbound.'"

People have been wont to associate with the name of Palestrina music of an Æolian complexity, destitute of the stability afforded by the modern

relation of keys. The performance at Gloucester was a revelation, and wrought by little more than a redistribution of the parts and marks of expression. The credit is due to Wagner, who has edited the work as a double chorus with double quartette, disentangling rhythms and graduating phrases. The score is now accessible to all, as also that of the Beethoven Mass, which was sung unfalteringly by the chorus and by Madame Albani, with a pathos worthy of his "grösstes und gelungenstes Werk."

In spirit Mr. Parry's "Prometheus" is lineally descended from the works of Palestrina and Beethoven. In point of form it is a modification of them in so far as the dramatic aspect of the subject is united to the ideal. The choice of such a subject alone would entitle Mr. Parry to attention, even were we not already familiar with almost every form of instrumental composition from his pen. His "Second Pianoforte Sonata," published in England, and a "Grosses Duo für Zwei Claviere" and a pianoforte trio, both published by Breitkopf & Härtel, of Leipzig, together with his pianoforte concerto played here last May under Herr Richter, are as noteworthy for their independence as for their adherence to classic models. Another smaller work of his, played both in London and Cambridge, a "Fantaisie Sonata for the Violin," in one movement, but which is none the less distinctly traceable to the original dance form than any violin sonata of Beethoven, is worth citing, for it illustrates a leading characteristic of the composer, a certain coherence of form, which, in spite of a rather rough performance, is conspicuous in the present work. Mr. Parry has gathered into his libretto the central ideas of Shelley's poem, endurance under tyranny and torture, the regeneration of mankind, ideal love, spiritual sympathy and communion with nature. Prometheus, as Shelley says, "is the highest perfection of moral and intellectual nature impelled by the purest and truest motives to the best and noblest ends." It is the privilege of Mr. Parry's art, dealing as it does with series of emotions, to be independent of any other vehicle for them than sound and rhythm. Herein Mr. Parry shows himself a follower of the school whose greatest living representative is Johannes Brahms, although in his preservation of the dramatic aspect in the personalities of *Prometheus*, *Jupiter*, *Mother Cathasia*, and the words appropriate to each, and in the continuity of his form, he permits the audience to realize the scene with an almost pictorial distinctness. Thus his *mise-en-scène* is totally distinct from Shelley's lyrical drama. But the music borrows just so much of Shelley's drama as it consistently can, while it preserves and amplifies the melody of his lyrics. Mr. Parry's own article on "Form," in Mr. George Grove's 'Dictionary of Music,' must be read in order to realize how he has solved his problem of combining absolute with dramatic music, and adjusted the sequence of emotional crises to the old laws of key and figure. The point is worth dwelling on lest it should be lost sight of in so elaborate a work, where every word has its appropriate notes; especially as from insufficient rehearsal the chorus was scarcely at home with the composer's style, and the orchestra, playing with a too uniform forte, missed many gradations of color.

The cantata is divided into four "scenes," each of which is musically continuous. The subject of the first is fortitude.

"No change, no pause, no hope, yet I endure."

It opens, after a short introduction, *maestoso ma non troppo lento*, with a solo for *Prometheus*, suffering yet triumphant, pitiful yet disdainful, to the opening lines of Shelley. Throughout the continuous melody and the changing antiphony of rhythm the tonality is never in doubt, and conveys the certitude of *Prometheus* in his final deliverance. To this, as in Shelley, succeeds the utterance of Nature, that seems to live and feel with his agony. It is one of the most noteworthy choruses in the work, and must be heard for one to realize how, while using the words of the "Voice from the Mountains" only, Mr. Parry seems to have impressed all the elements into his service. The prominent figure is a certain triplet like that twice-repeated triplet at the entry of the allegro of Beethoven's last Sonata, Op. 111, although the trombones and bassoons make them as different as the thunder of nature from the frown of man. After a dialogue between *Mercury* and *Prometheus*, which struck us as rather forced, the movement ends, as it began, with the torture of *Prometheus*, or rather with the revelries of the Furies, heralded by *Mercury;* a fine, bold chorus, which suggests at the same time the misery of unredeemed mankind, when "cities sink howling in ruin," when the fiends,

"Close upon shipwreck and Famine's track,
Sit chattering with joy on the foodless wreck."

Throughout the scene Mr. Parry's rendering of *Prometheus's* torture is as far removed from physical pain as the grief of Palestrina's *Mater Dolorosa*. It is a question whether Mr. Parry's principles would permit so literal a transcript, for instance, as Beethoven's blare of the trumpets of war in the "Dona nobis pacem" of the Mass. Or rather, he would have given the notes in question a musical significance by making them enter into the structure of the whole movements, just as Brahms in his song "Verzagen." "Ich sitz' am Strande beim rauschenden See und suche dort nach Ruh" has almost written down the babble of a wave, and conveys by its continuous repetition the very consolation which its first restless murmur denied.

The subject of the second scene is the sympathy of the spiritual world and the love of Asia. It begins with a melodious chorus of spirits for female voices, followed by a solo for *Prometheus* to the last words of Shelley's first act—

"How fair these air-born shapes, and yet I feel
Most vain all hope but love."

The number will bear taking out of its setting, and is a good illustration of the way the composer prevents sequences of feeling that seem to imply gestures at least, if not action, to correspond; just as the quartette which concludes the scene to the words—

"Life of life thy lips enkindle
With their love the breath between them," etc.—

is the purest illustration of his character as an idealist. To lay hands on such stanzas at all is no small boldness. As Shelley's verse dictates, the leading melody, given to the soprano, is in 3-4 time. Underneath, the other voices add new rhythms and melodies, just as the smaller ripples and currents, though seemingly in conflict, yet conform to the set of wind and tide, while the violins rise and fall in triplets through the continuous harmony like fantastic shadows over a sea of light. The effect can be illustrated by the parallel of the last and most ethereal variation of the slow movement of Brahm's B♭ Sextet. The third stanza is for contralto solo in a fresh key. At the closing words—

"And all feel, yet see thee never,
As I feel now, lost for ever"—

a tremor seems to run through the structure of sound, and the phrases break up like the Dutchman's Phantom Ship, until a dominant pedal gives a new foundation, and the soprano air, reinforced by the tenor, rises afresh to the words—

"Lamp of earth! where'er thou movest
Its dim shapes are clad with brightness,
And the souls of whom thou lovest
Walk upon the winds with lightness."

The rhythms gather in rapidity, as at the end of Beethoven's Sonata in E, Op. 109, up to the cadence—

"Till they fail as I am failing"—

given in yet a new but kindred key, which seems as if it had been kept in reserve for this point. Meantime the even swing of the movement halts for seven bars of common time at the words—

"Dizzy, lost, yet unbewailing"—

and it concludes, as it began, with fragments of the leading melody upon a tonic pedal, with drifts of triplets in the violins.

The remaining scenes may be described more briefly. The third is concerned with Pride and its fall. *Jupiter* is represented in heaven, revelling and vainglorious when the period of his reign arrives, and he sinks with *Demogorgon* to dwell for ever in the abyss. The part of *Jupiter* is appropriately assigned to the same voice that took that of the messenger *Mercury*. The difficulty of *Demogorgon's* personality is met by giving the part to the tenors and basses of the chorus. Meantime *Prometheus* is unbound, and the Spirit of the Hour (soprano) begins the fourth scene. The movement contains matter enough for a whole sonata. A certain semitonic progression in the short introduction, and again in the accompaniment to the words—

"As if the sense of love
Had folded itself round the sphered world"—

bears a strong resemblance to a phrase in the introduction to Wagner's "Tristan und Isolde." But the treatment of the two is as different as Shelley and Swinburne. The whole scene is full of the joy of mankind at their deliverance, while the busy counterpoint of the last chorus—

"Then weave the web of the mystic measure,
Fill the dance and the music of mirth"—

seems to assert that life has its work as well as its play, its duties which are at the same time pleasures—

"As the waves of a thousand streams rush by
To an ocean of splendor and harmony."

It is so much pleasanter to appreciate than to find fault that one naturally reserves for the last a few words upon Mr. Parry's orchestration. Great as is his mastery over every instrument, and much as he has profited by Wagner's revelations of color, there seemed a certain monotony in the continual high pressure of the wind instruments, especially of a *cor anglais* quality of sound. Certainly the instrumentation had not the lightness and variety of Berlioz's "Faust" music, for instance, or his "Queen Mab" overture. It may be, however, that this was due rather to the performance than to the work itself, and will be relieved when it can be more carefully rehearsed for a second hearing. The composition is, at all events, unique in the history of English music. Indeed, it is difficult to find a parallel anywhere unless it be in Schumann's "Des Sängers Fluch" or "Das Glück von Edenhall." But neither of these works, though dramatic enough, embodies to such a degree the idealism which combines the latitude of interpretation peculiar to instrumental music with the precision and point of vocal.

ENGLISH JOURNALISM.—VIII.

THE LONDON WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS.

LONDON, October, 1880.

THE principal weekly newspapers of London—putting aside the Sunday, religious, and class journals, and those which depend rather upon the pencil than on the pen—are the *Saturday Review*, the *Spectator*, the *Examiner*, which may still be included on account of its old reputation rather than its present position, and the society journals. The *Saturday Review*, indeed, disclaims the title of a newspaper, and it does not directly publish any other news than that which is conveyed, mixed up with comment, in its leading articles. Dr. Charles Mackay claims the paternity of the *Saturday Review*. He recommended to its original founders the establishment of a journal which should be wholly independent of the pastepot and the scissors. The first editor of the *Saturday Review* was Mr. Douglas Cook, a man whose astonishing force of character and quickness of perception more than supplied his defects of scholarship and even ordinary knowledge, and a very limited faculty of writing. Without erudition of his own, he knew the men who knew; without any distinct political opinions, he had a quick eye for men of a decisive and strong political judgment; without any literary talent, he recognized promptly those who had it. The *Saturday Review* in his day did not affect consistency. Strong and striking articles taking, often in express language and more frequently by implication, opposite views of the same subjects used to appear in the *Saturday Review*, while he edited it, side by side or with only an interposed barrier of other articles dividing them. The *Saturday Review* in its earlier days was a bundle of clever, incisive essays having little in common but the sheet on which they were printed. The attempt was at first made to withhold the writing in it from the hands of professional journalists and to commit it to university scholars, lawyers, and clergymen, who should be acknowledged masters of the topics which they handled. It was easy to begin in this way, but it was not easy long to go in it, and the *Saturday Review* presently became a journal like any other. Perhaps there is still a larger infusion in it of writing by men who are not newspaper men by trade than on most other journals. But substantially the principle has been acquiesced in that a journal must be conducted by journalists. Its present editor, Mr. Philip Harwood, who was associated with Mr. Cook as his assistant since the starting of the *Saturday Review*, had the qualifications which his principal lacked. Mr. Harwood began life, it is said, as a student of theology, and his first publication was a defence of Strauss's mythical explanation of Christianity. He was afterwards the editor of a paper called the *League*, established to promote the Anti-Corn Law agitation. Mr. Bright is said to have described Mr. Harwood as the ablest leader-writer whom he had ever met. When the long-defunct *Morning Chronicle* passed out of the hands of the Whigs into those of the Peelites Mr. Douglas Cook became its editor and associated Mr. Philip Harwood with himself in the conduct of the paper. This combination was transferred, as I have said, to the *Saturday Review* when it came into existence. The political articles in the *Saturday Review* are marked by a cautious and sceptical Conservatism, such as might have found favor with Gibbon or Hume; and in its discussion of theological and philosophical subjects the utilitarianism of Mr. Mill and the agnosticism of Mr. Leslie Stephen lie covertly and curiously side by side with the High-Church doctrines of Mr. Beresford Hope. The most characteristic feature of the *Saturday Review*, or one which was characteristic until it was imitated by other weekly newspapers, are the articles in smaller type, which extend over a wide range of non-political subjects, and which are technically known by the name of "middles." Its reviews of books are marked by anomalous and scholarly knowledge which is not often to be found in the hurried judgment of periodical critics. The present assistant editor of the *Saturday Review*, succeeding in that post the late Mr. Hamilton Fife, who overworked himself into a premature grave, is Mr. Walter Pollock, the grandson of the late lord chief baron. He is also the dramatic and fine-art critic of the paper. Among the political writers who have belonged to it from the beginning are Mr. Gilbert Venables and Mr. T. C. Sandars; the first of them a contemporary and friend of Tennyson and the Lushingtons and Arthur Hallam, at Cambridge; the second known chiefly as the author of a work on the Institutes of Justinian. Mr. John Hill Burton and Mr. J. R. Green contribute scholarly articles upon historic subjects. The Rev. Malcolm McColl and the Rev. H. N. Oxenham, an Anglican convert to the Church of Rome who affects the private heresy of believing in the validity of Anglican orders, write upon ecclesiastical and politico-ecclesiastical subjects. Mr. Andrew Lang's keen and playful wit and refined scholarship light up the "middles" of the paper. Other contributors to the *Saturday Review* are Mr. Gifford Palgrave, Mr. Lathbury, and Mr. Frederick Pollock, the elder brother of the assistant editor.

The *Spectator* is in one sense an older and in another a younger journal than the *Saturday Review*. It was established in 1828 by the late Mr. Rintoul as an organ of the Liberal party, then struggling for reform in Parliament, and speedily obtained a success which made it a great power in political discussion. It had some five-and-twenty years later its period of decline under amateur proprietorship and editorship, and when it passed into the hands of its present owners and conductors, Mr. Meredith Townsend and Mr. Richard Holt Hutton, the best newspaper doctors would have pronounced it beyond hope of restoration to health and strength. To revive and invigorate a seemingly dying journal is more difficult than to establish a new one. This more difficult feat has been accomplished by the literary ability and the political earnestness of Mr. Townsend and Mr. Hutton. They themselves are the principal contributors to their own journal. Mr. Townsend's newspaper training was in India, and he has been described as springing upon his subjects like a Bengal tiger. There is a rapidity and keenness about his writing which justify the comparison. Mr. Townsend, without absolutely restricting himself to political topics, writes chiefly upon them. Mr. Hutton, while not excluding himself from political discussion, puts his chief strength into the theological, philosophical, and literary criticism, which may, perhaps, be considered more than others the distinguishing feature and main excellence of the *Spectator*. No more subtle and ingenious mind has applied itself during the present generation to the discussion of the gravest topics of thought, to the curiosities of character and of speculation, and to the delicacies of literary and artistic criticism, than Mr. Hutton's. It is perhaps his weakness to see in books and men more than is always actually in them, and to find his own deep meanings and supersensible refinements in the minds of more common mortals; but the interest of craftily-pursued truth overtaken after all its windings, and of curiously ingenious paradox, are never wanting to his writings. Among other contributors to the *Spectator* we may mention Mr. Malcolm McColl, who is believed to write both on political and literary subjects; Mr. Lathbury, the editor of the *Economist*; and Mr. Hermann Merivale. Mr. Merivale is the son of the late Under-Secretary of State for India, and a dramatic author and amateur performer of distinction. He writes many of the theatrical criticisms, some of the most delicate of which have, however, been from the pen of Mr. Hutton himself. Mr. Quilter rhapsodizes upon art when the various exhibitions are opened. Mr. George Hooper, who is the principal parliamentary leader-writer of the *Daily Telegraph* and its military critic, is a contributor to the *Spectator*. The politics of the paper, which were formerly of the type nicknamed thoughtful or academic Liberalism, seem now to be purely Gladstonean. The passionate hatred which inspires the *St. James's Gazette* for the Prime Minister is not stronger than the passion of worshipping affection which animates the *Spectator*. The theological attitude of the *Spectator* may be described best by reference to the name of the late Rev. F. D. Maurice; its philosophy is that of which the ablest advocate in England is the Rev. Dr. James Martineau. The influence of these two writers and of Cardinal Newman on the mind and style of Mr. Hutton might be distinctly traced and discriminated if a critic could be found for the work as subtle and discerning as Mr. Hutton himself.

The *Examiner*, although it still has the name of living, may be considered as practically dead. A journal associated once with the names of Leigh Hunt, of Albany Fonblanque, and of John Forster, not to mention others whose literary ability temporarily arrested its decline, has passed through a succession of hands, proprietarily and editorially, since its conversion into Conservatism. The names do not belong to the record of journalism, but rather to that of commercial speculation and political adventure, neither of them crowned with success. Its present editor is Mr. Charles Williams, who is one of the leader-writers for the *Morning Advertiser*.

"Society journals" stand apart. The most conspicuous of them, and the only two which it is necessary to mention as types, are the *World*, of which Mr. Edmund Yates is the editor and proprietor, and *Truth*, which is owned and conducted by Mr. Henry Labouchere. These papers proceed on the assumption that ordinary journalism, hampered by the conventionalisms, and false respectabilities, and decorous reticences of life, talks about anything and everything else than the topics in which men and women are really interested. It is their aim to reduce the conversation and speculation, and the open secrets known to everybody, but not publicly spoken of, into print. It cannot be said that such a record of human life, as it passes in England, is in itself objectionable or immoral; and given the legitimacy of the purpose, no reasonable fault can be found with the manner in which it is executed. Of course mistakes of fact and taste are from time to time committed, and from the very nature of the case these mistakes are often more serious and painful than the errors to which ordinary journalism is exposed. But on the whole, unless the principle is to be laid down that what is innocent in talk is wrong in print, the manner in which the *World* and *Truth* are conducted is not open to other than that mingled praise and blame to which every public undertaking must hold itself fairly exposed. Comparing them with the *Satirist* and the *John Bull* of an earlier period of journalism, the improvement of the public manners, and conscience, and taste is conspicuous. Sometimes the record of personal doings and sayings seems a little trivial. The Bob Allen of whom Charles Lamb gives an account in his essay on newspapers seems to have some descendants left, for he can scarcely himself have survived to the present day. Bob Allen's business, according to Lamb, was to supply pun-

gent personal paragraphs to the newspapers of his day. Lamb gives an example of them, one which it is fair to say procured his friend's dismissal from the newspaper upon which he was then engaged. "Walking yesterday morning casually down Snow Hill," Mr. Bob Allen recorded, "who should we meet but Mr. Deputy Humphreys. We rejoice to add that the worthy deputy appeared to enjoy a good state of health. We do not ever remember to have seen him look better." This pungent paragraph was not considered sufficiently pungent, and, though Mr. Bob Allen was proud of it, it lost him his place. If Mr. Deputy Humphreys had been a duke or a prince the record would not have differed very much from some of the announcements which are deemed to be pithy and of public interest in the columns of society journals. The principal political writer for the *World* is Mr. Escott, whose book upon 'England' I have already spoken of, and who is one of the principal members of the editorial staff of the *Standard*. Its dramatic critic is Mr. Dutton Cook, the novelist. Mr. Louis Engel writes the musical notices. The "Atlas" of the paper, both in the literary and in the literal sense, is Mr. Edmund Yates, a vigorous writer and a hard hitter, a stout enemy and a good friend, a man whose openness of speech and pen have brought him into many collisions, but whose faults are chiefly on the outside, and who has an art of winning cordial and faithful attachments. The studies of eminent persons at home are believed to be most of them written by Mr. B. H. Becker. They cannot be considered intrusive or prying, for they are written with the knowledge and consent of the persons depicted, and never exceed those limits of good taste and good feeling which a guest is bound to show to one who has at any time and under any conditions been his host. Mr. Becker's articles are really a contribution to that personal element of history and society which is often thought to be irrelevant and even impertinent when it deals with living notabilities, but which is treasured as inestimably valuable when it embalms the slightest detail of men of note who have passed away.

Of *Truth* it may be said that it is Mr. Labouchere, and of Mr. Labouchere that he is *Truth* itself. His social and political position and his diplomatic training, his opportunities of knowledge, and his cynical fearlessness and frankness of speech give him perhaps completer personal qualifications for the office of a society journalist than any of his rivals. Probably no newspaper is so clearly the work of a single hand as *Truth* is the product of Mr. Labouchere's mind. Beneath all his seeming triviality and indifference a keen common sense and rectitude of intelligence are discernible. Mr. Labouchere affects to mock at the world, and especially at himself, perhaps on the principle avowed by Jacques in "As You Like It." But there is more good both in it and in him than he admits. Mr. Voules is his managerial right hand. The gossiping letters which narrate how things are passing in Paris are from the pen of Mrs. G. M. Crawford. Miss Kate Field, I believe, discourses on fashions and other things specially interesting to lady readers in the columns of *Truth*.

THE SEQUEL TO CALIBAN.—II.

PARIS, Sept. 9, 1880.

WE left *Prospero* witnessing, on the bridge of Avignon with his disciples, the "Dance of Death" of the ancient world. The fourth act of the "Eau de Jouvence" shows him in his laboratory, which, strangely enough, is concealed in the back corner of the Papal residence. The Pope has, indeed, become his protector, and given him a quiet place where he can continue his experiments. Renan has always felt a singular curiosity towards the sciences, and, though he has received no scientific training, he has learned much in his conversations with the first scientific men of France. Science, however, has a little on him the effect which the "new water of life" discovered by *Prospero* has on the people on whom *Prospero* tries it: there is a sort of intoxication produced in many minds by the discoveries of science.

"The apparent variety of matter," says *Prospero*, "will be reduced to unity. We shall do better, then, than to make gold the insipid dream of those who only see in science a way of satisfying their coarse desires. Fools! not to see that to change everything into lead would be the same as to change it into gold. As for myself, I should like to do the one just as much as the other. But I should prefer to make light with mud, to make spirit with matter. This will be done some day; life will be understood, a higher reason will govern the world, and perhaps a little justice will penetrate it in the end. We will correct, at least in some details, what there is of injustice and cruelty in the general lines of creation."

In vain does *Gottescalc* object that man is made to suffer, and that it is a crime to change the order of things as established by God. *Prospero* opposes the human intellect to the divine intellect:

"By science man will not indefinitely prolong the number of his years; but in forty years man will live a hundred times more than he did before in eighty years. Man will die nobly at the moment fixed by himself. In each city numerous little palaces, adorned with ribbons and with flowers, will furnish to the tired man what the state owes him above everything—the means of procuring for himself a sweet death, accompanied with exquisite sensations."

This theory of pleasant suicide, encouraged by the state, may perhaps be found among the various "utopias" of antiquity; it is strange to find it in the mouth of *Prospero*, especially as a moment afterwards he explains that science is the privilege of the "happy few." He tells his disciples that the world is governed by brutality; that the peasants are as ignorant as the lords; the Pope is the most intelligent of kings, as he allows them to make their experiments and "forces good rustics to do their part of working, while the others speculate." Nothing is more legitimate, in his opinion, than prayer—"prayer, or, rather, mental speculation is the end of the world; material work is the serf of spiritual work. Everything must help the man who prays—that is, the man who thinks. The democrats, who do not admit the subordination of individuals to a general work, find this monstrous, and when they lose the wise and liberal *Caliban* I don't well know what will happen." The wise and liberal *Caliban* means clearly a democracy which would recognize the high attributes of science, give it a place, a privileged place, in its organization, and consent to be led by it. Such a democracy would look upon scientific men as the Christian world looked upon the monks and the priests; the "savants" would, in fact, become the priests of a new religion, and not only the savants, but all the thinkers—the artists, the poets.

The experiment goes on while *Prospero* is talking; he makes a furious onslaught on the principle of individual property in intellectual matters. A member of the "Society of Letters" is introduced into the laboratory, and speaks in favor of "copyright" and of "patents." "Take Christ, for instance," says *Trossulus*; "if he had taken a copyright in the gospel, what a fortune he would have made for his heirs." *Prospero* gets very angry:

"The true thinker," says he, "ought to desire that those who for a venal reason embrace the profession of letters should be discouraged by the prospect of dying of hunger. Injustice is the principle of the working of the universe. Jehovah is, they say, just *par excellence*. Remember what happened to the oxen who, moved by a divine impulse, brought back the ark from among the Philistines. According to our ideas it would have been well to pension these oxen, and put them to grass in a fine meadow for the rest of their days. Yet an altar was constructed with the wood of the mysterious car which had brought back the sacred coffer, and on this the oxen were offered in sacrifice. . . . Such is the recompense of the benefactors of humanity."

It is clear that Renan does not approve of such men as Claude Bernard, Broca, Pasteur being made "sénateurs inamovibles," and put to grass on the budget of the state. Two men are now introduced while the distillation of the "Eau de Jouvence" goes on: *Léolin* of Brittany, the erring knight and poet, with a Celtic harp on his shoulder, and *Siffroi*, the Palatine, who comes as ambassador of the King of Germany. They both wish to drink of the mysterious water. The poet longs for visions, the diplomat for some sort of title, and wishes *Prospero* to resuscitate the man who can sign it. They both drink of the miraculous water. *Siffroi*, who is a Junker, talks horridly in his drunkenness, and the scene in which he plays the most conspicuous part might well have been altogether omitted. It is not in harmony with the rest of the play. *Siffroi* is too vulgar, too brutal, and, I would say also, too transparent. His utterances savor too much of the painful remembrances of late years. *Siffroi* dies in his drunken fit, while the poet *Léolin* merely has pleasant dreams. "Each finds in this water what he bears in himself. The spring of youth is our heart. . . . The force which resuscitates is the purity of our soul." So *Prospero* bears with the greatest equanimity the death of the heavy and material *Siffroi*.

The Pope also drinks of the miraculous water. We see him in the fifth act under its influence, in company with the young *Brunissende*. He would make *Prospero* cardinal if the Holy Inquisition allowed it. While he converses with *Brunissende* a clerk enters with a letter from the King of Germany. The King complains of the horrible assassination of his envoy, *Siffroi*, in the Pope's own palace. Other letters come from Milan denouncing the ambitious and dangerous *Prospero*. *Prospero* is denounced by the nobles, he is denounced by the people. The Pope sends for him, and reasons with him. "You will have with you," he says to the doctor, "neither the church nor the school. The people is your constant enemy. On what will you live?" "First, on the crumbs which fall from these two fat tables. As we are sure of being in the right, we can easily be humble. . . . Then, in a few centuries, the school will be with us." "And the Church?" "Ah! that is different. The Church and ourselves start from absolutely contrary principles." Here begins a long dissertation upon the principles of Science and the antagonism of Science and the Church. *Prospero* will not admit that the Church has ever helped Science. The philosophy of Abelard seems to him "without any value." He maintains that the only progress made in the sciences since the time of the ancients has been owing to the Mussulman doctors. *Prospero* foresees that the Popes, after having helped the revival of sciences, will afterwards oppose it.

Then follows a scene in one of the chambers of the Inquisition which cannot well be analyzed, and which seems utterly incomprehensible. *Cardi-*

nal de Cabassole, instead of torturing and cross-examining *Prospero*, introduces two young nuns, *Euphemia* and *Celestina*, who represent *his* "Eau de Jouvence," which he tries on *Prospero*. I will not dwell much upon this improper scene. Nothing can revive *Prospero*, his end is near; he hears *Ariel* approaching; but before the last moment comes he receives a visit from *Caliban*. *Caliban* has really played no part whatever in the drama, and his "profession of faith" and "platform" are a real superfœtation. "The movement which has put me in your place," he says to *Prospero*, "was fatal. A revolution, when it is accomplished, is always passionate. The field of battle does not tolerate impartiality; but it costs us nothing to recognize the fact that what we are we are through you. Ingratitude is the vice of slaves. The day after the victory one is still unjust; the second day after it one is generous." It will not be necessary to explain how these aphorisms are a direct application to the present situation in France. *Caliban* is made to furnish a theme to the moderate Republicans. The delicate *Prospero* answers very politely; he proves that "tout est pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes," as Candide said. We want variety. The world needs aristocrats; it also needs democrats. It needs activity; it needs also idleness. It needs Ariels and Calibans. The world is a great circle—all is in all. "As for myself, I have accomplished my destiny. I have been a rare combination in the lottery of the creation. Now the atoms which comprise me claim their liberty."

Enter the Pope and *Brunissende*, *Ariel*, the nun *Celestina*; all gather round the dying *Prospero*. He recommends *Ariel* and the nun to the powerful *Caliban*. He falls into a pleasant dream, from which he will never wake. His body is brought to the shores of the Rhône by *Cardinal Philippe*, in the costume of a simple clerk, and confided by him to a boatman. "When you are in the midst of the river you will sink the boat, swim ashore, and say nothing to anybody. If the body is found we will tell the people that in a moment of madness he drowned himself; if it is not found, we will say that the devil has carried him away." And we still hear in the distance—

"Sur le pont
D'Avignon,
C'est là que l'on danse;
Sur le pont
D'Avignon,
Que l'on danse en rond."

Correspondence.

THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: At a critical time in Hebrew politics one of the old prophets likened the tribe of Ephraim to a "cake not turned." It seems to me that some of your civil-service reformers are reformers of the Ephraimite pattern—cakes not turned, and therefore baked on only one side. They write as if the abuses of the civil service had but one aspect, and are so much occupied with threatened abuses attendant on a "clean sweep" of Federal offices—the apprehended consequence of a Democratic triumph in the pending election—that they take small note of the flagrant abuses which are going on before their eyes. So true is this that one of your correspondents extracts a hope for the cause of civil-service reform from the enormity of the menaced "clean sweep," when it shall become actual and shall impress the public mind with the deterrent force of an awful example. Such a spectacle, he adds, "would afford the younger generation of voters an opportunity to observe the practical operation of the spoils system."

To quiet observers residing in this city it does not seem necessary to wait for a Democratic triumph in order to witness the "spoils system" in full "practical operation," and if an "awful example" be all that is needed to work a salutary reform, your correspondent has but to cite the conduct of the Republican managers in the present campaign. The Republican Congressional Committee has levied requisitions on all Federal officeholders in this city, from the greatest to the least in subordinate place, with a persevering industry and an inquisitorial persistence that are without precedent in our political history. The Federal offices are treated as the "spoils" of the Republican party by right of former and acknowledged conquest. No "clean sweep" is here necessary, for the clean sweep has been already made, and the party is simply "battening on its plunder," enjoying the "usufruct" of its conquest, and making its raids on the public offices support its war against the Democratic enemy.

This aspect of the spoils system seems to some minds even more repulsive and oppressive than a "clean sweep" of the offices, detestable as the latter is. It enthrones the odious system as a permanent ruling force in our politics; it arrays the public patronage against the unbiassed and unbought sentiment of the people; it demoralizes the incumbents of place by making them the voluntary or involuntary stipendiaries of parties; and, finally, by making the abuses of the civil service organic, it tends to render a reform impossible, because justifying, as men are, the retaliation of the opposite party as soon as it comes into power. There is to-day no Democratic spoilsman who is not in favor of civil-service administration on present Republican principles—that is, with all the offices parcelled out among Democrats and tied as an appanage to the Democratic "machine."

Hence, in the eyes of some civil-service reformers, it seems their first duty to attack the abuses of to-day, and to strike down the party which is practising them. It will be in order to strike down the Democrats when they fall into the same abuses, but it is always the existing abuses which must be struck, until, by the method of exclusions, we find a party which no longer needs the cudgel. The maxim of Donnybrook Fair, "Wherever you see a head hit it," is a good one for reformers, so long as it is the head of an audacious abuse which invites attack.

The present election is not likely to do very much for civil-service reform, because the result of the election will probably depend, in the main, on other issues; but, regarded in the light of this issue alone, the civil-service reformers for whom I venture to speak would have little difficulty in preferring General Hancock to General Garfield, not only for the broad reason already adduced, but also from a consideration of the prospects set before us by the candidature of each. Mr. Secretary Evarts recently travelled all the way from Washington to New York to maintain the thesis that General Garfield is "no better than his party"; that General Hancock *is* a great deal better than *his* party. It must be admitted that Mr. Evarts made out his case with his usual felicity, and hence it follows, as a necessary corollary of his argument that, since General Garfield is no better than his party, civil-service reform has no more chance under him than it has under his party, and what that chance is we can read in the party's management to-day. On the other hand, in view of the conceded fact that General Hancock is better than his party, there would seem to be *some* hope of reform under him. In either event, it is more than likely that the Armageddon of this great conflict for a purified civil service will be postponed to a future, let us hope to an early, day, when the reform issue shall come distinctly to the front, and when both Republican and Democratic spoilsmen shall be converted from the error of their ways, not by the awful example of civil-service abuses, on which they subsist, but by the awful example of some crushing defeat administered to the party which is caught in flagrant delict of its perpetuation of an infamous system. This is the only kind of logic which spoilsmen can understand.

W.

Washington, October 4, 1880.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The suggestions and correspondence in your recent numbers on the subject of civil-service reform have excited the liveliest interest in your readers throughout the country; and nowhere more so than here in Virginia, where the success last autumn of the Repudiators, or, as they are pleased to call themselves, the Readjusters, gave us a fresh home-taste of the pernicious rule of unscrupulous, ignorant, and bigoted partisans, with which the Republican Federal officials in the State had already made us familiar, though there are some very good men and excellent officers among them at this time.

We believe that this evil in State matters would have been lessened had there been a wholesome instead of a corrupting example in national affairs, had the Republican party lived at all in accordance with its profession of civil-service reform faith declared in 1876, and had President Hayes been man enough to carry out his avowed intentions in spite of the "Stalwarts" of the Conkling and Blaine stripe.

The President and his party repelled by their bad faith thousands of voters throughout the South, from Maryland to Texas, who occupy a position precisely similar to the Independents of the North, being heartily disgusted with the corruption of both parties, and yet eager to go with that one which gives the best promise of honest and equitable government. These men are Democrats chiefly because they have had honest and equitable government denied them for three successive Republican administrations, and they no longer hope to get it from that party.

They are using their influence and will cast their votes for General Hancock, and with all the greater zeal because they believe him to be precisely the man to disappoint the pretensions of selfishly interested politicians, whether of his own party or not—a class of men whom, it seems, Mr. Garfield now regards as the only proper persons to advise the Executive in his appointments, Mr. Garfield's views having changed marvellously in that particular since he became a candidate for the Presidency.

But this class of voters desire above all things to have the civil service of the country fixed upon some permanent and common-sense basis, so that in future they may not have to choose between the unknown views but known and honorable character of the Democratic candidate on the one hand, and the declared anti-reform views of the Republican candidate on the other, and they desire to have this matter put beyond the range of choice, and put there at once. I, for one, would like to join a club for the diffusion of proper ideas on this subject, which I believe to be more vital to our permanence and prosperity as a nation than either the tariff or the finance problem.

And after the din and confusion of the coming election is over I think it

will be easy to form civil-service reform associations or clubs in this State. For I am sure that the people of Virginia, and particularly the *post-bellum* generation, to which I belong, have seen enough of bad government to make them exert themselves to secure honest and efficient officers in every department of the public service.

Efficiency and honesty, and not political belief, should be the test for public officers—that I believe to be the creed of this whole generation of young Southern Democrats (and of older ones, too, if we can judge by General Randall L. Gibson's declaration to that effect in the New York *World* of October 1), and on that ground they are ready to meet and act with good men and true of any political faith and from any and every quarter of the country. Respectfully, WM. TAYLOR THOM.

HOLLINS INSTITUTE, VA., October 5, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you allow one who conceives himself to be as "independent" in his political action as most of those who claim that distinction to give some of his reasons for voting for General Hancock at the coming election.

The great obstacle to the general discussion of civil-service reform, currency reform, and tariff reform before the people, and getting their attention to specific measures to accomplish either of such reforms, is the preoccupation of the public mind with what we may call "the sectional issue"—the imaginary conflicting interests of the North and South. The people divide into parties upon but one question, real or imaginary, at a time, as may be seen in the position of the parties to-day, both of them including in their ranks those who differ radically on all subjects except upon what is an old war issue. They will remain so as long as that issue is the dominating one, and that issue will remain or be kept the predominating one by the Republican party as long as it can carry the country upon it. That is human nature, and politicians are very human in this respect. Not until the Republicans are beaten upon that issue will it be buried and cease to distract the people from the effective consideration of questions which really need attention. This reason seems sufficient to my mind to induce any Independent who would take the most effectual methods of getting a hearing before the people upon questions he considers of more moment than arraying the sections of the country against each other and keeping alive the animosities and passions engendered by the war.

The second reason is that the moral integrity of General Garfield has been strongly impugned in several distinct transactions, and that there can be no more demoralizing blow aimed at the perpetuity of our institutions than in accustoming voters to the idea that lapses from official integrity do not injure a man's chances for official preferment, or will be condoned by any considerable number of people honest themselves. The step from familiarity and condonation of official dishonor to the justification and admiration of it is a short one. It may be said the charges are not proved; but the answer that the candid supporter of General Garfield invariably gives to the question whether General Garfield would have received the $5,000 De Golyer fee if he had not been a Congressman of great influence shows that there is too much occasion for the accusation. Anyway very many people honestly believe that where there has been so much smoke there must have been some fire.

Again, it is desirable to stamp out the heresy that but one party can be trusted with the Government, and that the country would go to the "demnition bow-wows" if a party comprising full one-half of its citizens are in power for even one term. * * *

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Touching the "spoils" system and civil-service reform I send you the following, embodying as it does the views of no small number in the "Solid South," "fifty years behind the times" though we be. It is part of an editorial from the Richmond *State*. The *State* is one of our leading newspapers, and the editor, a so-called "Bourbon Virginia Democrat," a man of prominence and influence in his party. After praising General Hancock's letter on "Southern Claims," the editor continues:

"And now, having written so many ringing things and given us so many unmistakable proofs of his independence and of the force of his character, from which the politicians have so little to hope, the General might go still further and reassure the country upon another point which at present fills many minds with fear and doubt. If he would come out and proclaim, as one other general did once upon a time memorable in our history, that he had 'no friends to reward and no enemies to punish,' and that he should *utterly repudiate the pernicious doctrine that 'to the victors belong the spoils*,' we believe the announcement would electrify the whole country and lift him up on the crest of a wave that nothing could withstand, but which must sweep the country from end to end. Let him give assurance that the Democratic party is a great political power and not a petty ring of place-hunters, with no higher aspiration, no nobler ambition, than the displacement of a few thousand miserable drudges who are earning their daily bread in Washington and elsewhere by small clerkships and other underling places. If it were understood that in case of his election the only changes made in the offices would be in the heads of departments, and in the more important posts abroad and throughout the country, necessary to place the officials of the Government in full *rapport* everywhere with the views of the Administration, and that no merely clerical position should be disturbed except for cause, it would be a tender of assurance to the people they have so long sought for in vain, yet so ardently desired, that '*a civil-service reform*' had been begun in earnest and would soon be an accomplished fact, which would inspire them with a respect for the party and its candidate while confirming their faltering faith in the stability of the Government as nothing else could serve to effect that purpose."

We of the South have fully accepted the results of the late war; we are more than satisfied with the abolition of slavery; we feel an interest in maintaining the national credit; we are not affected by the "greenback craze"; we desire a pure civil service; have no war claims to present, and take the liveliest interest in national prosperity. We are even prepared to acquiesce in negro suffrage; but so long as the "bloody shirt" continues to wave, and abuse and vilification of the South form the chief stock-in-trade of the Republican orator, self-respect forbids us to be Republicans.

Let me add that the debt-payers of Virginia, who are in favor of upholding the credit of our State and paying our debt (though apparently a minority of the voters), represent the bulk of the property and pay nearly all the taxes. But for the large mass of illiterate negro voters forced upon us by the Republican party repudiation would never have been heard of. A powerless minority as Republicans, in the debt contest the negro vote possesses a terrible capacity for mischief. Very respectfully, T.

LEESBURG, VA., September 30, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: With many of your readers I have rejoiced in the admirable letter of "F. W. H." and the strong, practical turn given to his suggestions by "J. B. M."

I agree, however, with "E. B.," that the alliance of the society with either of the established political parties not only is unnecessary but would prove detrimental to its usefulness. For any direct influence upon political action the power of the society must lie in the public support of so many men of weight from each of the two parties that neither can afford to neglect it, while neither can claim it. For the education of public opinion, which must be the present object, the hindrance from party prejudices would probably be greater than any gain from party alliance.

I should be glad to enter my name for an annual subscription of twenty dollars to such a society, independent of both parties, and secured in that status by the composition of its executive committee or body of officers.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
CARL F. PALFREY,
Lieut. of Engineers, U. S. Army.

WHIPPLE BARRACKS, ARIZONA, Sept. 25, 1880.

ADULTERATION OF NEWS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As an illustration of one of the facts noted in the *Nation's* article on "The Adulteration of News," *vide* New York weekly *Times* of September 1. The head-line brush is used for "coloring." The editor gives the Hancock-Sherman correspondence, heading Hancock's last letter in small caps:

"TILDEN'S CHANCES IMPREGNABLE."

This is what Hancock says:

"I have considered that Mr. Tilden's chances were impregnable. . . . Now it seems to me that Gov. Hayes has something more than an equal chance." H.

FARMER VILLAGE, N. Y.

Notes.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO. announce the completion, after eight years of preparation, of Knight's 'American Mechanical Dictionary.' It is to be had by subscription only, in forty-four parts of sixty-four pages each, or in three bound volumes. The same firm announce that the 'United States Official Postal Guide,' of which they are the official publishers, is now issued monthly, revised and corrected by the Department. They recommend subscribers to remit through their own postmasters, which may be done without risk or expense.——James J. Chapman, publisher, Washington, D. C., will issue this week a 'Manual of Heavy Artillery Service, prepared by the authority of the War Department for the use of the Army and Militia of the United States, by Major J. C. Tidball, U.S.A.' The book is approved by General Sherman, and will be used as a text-book in the Army.——J. W. Bouton's list of fall books comprises 'The Schools of Modern Art in Germany, by J. Beavington Atkinson'; 'The Complete Works of Rembrandt,' being a reproduction in fac-simile of all his etchings with description and notes, by Charles Blanc; vol. ii. of the new edition of 'Don Quixote,' with

thirty-seven original etchings by Lalauze; Jackson and Chatto's 'History of Wood Engraving'; a new edition of Bryan's 'Dictionary of Painters, Engravers, Sculptors, and Architects'; and a fac-simile reproduction of the first edition, 1496, of 'The Treatyse of Fyshyng wyth an Angle, by Dame Juliana Berners.'——Charles Scribner's Sons issue as a supplementary volume to Lange's 'Bible Work' an edition of the Apocrypha, revised, with critical and historical introductions and explanations, by the Rev. Dr. Edwin Cone Bissell; also vol. ii. of 'The Popular Commentary' relating to the Fourth Gospel and the Acts; and a new and revised edition of Professor Josiah P. Cooke's 'Religion and Chemistry,' which has been some time out of print. ——The publisher of *The Voice*, "a monthly devoted to voice culture, musical and elocutionary, with special attention to stuttering, stammering, and other defects of speech," sends us from Albany a copy of his paper for October, which we find to be of a varied character, accurately enough described, however, by the title just quoted. Its most valuable paper, perhaps, is the beginning of a translation of Chervin's treatise on stuttering. At the other extreme, it may be, is the continuation of a serial story called "The Unspeakable; or, A Stutterer's Tribulations and Triumphs, as told by Himself." Various grateful readers testify to the usefulness, in their several cases, of the magazine, and it has expert approval from many sources, from professional elocutionists to the Rev. Dr. Talmage.——A new work on the United States, 'Der Spaziergang nach Nordamerika,' by C. Stangl, a Catholic priest, is attracting attention in Germany. Its remarks on the condition of the Church in this country are said to be specially valuable.——'The Minor Arts,' by C. G. Leland, is the latest of the Messrs. Macmillan's "Art-at-Home" series. In so far as it relates to the work of the artisan rather than of the artist it qualifies the opinion we expressed some weeks ago of the essential inutility of art text-books. The subjects treated are Porcelain-painting, Wood-carving, Leather-work, Stencilling, Mosaic-work, Repoussé-work, Silver-chasing, etc. "It is offered to the public," Mr. Leland says, "with much more serious intention than that of affording amusement to idlers," and it certainly appears to be very specific and comprehensive in its directions. Doubtless it will also succeed in one of its aims, which is "to awaken a desire among the young and unpractised to do something in art"; whether or no this, however, is a crying need of the times is perhaps open to doubt; at all events, the book may be said to illustrate Mr. Leland's versatility, and—a decided merit in works of the kind—it is direct and free from eloquence.——'Botany for High Schools and Colleges, by C. E. Bessey, Ph.D., Professor of Botany in the Iowa Agricultural College' (New York: H. Holt & Co.), is a useful addition to the American Science series. The parts of the volume devoted to histology and physiology are based upon the 'Text-Book of Botany' by Professor Sachs, and constitute an excellent introduction to that work. But the most valuable portion of the treatise for a large number of American students is that which deals with the affinities, structure, and economic plants of the different orders. The work is exceedingly well done throughout.——A 'Text-Book of Botany, by Dr. Prantl, translated from the German, the translation revised by Dr. S. H. Vines, of Christ's College, Cambridge' (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.), is also based upon Sachs's 'Text-Book,' so far as its chapters on histology and physiology are concerned, and the treatment of the orders follows much the method selected by Professor Bessey. But we are sure that if Dr. Vines had made changes in the text to adapt the German work to English classes he would have materially improved the excellent treatise of Prantl; Professor Bessey has kept in mind the wants of a large class of American students, and his work therefore must naturally have the preference. Except in minor details of treatment the two works follow nearly the same course and cover about the same ground.

—It is difficult for the candid and reflecting critic not to be a trifle perplexed by such a work as 'Hints for Home Reading,' just published by Putnam. To whom, precisely, is it addressed? with what notion, precisely, is it prepared? are questions one asks himself inevitably and invariably in such cases, and in the great majority of instances we suspect the answer to the first is, "To everybody in general and no one in particular," and to the second that its origin is altogether moral and only incidentally concerned with the intelligence. The disadvantages in both cases are perhaps about equal, and, though those of the latter are very likely less obvious, in few things is the necessity of intelligence (the best that can be got) greater than in the manufacture of popular text-books. In this country, at all events, this is at present conducted much as statues are presented to public parks or pictures to public galleries, the moral motive of patriotism and public spirit being a very fair analogue of the moral motive which seeks the literary or æsthetic benefit of the mass of people, in the sense that both are supposed to be self-justifying and to be somehow above criticism. The result is, for example, the present condition of the Central Park monumental gallery and the old-masters' collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, say, and a kind of smattering as a substitute for training in the things of the mind generally accessible that is becoming, impartial observers testify, almost an American characteristic. The analogy may be considered whimsical, and we use it only as an illustration, but it certainly illustrates a point that is made as soon as it is stated, one would say, were it not for the abundant witnesses of the practical ignoring of it. No one, clearly, deserves more of his fellows' gratitude than any one who helps to pave the royal road to learning; nevertheless, something more than the generous desire to do this is a necessary qualification for its accomplishment without positive detriment. Just now, indeed, there seems more "danger" from the spreading notion that such a road is of the easiest possible construction than from the opposite and apparently obsolete notion that it is axiomatically a chimera. It may be said that to make such a book as the one before us a text for a sermon is taking the matter very seriously, but we believe the truth to be that it typifies very well an order of educational philanthropism whose gravest error is in considering its work, though morally serious, really intellectually light.

—As we say, however, the point is evidently not one for demonstration if statement proves insufficient, and beyond describing 'Hints for Home Reading' it is needless to pursue a critical examination of it. The title-page gives the following account: "A series of chapters on books and their use, by Charles Dudley Warner, M. F. Sweetser, F. B. Perkins, Cyrus Hamlin, Hamilton W. Mabie, Edward Everett Hale, Joseph Cook, Henry Ward Beecher, and Lyman Abbott; edited, with an introduction, by Lyman Abbott; with which is included a new and revised edition of Suggestions for Libraries, by George Palmer Putnam; together with priced lists of suggested selections of five hundred, one thousand, and two thousand volumes of the most desirable and important books." In the introduction we find the sentence, "The best libraries are not made; they grow"; and the reader of the book may be advised to keep it in mind in view of the temptations to forget it which follow. The "chapters" were originally communicated to the *Christian Union*, and not unnaturally it is "hinted" that there is a good deal of good "home reading" to be found in that periodical, which is certainly true. "If, now, there could be combined," says Mr. Perkins, "the merits (so far as they differ) of the New York *Tribune* and the *Christian Union* the result would about suit me"; but he acknowledges elsewhere that tastes differ. Mr. Perkins contributes a large portion of the book. He writes about "What to Read," and says you can't read everything—should read "the great books if you can (it is not every one who can do it the first time he tries); the great poets, historians, philosophers, even theologians"; advises one to "employ the co-operative methods"—that is, to use the libraries, and to "use amusing reading with moderation." As to "Plans of Reading" read "*Literary;* by masterpieces," "*Religious;* by sacred books," and so on. It will be seen that Mr. Perkins is generally pretty sound. So is Mr. Cyrus Hamlin in advising "Make yourself familiar with De Quincey's distinction between 'the literature of knowledge' and 'the literature of power,' and Ruskin's between 'books of the hour' and 'books of all time.'" Mr. Beecher's "method" is described in "an exact stenographic report of an actual conversation" between Mr. Beecher and "Laicus," who seems to have been an earnest and ingenuous enquirer. It is more difficult to describe than "methods" usually are, but it is interesting reading in itself. Mr. Beecher "don't believe much in history. It is very imperfect testimony of men's natures and thoughts. . . . I never had the power of retaining sentences; I seldom lose thoughts. I absorb the thoughts. . . . I do not know a hymn in the English language I could recite." He "got fluency out of Burke very largely," and "obtained the sense of adjectives out of Barrow, besides the sense of exhaustiveness." But it is not easy to find a great rhetorician who has so little to conceal as Mr. Beecher, and for the rest we have less personality and less vivid interest. Mr. Hale, for example, falls at once into generalities with: "In the first place, we must make this business agreeable," though his manner is individual—*e.g.*, "Eternity is before us if we only begin promptly—now—as the archangels do." Joseph Cook, with characteristic courage, attacks the problem, "How to Make Dull Boys Read"; he says "the problem is different in country and city"—a distinction that betrays a grateful desire to add an *ab extra* interest to the discussion, but it does not seem to go to the root of the matter. Number 3 of Mr. Abbott's "Hints for People that do not Read" is "Buy a dictionary, an atlas, and, if possible, a cyclopædia. If you have not the money make over an old bonnet. No harm will be done if it cultivates a habit of making over old bonnets." This is rather in the vein of the answer, "In the evenings; get your husband to read to you," to the question "How and When to Read," discussed in "A Symposium by Many Contributors," which contains the gems of the work. The detailed "Suggestions for Household Libraries" we can make nothing of, except that we feel sure a different publisher would have made a different list.

—Beginning with this week, Thomas will succeed Aronson as leader of the orchestra at the Metropolitan Concert Hall. It is not underrating Aronson to say that Thomas is a better conductor; and it is a matter for general congratulation among all lovers of good music that he should at last be provided with something that can take the place of, and be even better than, his old "garden." Whether the attempt to give really good music the year round at the Metro-

politan will succeed is, of course, a matter which is open to dispute, and experience alone can settle it; but there are many reasons for thinking that Thomas will be sufficiently supported to ensure his concerts being continued through the winter. The success of Koster and Biall's garden in Twenty-third Street seems to show that there is a very large musical population in New York which may be relied on to furnish audiences if they are sure of music that is worth hearing. The music in the Twenty-third Street garden is really excellent of its kind, but it cannot be compared with that which used to be heard in the Central Park Garden. Again, the great difficulty with that place of amusement was its remoteness. Since the building of the elevated railroads a vast population has been brought within easy reach, while Forty-first Street is much more near the centre of the city proper than Fifty-ninth Street. There seems to be no reason, therefore, why the Metropolitan's experiment should not succeed, if such an experiment is at all capable of being made a success. On the other hand, we trust that Thomas will steer clear of two rocks which always have seemed to threaten serious peril to his musical ventures—we mean his excessive love of *technique* and his (in itself) very commendable ambition to educate the musical taste of his audiences. With regard to the last, so much has from time to time been said by the newspapers that it is probably not necessary any longer to insist upon the fundamental truth that the primary object of music, like any other art, is pleasure, and that if the public is once made to feel that it is being taught instead of being pleased, it develops a tendency to play truant, except, of course, in Boston, where art has always been regarded as valuable chiefly for the purpose of teaching people to be artistic. It is certainly possible to go to the other extreme, and Aronson has sufficiently shown what the other extreme is in concerts which have seldom risen above a musical-box level. With regard to *technique*, Mr. Thomas, as a thoroughly competent conductor, knows better than any one the difficulties of instrumentation, and consequently has a great admiration for the work of masters of instrumentation like Berlioz and Wagner. But he should not forget that it is only a very small portion of the public who care to hear or are capable of appreciating *tours de force* in the way of instrumentation, and also that instrumentation is after all the means and music the end. Wagner may have been given to the world, as Mérimée said, to reconcile it to Berlioz, but to the average man this still leaves open the question why the author of the 'Damnation of Faust' was given to it.

—The death of Offenbach can hardly be called an important artistic loss, for his music was never serious enough to count for much as music; he wrote to tickle the ear of a very light-minded public, and if he succeeded that was enough. Nevertheless, his scores will probably live for a time, by virtue of the abundant melody which pervades them, and if music of the Offenbachian sort outlasts its author by a decade, he may be said to have achieved a considerable posthumous fame. It is by his earlier operas that he will be longest remembered. Bands will, no doubt, continue to play the music of "La Belle Hélène" and "La Jolie Parfumeuse" even after the taste for the operas themselves has quite died out. This taste already shows some signs of decay. Offenbach himself, in his later operas, has attempted to revert to opéra comique, and if he has not altogether succeeded it is because his whole mind had become so thoroughly saturated with the spirit of bouffe that it was impossible for him suddenly to revert to the purer and more poetical level from which he had assisted the comic muse to descend. Other composers, such as the author of "Le Petit Duc," have appeared, who are likely to prove more successful; and if comic opera can ever be thoroughly re-established, it will be their task to do it. We fear, however, that the taste for opéra bouffe is very much like the taste for strong drink. People once overtaken by it may save themselves by total abstinence; but moderate conviviality is out of the question for them. Opéra bouffe, as we know it (and as we know it it is essentially Offenbachian), is not merely opéra comique made extravagant; its humor is largely founded upon an inversion of the moral and social order closely allied to the spirit of ribaldry. It is not ribald, because French wit is never ribald, but its popularity must in a sense be held to mark a distinct coarsening of the public taste. It is noticeable that, musically, the bouffe school is more nearly allied to the old comic school than any other. No attempt was ever made by Offenbach to do what Sullivan has so successfully done in English opera—to write a score which should be a musical burlesque of the serious Italian school. Apart from the comicality of the libretto, the music of "Pinafore" and the "Pirates of Penzance" closely follows the forms of classical opera, and a large part of the absurdity of the effect is produced by this. It is, of course, a trick which, once learned, can hardly be repeated with profit, and Offenbach was probably right in refraining—if, indeed, the idea ever occurred to him—from making use of it. The author of the "Grande Duchesse" was very fortunate in his librettos, some of which were, we believe, written by himself. A few years ago, it will be remembered, he came to this country to lead a band, but as a conductor he was not very good. He is said to have detested the United States because he derived no benefit from the representation of his operas here—a natural feeling which must, among dramatic and lyric authors in France, be quite common.

—Björnstjerne Björnson, the well-known Norwegian poet, novelist, dramatist, orator, and leader of the Liberals in politics, now visiting this country in company with Mrs. Ole Bull, of whose husband he was a warm friend, is a man in the prime of life, having been born December 8, 1832. Tall, erect, and elastic, broad-shouldered, deep-chested, blue-eyed, and auburn-haired, he possesses a magnificent presence, which, together with his clear voice, is one of the secrets of his great influence over his audience. It is his intention to visit places and persons of interest in this country, to witness a Presidential campaign and election, to make observations in regard to the practical results of republican institutions, and then, after having spent some time among his numerous countrymen in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, to return to his northern home next summer. Mr. Björnson is the son of a priest in a remote and dreary parsonage in the northwestern part of Norway. He did not distinguish himself at the Molde Latin school, nor did he take a full university course, turning his attention from boyhood to poetry and journalism. Twice he has been director of a theatre; the first time in 1858, when Ole Bull put his Bergen theatre into his hands, and again in 1865, when the management of the Christiania theatre was entrusted to him. He filled both positions only for a short time. His first novel, 'Synnöve Solbakken,' published in 1857, at once established his reputation as a writer of extraordinary power. Indeed, it became the corner-stone of a new school of literature, which had for its object the description of peasant life in Norway, and modern Norse literature may be said to have begun with it. Since then there has been no interruption in Björnson's literary activity, and he has produced, besides "Synnöve Solbakken,' the novels 'Arne,' 'A Happy Boy,' 'The Fisher Maiden,' 'The Bridal March,' 'Magnhild,' and a number of short stories; the dramas, 'Halte Hulda,' 'Mellein Slagene' (Between the Battles), 'King Sverre,' 'Sigurd Slembe,' 'Maria Stuart,' 'De Nygifte' (The Honeymoon), 'Sigurd Jorsalfar' (Sigurd the Crusader), 'En Fallit' (A Bankrupt), 'Redaktören' (The Editor), 'Kingen' (The King), 'Leonarda'; and now recently 'Det ny System' (The New System). He is also the author of an epic, 'Aruljot Gelline'; of a large volume of national and lyric poetry, and several other miscellaneous volumes. His numerous articles and addresses on the political and social, literary and artistic topics of the day would make even a larger library than the works above mentioned, but they are scattered all through the Scandinavian and German press and have never been collected. Many of his novels and dramas, especially the later ones, deal with the burning questions of the day. His latest novel, 'Magnhild,' and one of his last dramas, 'Leonarda,' present the author's views on the subject of woman's rights in a manner that would please the hearts of the most enthusiastic advocates of that doctrine in America. In his drama, 'The King,' published in 1877, he makes the king himself present the author's political tenets, which are thoroughly and radically republican. It may be added that several of Björnson's dramas, such as 'The King' and others, have been rejected by the royal theatres, and that on account of his outspoken liberal political sentiments he has been ostracized by all royalists in his own country.

—In 1873 M. Ludovic Halévy reprinted from the *Vie Parisienne* a volume of outlines of Parisian "existence," called 'Madame et Monsieur Cardinal,' from the chief characters in the opening two sketches. The garrulity and, so to speak, *bonhommie* of the wife and the dignity of the husband recall the somewhat similar figures of M. and Mme. Pipelet in Sue's book. But M. Halévy's touch is lighter than Sue's and his humor is less oily. He succeeded in giving M. and Mme. Cardinal more color and less monotony than Sue gave to M. and Mme. Pipelet. The type is common enough in Paris, we fancy, and the comparison of the studies from it made at such an interval is not uninstructive. The Cardinals have a depravity from which the Pipelets are free. We recall the subject because M. Ludovic Halévy has just published a second volume of similar sketches, of which the first six are in continuation of the couple of Cardinal studies in the earlier volume. 'Les Petites Cardinal' (Paris: Calmann Lévy; New York: F. W. Christern) are not intended *virginibus puerisque*, but they are very clever and at bottom not without an ironical morality. That they are full of dramatic surprises and not wanting in wit is, of course, to be expected from M. Halévy's participation in the "Belle Hélène," the "Périchole," "Fanny Lear," and "Froufrou."

INSTINCTIVE PHILOLOGIZING.*

TO assert, as Mr. White does, that "usage is not all the law of language" is to write very idly, seeing that no sane man would make the assertion which is contradicted. The "normal speech" to which we are introduced, a nondescript alleged to be dictated by "reason," and a rival of usage, is the newest invention in anything claiming to be sober philology. As abundantly illustrated by Mr. White, it is clearly indistinguishable from the offspring of pure whim. "There goes something besides the mere repetition of a

* 'Every-Day English. A Sequel to 'Words and their Uses.' By Richard Grant White. *Ratio imperatrix supra grammaticam.*' Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1880.

word in a certain sense to the making of normal language," he says; and we are ready to believe it. A happier phrase than "normal speech" or "normal language," to blind and confound the half-literate, could not easily be devised. Nor can we doubt that "formal grammar," as impredicable of English, or otherwise considered, will cease to be a topic of hostile discourse with the essayist, as soon as he attains to something like a definite idea of the genuine form of the thing he turmoils about. "The fact that formal grammar is at war with common-sense is shown by the history of language," is one of the strange positions which Mr. White takes up. On his motto, *Ratio imperatrix supra grammaticam*, the stricture is inevitable, that, not, as is implied, true grammar, but only false, can be reformed by reason; this being reformable because unaccordant with the sole aspect of reason here in place, that is to say, because it is not, as true grammar is, the reflex and the record of good usage. Moreover, the passage which the author quotes from Sir Philip Sidney does not aid him in the slightest degree. Sir Philip, adducing the objection to English, that "it wanteth [*i. e.*, is without] grammer," replies, "Nay, truly, it hath that prayse, that [*i. e.*, because] it wanteth not [*i. e.*, does not require] grammer; for grammer it might have, but it needes it not; beeing so easie of it selfe," etc. Just like the objector aforesaid, the predecessors of Sir Thomas Wilson might have said that English "wanteth rhetorike and logike." The first Rhetoric and the first Logic in English appeared during Sir Philip's infancy; and the first English Grammar proper was not published till long after his death. The clause, "for grammer it might have, but it needes it not; beeing so easie of it selfe," etc., is sheer nonsense, if construed as Mr. White construes it in his chapter entitled, "How it is that English has no Grammar," where he erroneously fathers on Sir Philip "the recognition, nearly three hundred years ago, of the fact, in philology, that English is a grammarless tongue."

Many home-staying dwellers in regions remote from those of refinement will, doubtless, be inspired with confidence on reading Mr. White's declaration: "I have heard English spoken by well-educated and well-bred Englishmen more or less all my life, but chiefly after [*read* since] I reached full manhood." "Less," however, we are compelled to infer, rather than "more," if we leave out of account the alternative of treacherousness of memory on his part. For he speaks, adverting to our own time, of "the very frequent use of *you was* among people of education"; a use which, of itself, now suffices to stamp a person as very far from educated. And he has it that *profile* and *oblique* "are now pronounced with the English *i* by the best speakers," and also that "people in general . . . say *pho'togra'phy* and *te'legra'phy*," or do not accent them on the antepenult. Further, according to him, *truths* and *youths* have the *th* of *the*, "in the best English pronunciation of this generation"; the fact being that the former, in such pronunciation, very often has the *th* of *thin*. The first syllable of *suggest* he makes to rhyme with the *ug* of *ugly*, whereas the word is, in the mouths of all but most affected elocutionists, *sujest*, with the *u* like that of *nut*. Of *lieutenant* we read: "The pronunciation of this word, by all good English speakers, has, for centuries, been *leftenant*. That is its pronunciation now in England and in Ireland, and by the best speakers in America." Can Mr. White suppose that no one has access to Dr. Worcester's dictionary, where six ways of pronouncing the word are registered? At the present day the best speakers in England, above all in military circles, pass so rapidly over the first syllable of *lieutenant*, that a vowel-sound is hardly heard there at all, and what is heard is *i* rather than *e*. That cultivated Englishmen are beginning to follow the vulgar, in the way of pronouncing *hearth*, *clerk*, and *nephew*, is his opinion, but is not ours. Nor can we go along with him as regards the pronunciation of *girl*, which, he says, is *g-yurl*; "a little evanescent grace of speech which is beginning to pass away"—as we are very happy to hear. The combination *yurl* must match *hurl*; and *g-yurl* is even worse than *gurl*, as adding coarseness to affectation. Let the *ir* of *girl* be sounded like the *er* of *error*, and one will not go far astray. Of *either* he gives *ī-ther* as the pronunciation followed by "many English people of the best education and social culture." He has discovered, then, his mistake of a few years back, when, in 'Words and their Uses,' he reviled *ī-ther* as "a second-rate British affectation." The character of *h*, at least in one word, he seems doubtful about, inasmuch as "*a* historical" and "*an* historical" appear at pp. 155 and 159, respectively. His self-estimate, "I have been led to believe that my sensitiveness to sounds is somewhat more than usually delicate," we can hardly accept, considering, among other things, that he records it in connection with his expression of belief that, during upwards of fifty years, he has never heard any educated New-Englander call *none* anything but *nun*. We have heard scores of them give its *o* the sound which that letter has in *crone*. And here is an enigma: "The right pronunciation of English means the right pronunciation *now*; and the best pronunciation has almost a conventional meaning, that is, the pronunciation of the best society. But, as we have seen, the pronunciation of this society may be really bad; affectation and fashion may change it for the worse." How pronunciation which is "really bad" can, nevertheless, be 'right," we are not shown. *Iron* Mr. White cannot abide to hear called *ī-urn*, as all the world calls it. The pronunciation of "educated Irish gentlemen and ladies" is that which he declares himself in favor of, and for the reason that he believes it to be that which obtained in the time of Queen Elizabeth. It is doubtful whether the public will set much store by this view.

His "discussions on language" he announces "to be chiefly on the grounds of taste, judgment, and reason." One such discussion we give at length; and it must serve as a sample out of scores which we could show to be every whit as misleading as to facts and reasoning:

"*Every once in a while* is a phrase most often heard from ladies' lips, but too often from men, and sometimes seen in print. In this phrase, *every* qualifies all that comes after it; and what is *once in a while?* The nonsense is apparent. This phrase is, I believe, an Americanism of indisputable origin and usage [*read* by origin, and in use, indisputably an Americanism]. At least, I have never heard it except from American speakers, or met with it except in American writers. It is a perversion, by transposition, of 'once in every little while,' which, although not a very good phrase, being itself a perversion of 'once in a little while,' is yet comprehensible [*sic*]. But a moment's reflection will show any one who can understand the use of words, that '*every once* in a little while' is an absurd and meaningless phrase,—an illustration of the absoluteness of logical position in the English language."

Now, *once in a while* is often heard in the English provinces, and *every once in a while* is heard there occasionally; and neither of them is reckoned so much vulgar as odd. The origin assigned to them is, also, sheer fancy. Further, first we are told, that, in *every once in a while*, *every* qualifies *once in a while*; and then, to explode it, *every once*, in the supposititious *every once in a little while*, is assumed to qualify *in a little while*. *Once in a while* is the same as *now and then*; and *every once in a while* is the same as *every now and then*, —instead of which we had, long ago, *ever now and then*, *now and then among*, *ever among*, *ever between*, and the like,—and there is an end. Nor is it overwise to insist on "the absoluteness of logical position in the English language." Our ancestors once said *little and little*, *a little and a little*, *by little and little*, etc.; and the last of these we have changed, in contempt of "logical position," into *little by little*, which runs very slight risk of being stigmatized as bad English.

"*Avocation*," he writes, "is a word very much misused, in the sense of work, business, occupation, even by writers of intelligence and education. The examples at my hand [*sic*] are very numerous." And then follow two pages on *avocations*, in the sense of "pursuits," "duties," with several quotations for it, but not one for *avocation*, "work," etc., a use very rare indeed in the pages of good writers of any age. He has done as one would do who, setting out with a proposal to discuss *pain* or *part*, should spend himself on *pains*, "labor," "care," or on *parts*, "qualities," "talents." As to *avocations*, in the sense of it which Mr. White abhors, it has the sanction of the best English literature of centuries; and that is enough to legitimate it. Lord Macaulay's 'Essays' might be appealed to six times for it. In passing, if the reader would smile at the indecision of a lexicographer, let him look at Dr. Worcester's remark on *avocation*, and then at his definitions of *employment* and *engagement*.

Etymology is a branch of learning in which Mr. White is not strong. In "*ge-ógraphy*" and "*bióg-raphy*," according to him, "the only stress is laid upon a syllable which has no proper or significant existence as such; it being composed of the last letter of one word and the first letter of another, each torn away from a place where it sounds well and means something." Is *geo-*, then, a "word," as *bio* (*s*) is one? *Scientist* is, to him, "intolerable, as being both unlovely in itself and improper in its formation." *Geologist* he puts up with. "But I can find no lawful instance corresponding to *scientist*, which might [*read* may] well go with *drinkist* and *shootist*. If we would, we could [*read* might] say *sciencist*; and let who will say it, and hiss himself properly in the saying of it." We see his method; and a ludicrous one it is. It would yield us *fablist*, not *fabulist*, as the correct word; and the French ought, on their part, to say *fabliste*. If, further, we had not yet adjectives of *globe*, *joke*, *muscle*, etc., we ought to have, to match his *sciencist*, delights like *globar*, *jokar*, *musclar*, and so on without end, including *influence-al*, *mars-al* [for *martial*], *palace-al*, and so on and so on; since, by his ruling, "we cannot break up the sibilation with a *t*." It is hardly necessary to add that *scientist* tallies, as a strictly normal derivative, with *artist*, *aurist*, *deist*, *dentist*, *indifferentist*, *jurist*, *legist*. Another perfectly good and extremely useful neologism which he derides is *physicist*. The base on which to build being *physics*, he holds—though, at p. 222, he uses *phonetist*—that "we should make the word *physics-ist*." By this style of reasoning, substantives in *-ian* from *optics* and *politics*, and adjectives in *-al* from *ethics* and *tactics*, if we wanted them, ought be *optics-ian* and *politics-ian*, *ethics-al* and *tactics-al*. We have no room to refute Mr. White's untenable arguments against the proposed verb *evolute* and against *canalize*, and that urged in behalf of the verb *juxtapose*.

On *shall*, *will*, *should*, and *would* there is a chapter of twenty-eight pages, which it might call for the same amount of letter-press to criticise minutely. To give an idea of its false lessons, such things as the following are found in it: "Expressing willingness, we say 'I *would* grant your request'; but, if we introduce *willingly* or *with pleasure*, we use *should*, and say, 'I *should* willingly, or with pleasure, grant your request,' not, 'I *would* willingly,' [!]

etc. In like manner we say, 'I *will* see you to-morrow' [as if we never said 'I *shall* see you to-morrow'!]; but, if we add an expression of pleasure, 'I *shall* be glad, or happy, to see you to-morrow,' not, 'I *will* be glad,' etc." Mr. White's own use of some of the words is defective. "To speak and to write good English it is necessary only to choose proper words, and place them in such an order, in such a relative position to each other, that they *will* set forth our thoughts logically," p. 316. "Here was a man who endeavored to upturn the written English language, and who thought he *would* do so," p. 162. Other like instances are found at pp. 55, 142, 146, and 172.

Premising mention of his 'Words and their Uses,' Mr. White proclaims, in his Preface: "The views taken, in the book in question, of the use of particular words, and of their perversion from their proper sense, even by writers of repute, seem also to need no apology or modification; at least, I have none to offer." Not invariably, however, do the judgments there expressed now have weight with him. Or has he, in some cases, forgotten them? In the work just named, *gratuitous*, for "unfounded, unwarranted, unreasonable, untrue," is described as "an affected use" of the term; *ratiocination* is ranked among words which "should not be recognized as members of good English society"; it is enunciated that, "for the use of *ill*—an adverb—as an adjective, thus, 'an *ill* man,' there is no defence and no excuse, except the contamination of bad example"; and *partially* is expressly restricted to the sense of "with unjust or unreasonable bias." Yet, in his latest production, that which we are engaged with, we find, at pp. 70, 139, 143, 251, respectively, "'guilt' is *gratuitously* confounded with 'gild'"; "subjects of study and *ratiocination*"; "with an *ill* grace"; and "universally or *partially*." At p. 419 he grieves over the Scotch "*on* the street," for *in*; and, at p. 489, having recovered from his grief, he writes of an "adolescent vendor [!] who stands *on* the street-corner, and cries," etc. If the decrees which he issues are undeserving that he himself should heed them, how can he suppose that others will attach a higher value to them, practically, than his own?

The Englishman's Critical and Expository Bible Cyclopædia. Compiled and written by the Rev. A. R. Fausset, M.A., Rector of St. Cuthbert's, York, sometime University Scholar and Senior Classical Moderator, Trinity College, Dublin; joint author of the 'Critical and Experimental Commentary.' Illustrated by six hundred woodcuts. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 4to, pp. 753.)—This is a monument of diligent compilation, of pious and reverent exploitation of the Bible and Biblical literature. The author's aim was "to put within the reach of all Bible students, learned and unlearned alike, the fruits of modern criticism and research, ..." and to present these fruits in a shape calculated to strengthen belief in the truth and authenticity of every word of Scripture. He finds that "in an age prone to scepticism God has given remarkable confirmations of the truth of His own Word in raising men who have been enabled to decipher the hieroglyphics of Egypt, the cuneiform inscriptions of Babylon and Assyria, and the archaic characters of the Moabite stone." The confirmations he collects and emphasizes with great knowledge and zeal; the simultaneously deciphered contradictions of Scriptural statements he piously explains away or ignores. He finds treasures of information available for hermeneutics in the lately unearthed lore of hoary heathen antiquity, and he displays them unhesitatingly, without the least regard to the rationalistic critic's "O sancta simplicitas!" The plagues of Egypt, he tells us, for instance (p. 187), "were all directed against the Egyptian gods," and he explains this thesis very learnedly: "The turning of the Nile into blood was a stroke upon Hapi, the Nile god. The plague of frogs attacked the female deity with a frog's head, Heka. . . . The third plague of dust-sprung lice fell upon the earth, worshipped in the Egyptian pantheism as Seb. . . . The fourth plague, of flies, was upon the air, deified as Shu, son of Ra, the sun god, or as Isis, queen of heaven. The fifth was the murrain on cattle, aimed at their ox worship. The sixth, the boils from ashes sprinkled toward the heaven, was a challenge to Neit, 'the great mother queen of highest heaven,' if she could stand before Jehovah." We omit the rest, as less clear and convincing than the foregoing, though displaying a still higher flight of critical ingenuity.

Mr. Fausset's work is also remarkable for the decision with which he propounds his own views of disputed matters: he generally ignores all other opinions, and thus spares his unlearned reader both pains and doubt. Here is an instance of that decision: Passing over in perfect silence all the other conjectures concerning the locality and the four rivers of Paradise, he gives us this one as a fact, *s. v.* "Eden"—"The primitive E. was somewhere in the locality containing the conjoined Euphrates and the Tigris (= 'Hiddekel'), which branch off northward into those two rivers, and southward branch into two channels again below Bassora, before falling into the sea, Gihon the E. channel, and Pison the W. Havilah, near the W. channel, would thus be N. E. Arabia; and Cush (= 'Ethiopia'), near the E. channel, would be Kissia, Chuzestan, or Susiana." This is all. Nor does the author waste much labor and space on the refutation of doubts smacking of systematic unbelief in miracles. A quotation from Matthew fully suffices to him to prove "*the personal existence, miraculous fate,* and *prophetical office*" of Jonah (*s. v.*): is it not distinctly stated, 'As Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth'? In the dove of "Gen. viii. 8, 9, seeking rest in vain, fleeing from Noah and the ark," he finds a kind of type of Jonah, whose name signifies *dove*, and similar types and anti-types he discovers everywhere. Thus, Ahitophel, who "combined shrewd sagacity with intimate knowledge of David, which he turned against David," becomes the type of Judas Iscariot, "in relation to Christ, knowing His favorite haunt for prayer, Gethsemane" (p. 405).

With the same ease with which our author defends the most extraordinary miracles he also establishes the contested authenticity of Scriptural books. The Song of Songs, he says (*s. v.* "Canticles"), is "the *most excellent* of songs; even as the antitypical Solomon, its subject and its author (by His Spirit), is King of kings, *i. e.*, the greatest of kings. . . . Its Divine canonicity and authority are certain, as it is found in all Hebrew MSS. of Scripture; also in the Greek LXX. version; in the catalogues of Melito, bishop of Sardis, . . . and others." Nor does it cost him more to defend single facts assailed as unworthy of divine inspiration. That Elisha, f. i., called out bears and had forty-two boys torn to pieces for sneering at his baldness, is justified (*s. v.*) in this plain way: "The profanity of the parents, whose guilt the profane children filled the measure of, was punished in the latter, that the death of the sons might constrain the fathers to fear the Lord, since they would not love Him." Besides, Mr. Fausset contends that one of the words by which the mockers are designated in the original Hebrew does not mean 'little children,' and also—though this rather extenuates the crime—that "*quereach*" did not designate Elisha as really bald, but as a man "*with hair short at the back of the head*, in contrast with Elijah's shaggy locks flowing over his shoulders."

The Hebrew word quoted will show the "learned" reader how queer our author's way of spelling Semitic words is. Unfortunately, his spellings are as inconsistent as they are queer. According to his rule, the word quoted ought to be stranger still, *queereeach; cf.* his "*bereekah*" (p. 652), "*seemel*" (p. 303), "*jobeel*" (p. 297), etc. "*Bereekah*" again conflicts with "*masse-cah*" (p. 304), both with "*melech*" (p. 481), "*melech*" with the quoted "*quereach*," "*quereach*" also with "*kophim*" (p. 307), "*kophim*" with "*tukki*" (p. 674), "*tukki*" with "*thucciim*" (p. 307), and so on. This carelessness is, however, due chiefly to the author's indifference to minor points, while his attention is fastened on topics admitting of exhortative observations, and we are far from inclined to question the extent of his knowledge or his ability as a compiler and condenser. The mass of information pressed into this Cyclopædia—by one hand—is really prodigious.

Deutsche Hypothekenbanken. Kritik und Reformvorschläge von Dr. Julian Goldschmidt, Rechtsanwalt in Berlin. (Jena: Gustav Fischer. 1880.)—The mortgage companies of Germany, instituted for the purpose of making loans on real estate, and taking the Crédit Foncier of France as their model, are the subject of this volume of over two hundred pages. The book is written in an involved style of the traditional German type, and many of the questions which it discusses have only a local import; still, the searching analysis to which the author subjects the fundamental relations between mortgagor and mortgagee invest it with interest for the general reader, and its account of the recent real-estate crisis in Berlin suggests a curious analogy with the catastrophe which, between the years 1874 and 1876, overtook dealers in New York property and threatened to impair the stability of some very conservative financial institutions.

The mortgage-companies, or, as they are technically called, *Hypothekenbanken*, are, in a measure, the outgrowth and complement of another class of institutions, peculiar to Prussia, and formed by Frederic the Great after the Seven Years' War, when he was laboring to raise his kingdom out of the depths of misery and poverty by fostering trade, manufactures, and agriculture to the utmost of his power. These institutions are known as *Landschaften* or *Ritterschaften*, and are a number of corporations, each of which is composed of all the land-owners of one particular province, who combine for the purpose of obtaining loans secured by mortgages on their land. They are formed on the principle of unlimited liability, each member being responsible to the entire amount of his personal and real estate for the debts contracted or guaranteed by the company. There are two distinct methods of procedure in use by these corporations. In some of them, if a member wishes to obtain a mortgage-loan, he executes a first mortgage on his property (it is a matter of course that all of these mortgages are first liens) and issues one or more bonds, which his corporation then guarantees, contracting with the lender that in case it becomes necessary to foreclose, and a deficiency ensue, he may have recourse against the property of any other member of the company—which is equivalent to saying, any other land-owner in the same province. In other cases, it is the company itself which issues its bonds to the public, some particular member receiving the proceeds, and his particular

property being primarily the lender's or bondholder's security, with recourse in case of need as already described. Whichever method is followed, the bonds are generally for round sums, are negotiable like our coupon bonds, and are regularly quoted at the Berlin stock exchange. They enjoy a high degree of credit, and are in demand among investors at prices ranging from 91½ per cent. for 3½ per cent. bonds to 103½ per cent. for 4½ per cent. bonds. These figures, however, are sufficient to show that the companies are extremely conservative in their valuations and in the proportionate amount of the loans which they guarantee, and that, consequently, the relief which they afford to the landed interest is not as thorough as their founders anticipated. Another circumstance to be noted is that they never make loans on city property or mere dwelling-houses, but only on country estates under cultivation.

To fill this aching void the *Hypothekenbanken* sprang into existence. They are joint stock companies with limited liability, their capital being simply a guarantee-fund for the holders of their bonds. They sell their bonds to the public and lend the proceeds on first mortgage. The difference between the interest they pay and the interest they charge constitutes their profit, to which is sometimes added a commission or bonus which the mortgagor is required to pay. The amount which they may lend on property is kept within certain limits by their charters, which also prescribe, in the case of the Prussian companies, in what manner they shall arrive at the valuation of the properties on which they accept mortgages. The condition of twenty-six of these banks, at the end of 1878, was as follows: their combined capital was (in round numbers, roughly reducing marks to dollars), $48,000,000; they held mortgages for $346,000,000; the amount of their bonds in circulation was $302,000,000; their expenses were $825,000; they earned a net average dividend of nine per cent. and declared an average dividend of seven per cent. During 1879 a great change took place in their condition, or, at least, in the condition of the Prussian banks. The loans of the latter are chiefly on houses and lots in the city of Berlin, and especially in the newly-built portions of the city, where the last three years have witnessed a staggering fall in values. Foreclosure sales have been the order of the day, and in most cases the banks which held the mortgages have been compelled to bid in the property, which they still hold. Instead of deriving their income from interest, unvarying in amount and regularly paid, they are compelled to derive it from rents and to adapt themselves to a species of business foreign to their organization. Many of them have been unable to declare any dividends on their stock for 1879, and the only consolation they can offer their stockholders lies in the hope that at some time or other they will be able to dispose of their holdings without loss, and perhaps even with a profit. The bondholders, however, get their interest regularly. The limits of this notice will not permit us to follow the author in his very interesting discussion of the causes which have led to such results, his exposition of the evil effects of the best-meant legislative enactments, his description of the methods employed to float the bonds, of the sharp practices of the brokers who made a market for them, and of the unhealthy stimulus given to the building trade, resulting in panic and bankruptcy. Suffice it to say that every feature of our real-estate crisis of 1875 is here reproduced and intensified.

Joan of Arc. By Janet Tuckey. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1880. 16mo, pp. 224.)—An intelligent résumé of its subject will be found in this reprint. Its materials are in great part derived, like the materials of other recent lives of the Maid, from M. Jules Quicherat's important work, the 'Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc' (Paris, 1841–1849, 5 vols. in 8), a nearly exhaustive collection of the contemporaneous documents, both historical and literary, which belong to the subject. Mrs. Tuckey makes no claims to original research, but she has used her material with good judgment and feeling, and has given as good an account of the Maid's campaigns, imprisonment, trial, and fate as could be permitted to a strictly popular treatment, which must pass over some of the most touching details of the martyrdom. Students of the subject will remember, for instance, the testimony of Martin Ladvener, Guillaume de la Chambre, Manchon, and Petrus Migecii (in Quicherat, vols. ii. pp. 7, 8; iii. pp. 50, 147, 148). The present work, though it is upon a smaller scale, recalls the manner of M. Henri Wallon's excellent life of Joan of Arc (reviewed in the *Nation* of June 29, 1876).

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1880.

The Week.

THE unofficial but nearly complete returns from the October elections substantiate the Republican claims made on the morning after the contest, though they seemed at the time extravagant. With one county only estimated, the plurality for the Ohio State ticket is 22,000; Townsend, who headed it, having a trifle less than 19,000, and running behind because of his strict temperance views. In Indiana Porter's plurality is 7,545, with the entire State heard from. We have seen no evidence that Landers ran very largely behind his associates, by the way, which argues, of course, that his unpopularity was either fictitious or condoned, or that it affected the whole ticket. The Ohio Congressional delegation will stand 15 Republicans to 20 Democrats, and the Indiana 9 to 4—a gain of 6 in the first instance and of 3 in the second. The Indiana Legislature shows a Republican majority of 14, instead of the Democratic majority of 26 in the last body, and will elect a Republican successor to Senator McDonald. The Democrats lost some ground in West Virginia also, though probably not as much as the Republican assertion that the majority is but 8,000 implies. A "straw" of some significance, perhaps, as to New Jersey, is the Newark charter election, which took place the same day, and resulted in a Republican majority of 2,200 and gain of 5,700. It seems probable that the next Congress will be Republican in both branches, by very narrow majorities.

General Hancock's first deliverance on the tariff question was so dark, not to say mystical, that it not unnaturally alarmed his supporters, and probably contributed in some degree to the Republican victory in Indiana. Mr. Randolph, of New Jersey, therefore felt it necessary to ask him for an explanation of it, on the ground that it was misreported or "imperfectly understood." To this General Hancock has made answer that he is "too sound an American to advocate any departure from the general features of a policy which has been largely instrumental in building up our industries"; that "we must raise revenue in some way or other"; that "the necessity of raising money for the administration of the Government will continue as long as human nature lasts"; that the best way to raise revenue "is largely by the tariff," and that, therefore, "so far as we are concerned, all talk about free-trade is folly." He then suggests that "some such bill as Eaton's" will probably treat the tariff question with "justice to all our interests," and he recommends a revision of the present tariff by a "commission of intelligent experts." We need hardly say that this is nearly as mysterious as the interview. The revenue which will be called for "as long as human nature lasts" might be raised, as in England, on four or five articles, none of them products of native industry. This would be a "tariff for revenue only," such as the Democrats call for, but would not be a "tariff for protection," such as the Republicans call for; and the only indication we get of General Hancock's preference in the matter lies in his assertion that he is "too sound an American to advocate departure from the general features of a policy which has been largely instrumental in building up our industries." But then the convention which nominated him was either composed of unsound Americans or did advocate a departure from what we suppose he means by "the general features of the policy," etc. But why go farther in analyzing what defies analysis? The general's views on the tariff are not, we firmly believe, to be got at by any purely human agency, and his second utterance needs explanation fully as much as the first.

Any how, the tariff is what seems to have done the work for the Republicans in Indiana. There were other agencies, but the tariff was the principal one, and the "Solid South" was apparently not among the number. In fact, the "Solid South" has been virtually returned to the arsenal as a useless weapon. The gain of this to the country, no matter what one's views about the tariff may be, is immense. The continual denunciation of the South, to the neglect of all other topics, was a sort of political hypochondria, like that of a man who passes his time considering and talking about his own ailments. Nothing will do more to promote the cause of order and law at the South than the growth of healthy interest at the North in other subjects than Southern wickedness, because in this interest the Southern people will soon come, through the force of events, to participate. They cannot, however, join any party in any common pursuit whose orators make denunciation of the whole Southern community the staple of their speeches. We commend to those who have, during the past four years, been disposed to condemn our incredulity about "outrages," the total disappearance of them from this canvass. They must surely see now that if the state of the South had been what the Republican orators represented it in 1876, 1878, and 1879, it could not have so changed for the better that in 1880 there is no need to speak of outrages at all. There has been no mention in this canvass even of the Chisholm murder, or of the assault on the postmaster at Blackville, both good old seasoned outrages which have been in use in two canvasses without a sign of wear, and could very well have done good service in this one. We therefore advise every Stalwart to retire to his closet and ask himself why it is there was so much uproar about Southern atrocities down to last year, and why it suddenly stopped this year. If he answers this question candidly, truthfully, and after thorough heart-searching, not only will a great light come in on his mind, but he will issue forth a much more cheerful, agreeable, and useful Republican than he ever was before, and a more satisfactory person in all the relations of life.

We beg to call attention to an interesting letter on the evolution of the Indiana campaign which will be found in another column. It is very instructive in more ways than one, and both illustrates and corroborates our remarks on the same subject last week. One reason why both parties avoid financial and economical topics is that discussion of them would involve the loss of the services on the stump of many of their great men. It is, moreover, to be said for General Harrison, whose course our correspondent criticises in the Indiana campaign, that a man of sense who takes the stump has to follow the lines marked out by the committees for others. The same "thunder" is served out to all, and failure to use it is not well received at "headquarters." Mr. Schurz, whose speeches are always those of a rational man addressed to rational men, is notoriously not in favor in committee-rooms, and is freely sworn at by every Republican blatherskite and trickster. We have little doubt the present campaign, however, will result in the purchase by the Republicans of an entirely new outfit and the sale of the "Solid South," with other condemned stores, to the junk-dealers.

The result in Indiana has excited a great deal of sympathy, even among the victors, for such recent converts to the Democratic party as General Butler and Colonel Forney. General Butler's case is the sadder of the two, because his object in going over was, he says, to enable him to give more effective aid to the suffering negro. His disappointment, therefore, must reach his very vitals, and we fear may permanently sour a very rich nature. Since his return, however, from Indiana, where he has been stumping, he has, with characteristic cheerfulness and philosophy, ascribed the defeat to frauds which cannot, he thinks, be repeated in November, when the State will surely be carried by the Democrats. Colonel Forney's case is not so pathetic, both because he does not mix philanthropy with his politics, and because, like the cheerful man that he is, when he finds he has taken a wrong road he always comes back to the fork and tries the other, so that his happiness is assured in any case. Now that he finds the Democrats are not going to win he will doubtless join the Republicans once more. The Colonel is a good man, too, loves righteousness, and thinks the big battalions always have the best stock of it on hand.

Both National Committees have issued addresses. That of the Republicans is of course a whoop of triumph. That of the Democrats is more interesting, as giving an explanation of the disaster by those whom

it has overtaken. They acknowledge "surprise" and "disappointment," but say the Republicans were as much surprised as they were. The "causes" of the calamity were: the "Africanization" of the State by the Republicans; the corrupt use of money; the importation and use of repeaters; and the aid derived "from the use of the Federal machinery of elections, under pretence of supervising the election of members of Congress." Still, they take a hopeful view of the future. The "corruption fund" will now have to be divided among many States; the repeaters will go home, and those who were arrested but discharged by the United States marshals on straw bail will not care to come back, and the Federal machinery will not be at work. In fact, they seem to expect that the Republicans will in November find no way of carrying out their wicked designs. This, however, is almost too sanguine a view, and we do not see how men so familiar with the variety of forms taken by human depravity, and with its persistence and ingenuity, as Messrs. Barnum and English must be, can look for any such sudden triumph of virtue.

The latest returns of the Georgia election indicate that the total Democratic vote cast for the subordinate officers on the State ticket was 75,000; that Mr. Norwood, the anti-machine candidate for governor, received 50,000, and that Governor Colquitt owed his majority of 55,000 and upwards to white and black Republican votes to the number of at least 30,000. The Columbus *Enquirer* conjectures that Norwood had the greater white vote, but of course cannot argue the point and admits the existence of an opposite belief. Whichever view be the right one, it is certain that thousands of negroes voted for Colquitt for reasons best known to themselves. The *Times* correspondent at Atlanta says fully 65,000 black voters took advantage of the split among the Democrats to resume the privilege of voting with safety, and at such a price as the Colquitt faction was willing to pay for their support. What is remarkable is that the volunteering and bargaining in Colquitt's favor went on in face of the circulation by the Norwood party of a so-called "Convict Catechism," intended to reach and deter this very class of voters by reminding them of the cruelties of the convict chain-gang system in Georgia, of Governor Colquitt's indifference to them, and of Senator Norwood's lively sensibility to the disgrace which the system brings upon the State. It also held up Governor Colquitt's pardon of white murderers of unoffending blacks, and neglect to see justice done when the victims were poor, but it strikingly failed of its end. The incident shows that in the breaking of the color line lies the guarantee of negro suffrage, as we have always contended, and that there is no predicting how this suffrage will be bestowed in any election from which exotic distinctions like "Republican" and "Democratic" are eliminated.

Mr. Conkling has been "supporting the ticket" with so much zeal and energy, though on the tariff issue mainly, in Indiana, and in this way is making his conduct in this campaign so much of a contrast to his conduct in the Hayes campaign and to his sulky attitude when Mr. Garfield was in New York, that it is reported that he must have concluded a satisfactory "bargain" with the Republican candidate. Even his own most devoted followers do not pretend that he would work in this way from a mere sense of the importance of Republican success to the suffering negro or to the country at large. Mr. Garfield has, however, given emphatic assurances that he will make no bargain or promises of the kind which Mr. Conkling most delights in; so that we have before us the alternative of believing that Mr. Garfield has been making false representations, or that Mr. Conkling's friends do him injustice when they admit that he never really "works" in a canvass until he knows what his pay is to be. Of course, the latter is the conclusion to which we must all joyfully come. What has roused Mr. Conkling must be his sympathy with the black man, his dread of a "Solid South," and his anxiety about the future of American industry.

The process of freeing the editorial mind, which always follows a Presidential contest, has already begun in consequence of the Indiana reverse. The New York *Sun* has restrained itself a good while, but at last it sees no use in "a public journal in a political canvass that discusses everything save the real, live issues before the people," and it gives way to its long-time "irresistible impulse to handle this Hancock and Garfield campaign without gloves." What it means by this figure presently appears when it calls its party an ass for dispensing with Tilden, General Hancock "a good man, weighing two hundred and fifty pounds," and English an odious skinflint, who has, however, "generously given his name to the ticket." Still, the *Sun* is bound to see a final ray of hope, and urges Democrats to fresh exertions, on the singular ground that "our candidates, then (!), will answer." The same paper puts another load off its conscience by asserting with double-leaded bluntness that the rebels will never rule if General Hancock is elected, and that the Unionists who conquered in the Rebellion "will for ever hereafter control and conduct the American Government." These truths it has evidently suppressed too long, for the Independents and Democrats yet under the spell of the brigadier bugbear are vigorously exhorted to vote for an Administration which "will be as fre from the rule of rebels as from the rule of the Czar of all the Russias.'

Another admirable speech from Mr. Schurz at the Cooper Union on Tuesday evening confirmed his eminence in this campaign for genuine political oratory. The most valuable portion of it was his review of the Southern question as affected by the October elections, which was couched in the ideal language of the "Republican emissary at the South." His words deserve to be reproduced in every Southern paper, and pondered by every Southern politician and voter. He denied the existence of any peculiarly Southern grievance, and advised the people of that section that if power is their object "the only way for them to obtain it will be for them to look at the interests they have in common with the rest of the country more than at the interests which they erroneously think to be peculiar to them as the South." Sentences like these it is a pity to shorten:

"The people of the South may be sure that the people of the North cherish no ill-will towards them. . . . If by Republican politicians demonstrations of such feelings seem to be made it is mere stage-thunder. . . . In fact, the Southern people have had no greater enemy than the Democratic party. . . . It is my candid opinion that nothing better can happen to them than another striking demonstration of the futility of all the efforts of the Democratic party to obtain the possession of national power as long as that party is constituted and managed as it is now. That demonstration, sweeping away those disturbing illusions I have spoken of, will be apt to bring the South to a clear sense of the actual state of things."

A curious correspondence between Senator Wade Hampton and Mr. John Sherman has been published. Mr. Sherman was reported to have said in a speech that the North was asked to "surrender all it had done into the hands of Wade Hampton and the Ku-klux, and the little segment in the North which is called the Democratic party." Wade Hampton asked if he meant by this "to connect him directly or indirectly with what was known as the Ku-klux Klan." By the Ku-klux Klan Mr. Wade Hampton evidently meant the armed organization known by that name some ten years ago, which committed outrages by night on political opponents, and accordingly thought he had "cornered" Mr. Sherman. But Mr. Sherman was much too smart for him. On being called to account he acknowledged that Mr. Hampton had not been personally connected with the Ku-klux Klan, and that he knew that "he [Hampton] had, in one or two instances, resisted and defeated its worst impulses." But he then enlarged the term "Ku-klux Klan" so as to make it cover actual crimes of every grade in the code of crimes, from murder to the meanest form of ballot-box-stuffing, committed since 1870 down to this date in South Carolina, and then based the power of the Democrats at the South on these crimes, and by making Wade Hampton as Senator the product of this power, proved him substantially a member of the Ku-klux Klan, and the triumph of Hancock a delivery of the United States Government to the Klan. Mr. Sherman's letter is an amusing piece of conglomerative argument, and was evidently too much for Wade Hampton, for his reply was that the Secretary of the Treasury "had uttered what was false, and what he knew to be false." This is stupid. If he had had a little patience and ingenuity he might have worked out a beautiful counter demonstration, showing that Mr. Sherman was the partner and confederate of a large gang of Louisiana cheats and swindlers and perjurers. The literary and rhetorical weakness of the Democrats in this canvass is pitiable.

The managers of the "Ladies' Deposit Company," the Boston swindle of which we spoke a fortnight ago, have been lodged in jail, and the sheriff is in possession of such assets of the concern as can be found. The suffering caused by the bursting of the bubble is probably very great, but in most cases will be concealed. The "President" now weeps and says there were a number of men behind her whom she does not know, and who paid her one hundred dollars a month for her management, and used to come every evening and carry off the day's deposits in a basket. That this story has some foundation is not unlikely. The affair has been very remarkable, for reasons we recently gave, but it has been made more remarkable still within the past week by a passionate defence of the "bank" from Gail Hamilton, addressed to the Boston *Advertiser*. This lady's contention is in substance that the swindle, if swindle it be (which she does not admit), is no worse than those which men, including managers of savings-banks, are every day perpetrating, and that those who exposed it are responsible for the loss which has overtaken the depositors, inasmuch as it was owing to this exposure that the institution for the first time failed to meet the demands upon it. She therefore calls upon the editor to give his note of hand, with interest at eight per cent. a month, for two hundred dollars, with which she had been entrusted by a poor Southern woman, and which she invested in the "Ladies' Deposit." The letter reads a little like a burlesque, but is evidently seriously meant. It would form an interesting appendix to the series of letters against civil-service reform which Gail Hamilton published in the *Tribune* three or four years ago. But bad as those were they did not prepare one for this defence of Mrs. Howe's bank.

Colonel Higginson has apologized for the depositors in the bank on the ground of their ignorance of financial matters—ignorance which is fostered both by the kind of education women receive and by the way in which their male relatives treat them in all money matters. This is doubtless in the great majority of cases a sound plea, but it cannot be made to cover Gail Hamilton's. It is hardly possible that a woman who has for some years pursued political and social essay-writing as an occupation, and who has recently in a book advocated the abolition of the public higher education, can be ignorant that there is no honest banking which can pay 96 per cent. per annum on deposits. It is consequently difficult to avoid the conclusion that she knew that the earlier depositors in Mrs. Howe's bank would be paid out of funds supplied by the later ones, and that when she invested her Southern friend's money in it it was with the hope of getting it out again at the expense of other speculators before the inevitable crash came. Undoubtedly plenty of male essayists and politicians are capable of making investments of this sort, but we have not yet heard of one who has had the audacity to come out in print in defence of such a speculation and in denunciation of those who exposed it. Gail Hamilton's performance is important as touching the expectation of many that the entrance of women into the political arena would exert a purifying influence on politics, and we wish Colonel Higginson would discuss it from this point of view.

The Democratic factions in this city have, after long deliberation and a good deal of wrangling, agreed upon the candidates for county offices to be chosen next month. Their conferences have been conducted on the lowest plane of politics and in the main by a vulgar order of politicians, and of course a common self-distrust quite as much as any interest in the good effects of their union upon the party at large has produced their concert. The mayoralty was naturally the chief office in dispute, and the withdrawal of Mr. Schell, whose close intimacy with John Kelly rendered him especially objectionable, affords matter for congratulation. But whether the nomination of Mr. W. R. Grace is in this respect much better seems extremely doubtful. Of all the names presented by Irving Hall to Tammany he seems to have been by far the most satisfactory, and he is reported to be an intimate friend of Cardinal McCloskey, who is a near connection of Mr. Kelly. So far as we are aware, nothing is known to his discredit, though the *Times* refers to his connection with the receivership of the bankrupt Continental Life Insurance Company, and says significantly that it "will be investigated and reported in due time." He is a "business man," no politician, has made a reputation for philanthropy, and is an Irish Roman Catholic. The city has never had a Catholic mayor, nor since colonial times, we believe, one who was not a native, and both these circumstances are likely to be heard from on the local stump.

We trust no more weight will be attached to them, however, than campaign necessities absolutely demand, not only because in this city such an argument would be sure to prove a boomerang, but because hostility to what is perfectly constitutional and, superficially at least, perfectly safe is sure to affect the sensitiveness of those thus attacked in a way to intensify whatever tendencies they may have that are objected to. If the history of the Roman Catholic question proves anything it is that aggressive Protestant timidity is certain to be taken for bigotry, and resisted with all the force of a sincere sense of wrong. There is, moreover, abundant reason for opposing Mr. Grace on other grounds. The hope of improved administration in local government here rests almost wholly in the chance of the election by hook or by crook of some thoroughly independent mayor, as the first beginnings of reform must proceed from better appointments. Talk of a mayor with a responsible party behind him is idle, there being no "responsible party" of any sort in the city. The *Times's* suggestion that the Republicans select some good Democrat to run against Mr. Grace seems sensible to us; but after our experience with Mr. Cooper—a mayor of conspicuously good intentions and of conspicuous ill-success in executing them—this needs to be supplemented by advice for the selection of fit aldermen; otherwise, the Republican machine, which is to the full as bad as either of the Democratic ones, may be relied upon to balk all the reforming efforts of the mayor by a Common Council alliance, as it has done in the case of Mayor Cooper.

Following the elections in Ohio and Indiana, United States 4 and 4½ per cent. bonds advanced in market price about 2 per cent. As the outstanding issue of these bonds is about one thousand million of dollars the advance represents an increase in the market value of this form of the public credit of about $20,000,000 in a single week, and for the most part in the two days after the result of these elections became known. Railroad securities of all kinds also advanced in price largely, and Stock Exchange speculation was buoyant. In the trade markets there was also some improvement in prices, and the reason generally given was a restoration of public confidence. Foreign specie continues to flow to this country, although the receipts during the last week were smaller than of late, namely, $2,831,799, making the total since the beginning of August $34,451,556, against $44,400,417 last year; and $39,600,429 since January 1 last, against $50,571,695 during the corresponding period in 1879. The business of the country—general trade and transportation—continues large, so that it may be said that at present there is a good prospect of an abundance of money.

The news from Europe is unusually meagre. The Porte has agreed to surrender Dulcigno unconditionally, and commissioners were appointed on the part of the Porte and Montenegro, respectively, to arrange the matter; but when they came together it was found that Riza Pasha raised new difficulties, touching not simply the form but the substance, and at this writing the surrender has not taken place and the Montenegrins are still in doubt as to whether when they proceed to take possession they will not be attacked by the Albanians. It appears to be certain, however, that when the surrender does take place the German and Austrian and French fleets will go home; and if Mr. Gladstone chooses to menace the Turks on the Greek question he will have only the co-operation of Italy and Russia to count upon. Germany is said to be more and more nervous about the consequences of pushing the matter any further.

In France the decrees against the religious orders are being steadily executed. The Carmelites have just been ousted and the evil day is not far off for the others. The Bonapartists have begun again to show some signs of life by asking Prince Napoleon to receive a deputation which is to request him to resign the succession in favor of his son Prince Victor; but he has answered by refusing to receive it and requesting the concocters of the movement to mind their own business,

THE LESSON OF THE OCTOBER ELECTIONS.

THE October elections have not absolutely settled the result of the Presidential election, but they have made it almost certain. Even if the Democrats carry New York, it now seems in the highest degree improbable that they will be able to get the twelve votes which will still be necessary to give them the Presidency. If they cannot get them from Indiana they are still less likely to get them from Connecticut or New Jersey, the remaining two doubtful States. Moreover, the majority in Ohio is not only large but unexpectedly large, and the majority in Indiana is also very large, considering that the Republicans had very good reason to fear that they would there have no majority at all, or, at best, only as many hundreds as they actually have thousands. They are, of course, very exultant, and with good reason, and will go to the polls in November with a well-founded assurance of victory. In a time of exultation men are naturally enough not much disposed for reflection, and yet the occasion is one in which a little reflection on some of the facts which the late State elections have made prominent may be very profitable, even in the short interval which now separates us from the Presidential election.

The most prominent of these facts is this: that during the eight years of General Grant's Presidency, which all the practical politicians of the Republican party highly approved of and considered, from the party point of view, admirably conducted, the party went on steadily losing ground at the polls until, in 1876, it had ceased to control the House of Representatives, and was aware that it would in the next Congress cease to control the Senate. It would have lost the Presidency but for practices in three Southern States which most people now admit to have been at least questionable. It lost at the Presidential election New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana, and Mr. Hayes only carried his own State of Ohio by the very small plurality of 7,516. It must be borne in mind that during the previous eight years the machinery of the Federal Government was managed just as Messrs. Conkling, Blaine, Morton, Logan, Chandler, and the other Republican chiefs thought it ought to be managed. General Grant was, in fact, their ideal President, and his policy, in all that concerned the party interest, was in their eyes hardly capable of improvement. Mr. Conkling had control of the New York Custom-house, and General Butler, during the latter part of the Grant Administration, of the Boston Custom-house. The civil service in all its branches was freely and undisguisedly used for the furtherance of the party interests. There was nothing "goody-goody" in the management of it. The South, too, was kept in the condition which Mr. Blaine thought most important—that is, the States were governed by bands of Northern politicians, whose authority was supported by the interference of the Federal troops.

When Mr. Hayes came into office this policy was changed. All Federal interference, or threat of interference, or assertion of right to interfere, at the South was abandoned. In his distribution of patronage at the South there was much to condemn, of which we have often spoken in these columns. But this first fault committed, the system of using the Federal patronage for the purposes of active electioneering was abandoned. Mr. Conkling was deprived of his custom-house; General Butler was deprived of his. As a general rule the use of the offices for partisan purposes was taken away from members of both Houses. There have been exceptions to this rule, and some perhaps rather flagrant ones, but on the whole there was a marked change from the Grant régime, a change so great as to disgust and alienate every politician of much prominence in the party, and cause the two most prominent—Messrs. Conkling and Blaine—to break off all relations with the President and Cabinet, and to refer to them in public only in terms of reproach or contempt. Pains were taken at Republican State conventions to make all reference to the Administration in the platforms either slighting or cold, on the ground that it had in some manner betrayed the party or proved indifferent to its interests, and the eulogies on General Grant were often so worded as to serve the purpose of a condemnation of his successor. Nor was there any sign of an abatement of this hostility as time went by. It is only three weeks since Mr. Conkling opened the present canvass in this State by a speech in which a carefully-framed insult to President Hayes was a leading feature.

We have not been backward ourselves in condemning President Hayes's policy with regard to the reform of the civil service. We have considered it, judged by the standard set up in his letter of acceptance, both inconsistent and vacillating, and as regards the use made of the offices at the South after his election as something worse than inconsistent and vacillating. But the fault we have found with it is that he has not gone further towards fulfilling his own promises. The fault found with it by Messrs. Conkling and Blaine and the other "practical men" is that he should have made any such promises at all, and have gone any distance whatever towards fulfilling them. They do not judge him by the standard he set up, but by their own standard—that is, the Administration of General Grant. They have held that in so far as his principles and practice differed from those of General Grant he was wrong, and wrought injury to the party; that his Administration was, in short, an evil for which the proper cure was another term of General Grant, or of a man such as Mr. Blaine, who would follow General Grant's methods.

Now, how do we know whether an administration is injurious to the party or not? How do we know what the party feels, or thinks, or desires, or, in short, in what condition the party is? Solely by the elections. All indications, as has been proved a hundred times, except the vote at the polls, are deceptive. The opinions and prophecies of newspapers and individual politicians are at every election shown to be erroneous. In fact, it may be said that for all practical purposes the party exists, is visible, and submits itself to examination only on election-day. What Mr. Conkling says, or Mr. Blaine says, or Mr. Logan says is of no sort of consequence unless it is confirmed by the vote. The vote shows whether the party is gaining strength or declining, and nothing else does show it conclusively. Judged by this test, and judged, too, from the managing politicians' point of view, Mr. Hayes's Administration has been curiously successful. It found the Republican party so weakened and discredited that it had lost fourteen States and the control of Congress, and only succeeded in retaining its hold on the Presidency by what its adversaries considered a fraud. Under it the Republicans have been gradually regaining their ascendency in Congress, and the last election of Mr. Hayes's term will probably, indeed almost certainly, restore it completely. It has increased the majorities in the States in which under General Grant it barely escaped defeat. It has "carried" Indiana by the largest majority since 1872, a problem to which General Grant gave much attention but to which his tactics were never quite equal. It has caused Ohio to pronounce for General Garfield by a plurality three times as large as that which it gave Mr. Hayes himself. Of the revival of prosperity in all branches of industry, and of the restoration of order to the finances, and of the rapid reduction of the public debt under its rule we do not need to speak. The Republican politicians have been describing these things with much fulness during the last three months on every stump in the land. In short, from the material point of view, the contrast between the United States as Mr. Hayes found them and the United States as he leaves them is prodigious. Wealth, population, exports, imports, manufactures, agriculture, immigration have all grown under him with marvellous rapidity. "Oh!" but it will be said by the Stalwarts, "it is not to the Administration we are indebted for all this; it is due to the wise legislation of Republican Congresses and the industry and enterprise of the people." To which we reply that every Stalwart is compelled, by the language used by him during the present canvass in describing the mischief which would be wrought by Hancock's election, to acknowledge that it *is* due in the main to Mr. Hayes's Administration. General Hancock, if elected, could not legislate. He could, like Mr. Hayes, only veto and recommend, and take care that the laws were faithfully executed. Nevertheless, a thousand orators and a thousand newspapers have been assuring us ever since July 1 that on General Hancock's conduct within this narrow sphere it would depend whether our credit was destroyed, our industry wrecked, and the Treasury emptied by jobs, and that this conduct would probably justify the worst fears of his enemies. In fact, the happy condition of public and private affairs, which has for this reason been used as the strongest and most effective argument against him, must, if he can destroy it and if General Garfield can preserve it, have been largely the work of the President whom one or the other of them will succeed. The triumph of the party in the election of General Garfield, which now seems likely if not certain, will be a sort of crown or

seal of Mr. Hayes's policy if the reasons given by Republican orators for not electing General Hancock have any force whatever.

All this points irresistibly to a conclusion which we trust General Garfield will take to heart, and which he seems to have overlooked when he wrote his letter of acceptance. This conclusion is that the professional politicians, of whom Mr. Conkling is the type and head, are not skilful politicians in any but the narrowest sense of that term. They manage conventions dextrously, but they do not manage a party so as to give it victory at the polls. Their tactics are not adapted to the battle-field, however strong on the parade-ground. They are very like the Russian grand-duke who objected to war because it spoiled the "set up" of the troops. The things which these men admire and advocate are, in short, whatever merits they may have, not the things which give majorities to the Republican party at the polls. They might suit *some* party, but it is evidently not the Republican party. There may be a country which could be successfully governed according to Mr. Conkling's ideas, but apparently not this country. When he thought things were going beautifully the Republican party was rapidly losing the Government; during the last four years, when he has thought it was going to the devil, it has been rapidly regaining the Government, and is finally achieving victories long unknown in behalf of a candidate whose nomination almost made him sick, and whom he cannot name without signs of disgust. So that the true policy for the next Republican President would seem to call for not less Hayes and more Grant, but a good deal more Hayes and no Grant at all; and to indicate not that the advice of the professionals ought to be more closely followed, but that the complete loss of it, such as Mr. Hayes has had to put up with, is the surest guarantee of party triumphs. If the ordinary rules of prudence are of any use in politics, nothing which has not come to pass can be more certain than that if the persons who have been foremost in reviling Mr. Hayes had had their way during the past four years, General Hancock's election would to-day be assured beyond peradventure.

GENERAL HANCOCK'S ESCAPADE ON THE TARIFF.

WE ventured, on the 12th of August last (No. 789), to maintain the desirableness of having Presidential candidates take the stump on their own behalf in the canvass, on the ground that the practice would tend to improve both the nominations and the platforms. We said:

"The great flaw in the working of the governmental machine in our time is the absence of any direct responsibility to the public on the part of officers, and the absence of any direct means of communication between them. If Presidential candidates had always been expected to justify and commend on the stump the party nomination, there is very little doubt that the practice of nominating obscure and mediocre men and keeping them in strict seclusion till the election, would never have sprung up; and the candidate, on the other hand, would not have been able, as he is now, to protect himself against all responsibility by taking shelter behind the party. His position towards the public, in short, would have undergone an assimilation, in many ways desirable, to that of the chief of the cabinet in England. The party would not venture to nominate a man who could not make a good figure in the public presentation of his views on the leading questions of the day, or who had no views to present on such questions. Knowing well, too, that if he took the stump he would have to explain the party position on these questions, not vaguely or evasively but explicitly, they would probably be more careful to furnish him a platform which would bear being expounded. In expounding it, too, he would necessarily commit himself distinctly on all matters of importance, and would thus furnish the voters with very valuable memoranda to be used in watching and criticising his Presidential career."

We had little idea when this was written that General Hancock would, by this time, furnish a striking illustration of the soundness of our position. But this he has done. He was nominated on the old system. As a politician he was both "mediocre and obscure," and we concluded that of course he would be kept in "strict seclusion" and silence until after the election, both because the Democratic platform would not bear exposition, and because, if it would, he was not competent to expound it. His letter of acceptance strengthened this impression. It was the letter of a man who wished well to his country but knew nothing about its political business, and it might, in fact, have been written by any well-wisher of the country—the Emperor William, for instance. It must, therefore, have caused his supporters a genuine and by no means pleasant surprise when he escaped from custody by telegraphing his congratulations to Mr. Plaisted, the newly-elected Fusionist Governor of Maine, for these congratulations, if they meant anything, must have meant approval of Plaisted's views on finance, and were therefore, *pro tanto*, an exposition of the Democratic position on the currency. Plaisted and his supporters favor the issue of all currency by the Government, and the abolition of all banks of issue; and if General Hancock is glad of their triumph at the polls it is not unreasonable to conclude that he favors an increased issue of greenbacks, and the withdrawal of the circulation of the national banks. This is a very startling proposal, particularly when unaccompanied by any plan for making and keeping Government paper redeemable in coin. It would produce, if carried out, an extraordinary disturbance in the business of the country and make the financial future, already disagreeably uncertain, more uncertain than ever.

General Hancock, however, did not stop here. There were probably few things for which the public was less prepared at his hands than an exposition of the Democratic position regarding the tariff. We took occasion a few weeks ago to point out the ambiguity of the phrase "tariff for revenue only," used in the Democratic platform. There is now no doubt that this was inserted without any thought of its importance, and without any intention of dwelling on it or acting on it. No Democratic orator has interpreted it on the stump, and the conclusion is irresistible that the party did not mean to make it an "issue" in the canvass. But if they did not mean to make it an issue they ought not to have said anything about it. If they did mean to make it an issue they ought to have explained fully what they understood by it, and in what manner, if they got into power, they meant to act on it. Nothing can well be more important to the business men of the country than information of this kind from any party which is asking to be entrusted with the government. We have made no secret in these columns of our objections to the tariff now in force, but we have no hesitation in saying that a proposal to convert the present tariff into a revenue tariff at one stroke, considering the enormous investments which have been made under the former within the last twenty years, sounds to us like the suggestion of an insane person. It is hardly possible any rational and intelligent Democrat can have had anything of the kind in mind. A revenue tariff, whenever resorted to, must be introduced very slowly and with ample notice to manufacturers, and any one who advocates it is bound to tell people within what period and by what processes he proposes to make the change. If the Democratic platform had been a sincere expression of party policy, as it ought to have been, this duty would have been assigned to competent orators, and the halls would have been ringing all over the country during the past three months with tariff discussions, and General Hancock would either have been instructed to keep dead silence about the subject and leave it to be treated by the experts, or have been crammed so as to make a respectable deliverance to the interviewers. All these precautions, however, were neglected. The tariff plank was apparently not intended for exposition by anybody, and then perhaps the least competent man in the party, the candidate himself, was allowed to expound it.

Of his exposition made to the reporter of a New Jersey newspaper, and subsequently revised and amended in a letter to Mr. Randolph, written with the view of doing away with the unfortunate impression the interview produced, we do not need to speak in detail. In fact there is nothing in it to discuss. The General's talk about the tariff is that of a man who knows nothing about it, and who apparently, until he began to talk, had never thought about it. There is nothing discreditable to him in this ignorance. He is a soldier, and soldiers, as a general rule, know nothing, and are not expected to know anything, about tariffs. The soldier's business is to smash people who will not get out of the way, and to the successful performance of this duty no knowledge about tariffs would contribute anything. General Hancock was nominated because he held the Cemetery at Gettysburg against the rebels, and this feat he might have performed without ever having heard of the tariff. Moreover, those who nominated him knew he had no knowledge about tariffs, but they expected to get him through the canvass on the old plan without having this fact brought prominently to light. His indiscretion

has betrayed them. He has not only made himself somewhat ridiculous, but has brought home to the public with much force the charlatanry of the way in which platforms are made up. And yet he has done the very thing which he ought to have done had he been the right man in the right place, and had the platform been what it ought to have been. Had he been the right man in the right place, the kind of man we had a right to expect from the Democrats in view of their criticism of Republicans during the past twenty years, he would have known *all* about tariffs. He would have understood what a tariff for revenue meant, and how it differed from a tariff for protection, and would have been prepared to explain how it should be brought into use, and he would have taken care that there was nothing in the platform on which he could be caught napping. Had the Convention meant to nominate such a man, too, they would have been careful to put nothing into the resolutions which their candidate could not defend or explain, and the Presidential canvass would have been a solid and instructive discussion of living subjects.

The incident is likely to be most useful in putting an end to the hallucination by which so large a portion of the community has been afflicted during the past fifteen years, that a professional soldier can successfully, or even creditably, administer the affairs of a Government such as that of the United States has become since the war. The revival of this hallucination by the Democrats in the year 1880 is one of the most singular events in their very singular party history. The vastness of the revenue, the multitude of conflicting interests, the complexity of the laws, the heterogeneous character of the population, and the recent enlargement of the sphere of the Federal Government have combined to make the Presidency an office which ought either to be filled by a trained and experienced civilian or abolished as a public danger and nuisance. The Republicans put a soldier in the place at the close of the civil war, when the great problems of the Government were still in part military, but his ignorance of civil affairs and insensibility to purely political considerations were just as great as General Hancock's. His messages during his eight years abounded with recommendations which were for the most part puerile and to which Congress never paid any attention. His treatment of the Cabinet as a personal staff gave rise to innumerable scandals and abuses. No great soldier has succeeded as the head of a constitutional government. Cromwell failed; Napoleon failed, or made no pretence of trying; and the Duke of Wellington failed—how lamentably, the latest volume of his letters has more fully revealed. Washington succeeded, but Washington was an exceptional character, and, indeed, was not a real or great soldier; he was bred a civilian. It is to be hoped the defeat of General Hancock will be the end of an experiment which has reached the ridiculous stage of failure; that it should have lasted so long is not creditable to us as a great commercial and *par excellence* civilian people.

THE LYRIC CAMPAIGN.

FEW things American, it is to be creditably said, perhaps, are less characteristic than what may be called, in virtue solely of its quadrennial inspirations, the patriotic muse. We seem to lack the lyric quality so utterly that popular attempts at lyrical expression have almost no significance, and are too spiritless and perfunctory to strike one as bad even, or at least as anything but the atrocity of platitude. It is obvious that Fletcher of Saltoun had no prophetic vision of the direction of the course of empire, and that his famous aphorism applied in our instance ludicrously falls short. At all events, great occasions are needed to stimulate the national muse to any sincerity of utterance. The Revolution and the rebellion produced several respectable songs now rapidly becoming memories, but other crises in our history have been barren in this regard—unless, which is manifestly stretching a point, we are to ascribe the popularity of, say, "The Seminole's Reply" to popular lyrical appreciation. Neither the war of 1812 nor the Mexican War, so far as we know, gave rise to anything that had currency. The anti-slavery songs, save that which celebrates the progress of John Brown's spirit, perhaps, were expository and polemical poems rather than truly lyric; and the mass of the Southern verses born of the war, with two or three exceptions such as "The Bonnie Blue Flag" and "My Maryland," and a few fine things of Henry Timrod, are hardly to be termed literature at all. The patriotic muse is in the main shut up to Presidential campaigns, and upon only one or two of these have her utterances left any decided mark. Perhaps that of 1840 remains most distinctly thus stamped in the popular mind, but probably quite as much because now and then one of the passing generation found "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" effective as a nursery lullaby as because of any real popular hold the song obtained. Since then, at any rate, if we except the war period, even Presidential campaigns have not been lyrically prolific. We have had nothing answering to the "Jingo" ballad. The "situation" four years ago, it must be acknowledged, was unfavorable. To justify a great lyrical outburst either "principles" or "men" are a prime requisite, and in 1876 it was impossible to feel a really lyrical enthusiasm for the candidates and platforms. "Tilden and Reform!" was a watchword, a slogan, it will be remembered; but for some reason the idea it embodied was of a distinctly prose nature, and never, that we recall, had more than a fugitive success when elevated into verse. Mr. Hayes, on the other hand, also represented nothing that was not too temperate and straightforward for the heightened ecstasy of song. Doubtless, too, the one tuneful element of our population, the Southern negroes, was intimidated, and, upon the whole, perhaps no more prosaic and unmelodious canvass has ever been conducted.

Some signs of a reaction are, therefore, natural during the present contest, aside from the fact that the martial element is more positively present and enthusiasm thus easier to excite. The Democrats have in this respect an obvious advantage, but with the fatality which renders their best efforts grotesquely inadequate they have not made much out of it, whereas, here as elsewhere, their opponents have taken the bull by the horns, and in newspaper poetry, as well as on the stump, the glory of Gettysburg is made successfully to pale before that of Chickamauga. Colonel John A. Joyce, of St. Louis, for instance, celebrated in prosaic rather than poetic works—he was Macdonald's companion in suffering for the Whiskey Conspiracy—sets to the air of "The Bright Light in the Morning" some stirring verses in honor of the hero of the latter conflict, of which a stave runs:

> "When the war began with a Rebel row,
> Children, children, won't you follow me?
> He took the front, put his hand to the plow—
> Halle, halle, halle, hallelujah!"

The Albany *Journal* caps this with a masterly effort, of which we can give but one stanza and the rollicking chorus:

> "He early learned to paddle well his own forlorn canoe;
> Upon Ohio's 'grand canal' he held the helm [*pron.* hellum] true.
> And now the people shout to him: 'Lo! 'tis for you we wait—
> We want to see Jim Garfield guide our glorious Ship of State."
>
> "*Chorus*—Jim Garfield's at the front!
> Jim Garfield's at the front!
> 'Twould be a sin to fail to win
> With Garfield at the front!"

There was a marked contrast between his conduct, too, after taking the front and that of his rival, which Mr. Wm. O. Stoddard thus subtly emphasizes in the *Tribune*:

> "He was not quite so fast to cuss
> And swear around as some be;
> And all he said was, 'Come on, boys,
> We'll give 'em Hail Columby!'"

Inspiriting incidents of General Garfield's career, antedating his martial experiences, are, of course, not difficult to find. "Immediately after the announcement of his nomination" Mr. O. D. Haven, of Cleveland, O., "penned" a song whose chorus, "Garfield rang the bells at Hiram," refers to his service as janitor at Hiram College. He

> "— rang them loud, he rang them long,
> He rang them sharp, he rang them strong,"

and he is now about to "wring a victory, 'mid the battle's roar," from the nation's foes. The levelling necessities of the campaign muse are naturally imperative; nothing has been accomplished in this way in General Hancock's case, so far as we have seen, but in General Garfield's we have not only "Jim" but "Jimmie," one refrain running—

> "And we'll all rejoice when Jimmie goes marching home."

At a meeting in St. Louis it is reported that "the entire assemblage rose and sung with great warmth and *technique* a song entitled 'Columbia's Call,'" of which the chorus is:

> "Then hip-hip hurrah! Welcome be the fray,
> For we know we'll win the day.
> See, Garfield leads, and Arthur, too, the dauntless,
> Our cause is God's and He will light the way"—

and which is attributed, as others of a like sort are, to the pen of Postmaster Filley, with evident malice and probably no truth. Of course, no difficulty is found in invoking enthusiasm for the "dauntless Arthur," and at the elevation upon which the campaign song subsists differences are harmonized and the exactitude of ordinary prose standards becomes trivial and impertinent.

> "Garfield and Arthur are the men
> To guide us in the right,"

sings one confident bard, presumably not a Hayes Republican, and he in turn seems to be rivalled in animated optimism, though not in precise prosody, by another who declares—

> "We'll send forth a starter for Garfield and Arthur,
> The men whose record is free from blight";

Still another issues the challenge:

"Garfield and Arthur! there they stand,
Match their worth in all the land."

The Springfield *Republican*, we have observed, is disgusted at this loose association, and says "It isn't a good sort of mixture to carol about," but we fancy the effect will not be disastrous, and in any event it is clearly unfair to censure the campaign harper for following the score written for him by the Convention. Moreover, the party opponents of General Arthur have had a very free fling at the wing with which he is known to sympathize most acutely, and can afford generosity. His closest friend was thus referred to before the nomination by an Ohio balladist, who, like General Garfield, was a warm supporter of Secretary Sherman. The latter, he says,

"— may not gush in rhetoric,
Like the 'Senataw from New Yo'k,'
But he don't o'erflow with bile and *chic*
And airs, and poppycock!"

This writer continues—

"He may not have the 'magnetism'
Of the 'plumed knight' of Maine:
But he also lacks some *other isms*
Which seem to stick to Blaine.
He's not perhaps as *great* a man
As our great soldier, Grant;
But he'd not have round him such a clan
As for the 'third term' pant."

And the said clan fared badly, one and all, at the hands of other singers of their own household as soon as it was clear they were beaten and subjects for satiric or elegiac verse instead of odes and pæans. A ribald burlesque thus refers to both Blaine and Grant:

"What is that, mother?
A goose, my child;
His eyes are aflame and his tail aslant,
His squawk is loud and his flight is wild—
He speeds to Chicago to vote for Grant.
But he's not the only goose, my dear—
There are other geese in the squawking train,
And the rabid, frantic squawks we hear
Are the squawks they squawk for the man of Maine,
And he's got the goose and his name is Blaine.

"What is that, mother?
A crow, my child";

—the rest is easily anticipated. An abandoned and licentious Philadelphia poet exults over the defeat of Logan and the clan Cameron in this wise:

"I hear the pibroch sounding, sounding,
The wail o' despair from Chicag!
'Tis the (s) Logan o' sorrow that's wounding
My heart for yer tauntin' and brag."

And, to crown all, an equally reckless rhymester, of whose residence we are ignorant, embalms a humiliating incident of the Grant "boom" in the following fantasy:

"'It will be a damned shame,' cried Fred,
'If father is not nominated.'
And so when the shame
Came about through Jim Blaine,
Our Fred
Bowed his head,
Wept like a water-cart, it is said,
And howled like a bull-dog under a shed.
He said, with eyes red,
'The empire is dead,
They ain't got any use for our anointed head.'"

It savors of hypercriticism, of course (and we have designed only a cursory not a critical review), but we cannot help suggesting that the last line would have read better "They hain't got no use," etc. This, however, is a detail, the main point being clearly divorced from diction and of sufficient explicitness to be very effective. The Chicago *Inter-Ocean's* "Stalwart Three Hundred"—

"But they were not dismayed;
Not a man was afraid—
Noble three hundred!
Forward the boom brigade;
'Vote for Grant,' Conkling said;
With a will all obeyed—
All of three hundred!"

—sounds very feeble in contrast, despite the inspiring view taken of the courage required to obey Mr. Conkling; reflecting on Balaklava, too, one can but attribute the parody to one of the noble band of Irish Republicans of whose cordial praises the Republican press has of late been full.

The Democratic bards seem to us, as we say, to have been less successful in glorification of their candidate, but they have "got in" some good blows in the way of satiric verse. Even here, however, they have been greatly assisted by Republican maladroitness, which, possibly owing to the greater amount of mental activity among Republicans, has been more abundant than Democratic ingenuity. None of the stanzas pointed with choral allusions to "329" and antistrophes chanting references to "back-pay," "Crédit Mobilier," and "De Golyer" that we have seen, for example, are so effective as this cheering adjuration:

"Wake, O Republicans! wake!
Wake and be active once more!
Fear not the gale—
Crowd on the sail—
Head the old ship to the shore!"

This is only equalled by the "war-cry" uttered after the Maine election by another Irish Republican: "To your tents, Republicans! Give them the bayonet, boys!" Either, we think, should be worth hundreds of votes to the Democracy and must be set down as campaign blunders. Indeed, a stranger to this department of the national literature might, assuming the common sense, not to say sanity, of its audience, believe it a coarse kind of satire in which, by the *reductio ad absurdum* of magniloquence, the politics ostensibly favored were really intended to be ridiculed. It is certain that the animation and vigor expressed are wholly factitious and perfunctory, and without the check of sincerity abler men than we conceive the average campaign bard to be have come to grief from the manifold varieties of protesting too much. A distich from the St. Louis *Republican* recalls us from speculation of even a superficial gravity, however—though the poetic staff of the *Republican* is owlishly grave, it should be said; nothing better than "mere statesmanship" has come under our notice in the campaign *lyra*:

"His [Hancock's] proud form attracts, but his pure, loyal soul
Gives a grace that mere 'statesmanship' ne'er can control."

The party bards get some provender out of the circumstance that the General and John Hancock have the same surname.

"From the old Declaration we follow its fame—
'Twas then honored, unsullied; to-day still the same,"

sings one, rather incoherently. There is something poetically antithetic, too, in the civil record of the soldier Hancock, and something is now and then made of it:

"Hurrah for him, the stainless chief
Who wears the civic wreath,"

and so on; but there is not an abundance of Hancockana. On the other hand, the Government "pampering" the General has received gets abundant attention in the songs of the other party, and the disgrace with which he covered himself by going to West Point while General Garfield "rang the bells at Hiram" is painted as vividly as the inconsistency illustrated thus:

"In the Union war I fought so well
That my name is greeted with the rebel yell."

The rebels really furnish the material for the best songs. The last verse of one by Mr. Sykes, written, says the *Tribune*, "to give the Solid South a chance of adapting a favorite air to modern circumstances," is as follows:

"We'll repudiate our debt, boys, we've borrowed from the North,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom;
We will burn the 'public schools,' and we'll drive the niggers forth,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.
Chorus.—'Tis slavery for ever, hurrah, boys, hurrah!
Down with the Yankees, up with the 'bars,'
While we ostracize the loyal and murder thousands more,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom."

Wade Hampton's Staunton speech, of course, provides what is styled a "paraphrase," of which two lines are:

"Vote as you shot when Fort Pillow howled;
Yes, vote as you shot when Lincoln fell."

And a contributor to the Philadelphia *Bulletin* derives a cruel delight from the melancholy discovery that Forney's first two initials are the same as those of Wilkes Booth, and that

"General Scott Hancock, whose first letter's W,
Can't be pulled through by a double John W."

The whole situation is, perhaps, best summed up by the Stalwart Indianapolis *Journal* in the following "Rhymes for Young Democrats":

"Sing a song of shotguns,
Pocket full of knives,
Four-and-twenty black men,
Running for their lives;
When the polls are open,
Shut the nigger's mouth,
Isn't that a bully way
To make a solid South?
Northern sympathizers
Making speeches chaffy!
Major-General Hancock
Eating rebel taffy;
English in a quandary
How to save his dollars!
Along comes a solid South
And fits them all with collars."

We must, in conclusion, say a word in favor of the superior political excellence and spontaneity, slight as they are, of the casual newspaper bard over those of the 'Campaign Songster.' The songs in the latter are indubitably the work of triflers who have nothing at stake in the contest, and are written to order in the most unblushing manner. A disillusioning instance is a song which we find both in the Garfield and in the Hancock 'Songster,' entitled in the one case "The Democrats must Die" and in the other "The Republicans must Die," written by the same unscrupulous poet and with identical truculence.

FRANCE AND HER FOREIGN RELATIONS.

PARIS, Sept. 30, 1880.

SINCE the visit of the King of Greece to Paris France has abandoned the policy of absolute non-intervention which had become a kind of dogma for all the men in power after 1871; all the ministers who had in succession directed foreign affairs invariably following this policy of total passivity. A

new feeling seems to have pervaded a portion of our political world; the fear of war is the beginning of the love of peace: "Initium sapientiæ timor Domini." The memories of the late war, of the occupation of so many cities and villages by foreign troops, are still so vivid that the country at large may be said to be almost frantically pacific. The Republicans have missed no opportunity of saying to the people that the right of making peace or war must no longer be left to the arbitrary will of one man, that the essence of the Republic consists in leaving to the country the choice of its own conduct, that the Republic will for ever protect it against such adventures as the Mexican war or the fatal war against Germany. These doctrines have sunk very deep into the conscience of the nation; whenever there is the slightest fear of a European complication there is at once a feeling of uneasiness which no internal question can produce. In all matters of interior politics the country has become absolutely optimistic; it fears no more the dangers which the political Jeremiahs denounce, it does not even dread the Commune; and the ruins of the monuments burnt in 1871, and not yet reconstructed, seem to teach Paris but one lesson—a new siege of Paris must not take place, the "obsidional folly" must not again be felt by the faubourgs. All the ravings of the Rocheforts, the Félix Pyats, and others fall on indifferent ears; their articles are but the pickles which are thrown every day into the political dish. Paris is happy, Paris is amused, Paris makes money. The great houses of finance are as optimistic as the Republicans in power, and for the last few years our monetary market has only known buyers; immense fortunes have been made by the speculators who understood the temper of the country. Our 5 per cents, which were issued after the war at 82, have now reached the price of 120, and you meet people everywhere who prophesy that they will still continue to rise. The dream of a new war has been dismissed like a nightmare. The German Government has done everything in its power to convince the French people that it is completely indifferent to the form of government in France—every minister of foreign affairs, in his turn, has been treated as "persona grata," every ambassador to Berlin the same; and the French are now thoroughly convinced that they can do anything they like at home without giving offence to their neighbors.

The attachment to peace is so great in the country that the most dangerous weapon which was used against the "16th of May" was the rumor, spread all over France, that MacMahon and the monarchical party were not as completely tied to a policy of peace as the Republicans; that the Duc Decazes had been coquetting with Prince Gortchakoff; that a strong Conservative Government in France would find alliances in Europe, and would in consequence sooner or later be tempted to interfere in European affairs. This belief was the deathblow to the enterprise of the 16th of May; and, whether Europe believed sincerely or affected to believe that the Duc de Broglie and his friends had warlike designs, the triumph of the Republicans in the general elections of 1877 was hailed with joy by the old monarchical governments of Europe. The Eastern war had broken out shortly before the beginning of that great party struggle in France; it ran its course while France was considered as sequestered in Europe. To be sure, her representatives took part in the diplomatic conferences—in the Conference at Constantinople, afterwards at the Congress of Berlin; but it was generally understood that we were there only "for ornament," like furnishing pictures in an apartment. Much courtesy was shown us, and we were even allowed to make some sort of incidental and immaterial propositions. We spoke for the Greeks, but it seemed to us as well as to Europe that our love for the Greeks was essentially platonic. Time went on, and the famous alliance of the three Emperors was dissolved. A sort of political imbroglio began, in which it was not the Duc de Broglie, but his principal opponent, who began to give signs of an intention of dragging France out of her isolation. Our policy has become more active, and finally we have tied our action to the European concert in Eastern affairs. There are now two politics face to face—one official, the other more occult. It is understood that the *République Française* is the mouth-piece of the occult power, the minister-maker, the President of the Chamber of Deputies. From his palace of the Élysée-Bourbon Gambetta directs the occult diplomacy, while close by, on the Quai d'Orsay, the Minister of Foreign Affairs directs the official diplomacy. These two diplomacies have ceased to be in thorough accord, and the results of this disagreement are already apparent. At the great review of the fleet at Cherbourg the President of the Chamber of Deputies allowed himself to be carried away by a passion which he had long seemed to suppress; his mysterious and oracular words about the "immanent justice of things," about the injuries done to France which would sooner or later be repaired, produced a great impression in Germany. It was the first time that something *real* was said, something which was not the conventional talk of the diplomatic drawing-rooms. The lion did not quite roar, but he felt his claws; and this half-conscious, half-unconscious outburst of patriotism and of national pride took place after France had reviewed her army, given to the regiments their new flags, and immediately after the fleet had been inspected by the President of the Republic.

Since Mr. Gladstone has taken the Premiership in England the relations between some of the men who are in power in England and the President of the Chamber of Deputies have been incessant. While the struggle between the Liberals and the Conservatives was going on, Lord Granville took great pains to explain that the English Liberals could not help the Government of the National Defence in 1870, but that they had no hostility towards the successors of the Empire. On the contrary, the English Liberals offered to the French Republicans a sort of new "cordial alliance." They were quite ready to recommence the Crimean war with them. They tried in every possible way to draw the French Republic away from other alliances, and to incline them on their side. The English alliance is at no time a thing to be despised, and it cannot be very surprising if some of the leaders of public opinion here, remembering of what value the English alliance was to Napoleon III., imagined that it could still be of value now. The whole history of the last few months has been a gradual *resserrement* between France and England. This work was done entirely outside of the Chambers, but the result is now apparent. A line of common action has been adopted against Turkey, but the leaders of this common action have been all along France and England. The other Powers joined in the movement, but their spirit was different from the spirit of France and England. Dulcigno has been the first objective of the common action. But the difficulties have already begun. It was imagined that Turkey would give way at once before a demonstration of all the great Powers, and if this demonstration had been successful other demonstrations would have been tried. The frontier of Greece has been drawn by diplomacy, as a diamond cuts a line on a pane of glass; give it a simple knock and the glass is divided.

Public opinion is now fairly alarmed by the Dulcigno demonstration. It is felt that the great Powers cannot remain in a ridiculous situation. Something must and something will be done. But France is not in a warlike mood; she feels that her occult diplomats have engaged her more than she likes to be engaged, and her official diplomats are trying to undo the work of the occult diplomacy. The more some men are showing an adventurous spirit the more it becomes necessary to be humble. Freycinet has denounced officially the policy of "jactance"; his successor has been chosen because he wrote for German reviews articles with no trace of "jactance." It is dangerous to be proud to-day and modest to-morrow. Successive fits of "hauteur" and of supineness are not as dignified as a constant attitude of reserve. The Eastern Question has been again opened, and it is impossible to predict how the European union will be dissolved, and how the forces which are now at work will group themselves in the end. The situation is all the more obscure because in England as well as in France a sudden change is always possible. The triumph of Mr. Gladstone was a surprise to the world. Who knows who will triumph in France, the friends of "peace at any price," the partisans of absolute non-intervention, or the politicians who are ready to use the strong arms which ten years of peace and of prosperity have now placed in the hands of France?

THE PIUS-VEREIN AT CONSTANCE.

PARIS, Oct. 4, 1880.

THE parliamentary vacation is now approaching its close. We shall soon judge of the course of policy to be pursued by the new Ministry. One thing is certain: it will be as pacific as M. de Freycinet's. The name of the new Minister for Foreign Affairs is a sufficient guarantee of this, as has been already observed by M. Gambetta's paper, the *République Française*. That is evidently the reason why M. Grévy considers it a duty to burden M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire at his age with such an onerous post, but it also proves how necessary it was to reassure Europe. There was no better way of showing how unwilling France was to adopt a venturesome policy, for M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire is the personification of the policy of M. Thiers, of whom he was the intimate friend and private secretary at the time of his presidency. There is no man more respected in France, and deservedly so, for his entire disinterestedness and austerity. A translator of Aristotle, he is the true stoic of our Republic. The chief business and great difficulty of the new Ministry is the religious dispute; it remains to be seen how they will contrive to settle matters satisfactorily to the Left without causing dissension throughout the country. To appreciate the gravity of this struggle we must not confine ourselves within the frontiers of France; it is going on everywhere in Europe. The Ultramontane party is identically the same in all countries: it forms a single army under one flag. Consequently, it is interesting to mark how it has behaved on those battlefields where it has encountered the bravest and most powerful enemies—I mean in the German Empire, pre-eminently the country of the *Culturkampf*.

An important meeting has just been held at Constance, from which we may gather information respecting the principles and disposition of the Ultramontane party throughout the world: it was the general meeting of the German Catholics, who are also designated as the *Pius-Verein*. I particularly wished to be present, under existing circumstances, and was able to convince myself of the strict solidarity which unites the German and French

Ultramontanes, so that in speaking of the meeting at Constance I remain on French ground, for, as its name indicates, Ultramontanism is international. Allow me, then, to give you a brief account of what I saw and heard at Constance, as it will be useful, I think, in order to understand better the vicissitudes of the religious struggle in my country as they are disclosed, and perhaps may be a sure means of foreseeing their issue. I must acknowledge having heard at Constance more than one speech really eloquent and even piquant with humor and originality. On an average, the German-Catholic conferences appear to me superior to analogous assemblies in France. I attribute this superiority in the clerical orators to their contact with university men during their studies. For the most part they have not lost there a single one of their narrow doctrines, but they adopt more the language of the world.

A word first as to their origin. These German-Catholic conferences date from the year 1849, the commencement of the formidable religious reaction which followed the return from Gaëta. They took the name of the Pope, and were called Pius-Verein. At that epoch this name was significative of their programme: it meant the most unbridled Ultramontanism. The society which adopted it as a symbol engaged itself to work for the triumph of the Pope's infallibility and whatever is implied in that doctrine. Men had not then, as now, arrived at universal subjection. The truly Christian spirit which distinguished Dalberg, and especially Wessenberg of Constance, was not extinct in the German episcopacy; the university men maintained the same principles. It may be said that the élite of German Catholicism was influenced by the same spirit. The Pius-Verein, the beloved offspring of the Roman Gesù, had but one aim: to crush this opposition. They found no better means of obtaining that end than by organizing a sort of democratic agitation, provoking the masses to overwhelm in their excitement the recalcitrant notabilities of the Church. A preponderant rôle was everywhere assigned to laymen in France and Germany, not for the purpose of increasing the liberty of Christian people, but in order, by popular pressure, to annul the rights of the episcopacy, which looked upon the Pius-Verein with coldness. To borrow from liberty its mode of action was a master-stroke of Jesuitism, for thus they more effectually suppressed it. We know these terrible laymen, more fanatic than monks of the Middle Ages, who, with insult upon their lips, rule the Church. They are violent, like revolutionists; but their disturbances are similar to those of the ancient Russians, who rebelled only to give greater force to the despotism of their czars. Such are the laymen who presided at the formation of the German-Catholic general assemblies.

The first meeting took place at Mainz in 1849, and in 1854 the jubilee of Boniface VIII. was there celebrated with great pomp. The society then established a prosperous offshoot in Switzerland. Its influence in following years became considerable in spite of the protest of many eminent men, such as the learned Hirscher, who complained bitterly against these irregular, incompetent, and insubordinate gatherings, whose object was to secure for papacy a blind adulation. None the less they continued to develop, silencing all opposition and triumphing over episcopacy. It will be seen by what has just passed at Constance how far they have triumphed over the regular authorities of the Church. It seemed that when once the doctrine of Papal infallibility was established the Pius-Verein had no further object, but the political results of the Council, the serious conflicts it excited, again opened a fresh career for it; hence its periodical meetings. It must not be forgotten that the assembly survives in a permanent organization; numerous committees work unceasingly during the interval of the sessions. They endeavor to envelop Germany in a network of innumerable works designed to reach the different classes of society, workmen, students, and trades-people. Other committees are engaged in the development of religious art, the publication of good books and newspapers. One cannot help admiring this great zeal, but unfortunately there is only a single thought in all this varied activity; it is always the Ultramontane crusade, the constant effort to bring back the ancient social order—in short, war without truce throughout their line upon modern states, war which is above all defensive now, for Prince Bismarck is not the man to await the enemy in his intrenchments.

The Catholic assembly at Constance is the seventeenth of the Pius-Verein. Constance is one of the most delightful towns of Southern Germany, with its fine lake and the snowy heights of the Alps on the horizon. It has also the prestige of historical associations. Great religious lights have illumined it, the brightest and purest arising from the stake at which John Huss was burnt. One of the most famous councils of the Middle Ages took place here—one which must be execrated by the Ultramontane party, as it condemned beforehand their favorite doctrine. We shall see how they got rid of this inopportune remembrance. The assembly took place in the magnificent Hôtel de Ville, which possesses fine rooms for both private and general meetings. The Salle des Fêtes serves for public assemblies. The inconvenience of this arrangement was that the dinner-bell rang loudly and interrupted the finest perorations. It even drowned the tocsin an alarmist orator was sounding with both arms about our accursed society. We had a fine escape. The assembly was composed of more than a thousand persons, in the main country parish priests and members of the middle classes. A few white-robed Dominicans were conspicuous among the black gowns. The Catholic nobility of Southern Germany was largely represented, as well as the Ultramontane youth from the universities, who uttered their complaint in the language of St. Thomas Aquinas's invocation. The first object of the Congress was to present an account of the different works pursued by the society. The principal one bears the name of St. Boniface; its purpose is to maintain the Catholic faith in countries where its adherents are in a minority. I ascertained in listening to these accounts, in general well drawn up, to what a degree the master-thought of the Pius-Verein pervades the smallest detail of their proceedings. They make use of the most powerful engines of modern democracy to spread their theocratic ideas. Judging only by outward appearance, it seemed as though one were in the midst of modern society. Journalism, societies, social questions, art and science are discussed; but one aim alone is pursued—to "Romanize" the world. The orators who ascend by turns the tribune at the Congress are entirely dissimilar, but nothing could be more uniform than the principles they unfold. One of the favorite subjects treated at the Constance Congress, as, indeed, at all Catholic meetings, was the use to be made of the press for the benefit of Ultramontanism. Pope Pius IX. formed at Rome a congregation for this purpose, having under its direction more than five hundred Catholic journals. At Constance they engaged themselves to do their utmost to increase the circulation of right-thinking journals. All that I heard there proves the Ultramontane party to be organizing themselves more actively than ever for the political struggle, as appears from a much-applauded speech of Dr. Monfang, of Mainz. He concluded: "Be men; conduct yourselves bravely. Enter courageously into the struggle. Take your own affairs in hand. Fight along the whole line. Rally to the Centre of the Reichstag, which bears your banner so valiantly, to overcome the Liberalism which will ruin us." The last speaker heard at the Congress attacked still more violently Bismarck's policy. Having been assigned the subject of education for his speech, he cried, amidst the enthusiastic cheering of the assembly: "No reconciliation so long as we have not recovered our schools, so long as the Church has not regained the right of educating and bringing up children." At times the speaker seemed only to claim the liberty of teaching, but in reality it was the monopoly of instruction he demanded for his party, among the foremost of whom are Leo XIII., as may be gathered from his recent declarations, wherein he does not allow of any division of the right to educate the Catholic youth. The great success of the speaker was his furious outburst against secular teaching, in which he saw a hideous minotaur ready to devour our youths. Secular teaching does not succeed in their instruction more than in their moral education. In consequence of its presiding over public colleges folly and immorality are being developed in alarming proportions, whilst the standard of learning is lowered. This discourse was terminated by a veritable war-cry summed up in the formula: "The state is our enemy." This found its echo in the final resolutions of the Congress, which contain the most energetic protests against all religious legislation in the German Empire, especially in what concerns the schools. The assembly, by a formal vote, supported the policy of the Centre, and finally expressed the liveliest sympathy with the Belgian bishops in their resistance to their Government, as well as with the Catholics of Italy and France.

All that I saw and heard at Constance confirms in my eyes this fact, that after ten years of *Culturkampf*, the party Prince Bismarck wished to suppress by persecution is stronger than ever, although it had against it the cleverest, most energetic and unscrupulous adversary one can imagine. In short, everything this power has done in excess to annihilate the Ultramontanes has turned to their advantage. This lesson deserves to be carefully meditated by all Governments engaged in a contest with the most dangerous, skilful, and persevering of adversaries. Not that they should disarm when justly defending state rights, but that their prudence should see the point where they ought to stop, under pain, not only of deviating from the rules of justice, but of increasing the moral power of a party which, sooner or later, would end by exciting against itself in the Church the opposition of whoever is not disposed to deliver up his mind and conscience into the keeping of an unbridled authority without any just right or title, at least in its new form. É.

Correspondence.

THE FOX-HUNTING AT NEWPORT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The "reportorial" mind has been much exercised in its struggles with the incidents, and especially with the terminology, of the drag-hunting at Newport. As a consequence the newspaper public has hardly gained a very clear idea as to the character of the sport. The runs have been described with such a mixture of mistaken technical expressions, and with such evi-

dence of a "buggy" point of view, that little knowledge of what actually took place could be gained from the reports.

Public comment, even in Newport, was rarely appreciative, and not seldom ridicule had its full fling. The suggestion that to chase "a poor little fox" was not a manly occupation was perhaps the most usual form of disapprobation. As a "drag" is sometimes a red herring trailed over the fields, the pack was called "The Queens County Fish Hounds," and the kennels "Herringhausen." Other uncomplimentary comments and expressions were common. As a matter of fact, they may have been justified by exceptional incidents of the season. In reality, it seems to me, when we consider the conditions under which it was carried on, the hunting of the past two summers at Newport must have commended itself to those who know the sport in England, as a very successful adaptation of the processes of that sport to our very different conditions. The "fox" element was its feeblest feature—a feature which might with advantage have been omitted here, as it is in the celebrated drag-hunt of the Life Guards at Windsor. The fact that the foremost riders could rarely say at what point the fox was let out of the bag indicated that the running was as interesting before as after that event. Since the trophies of the chase were given not to the first persons in at the death and as tokens of success, but quite at the discretion of the master of the hounds—as often to ladies who came late on to the field as to men who had come in the front flight—the sentimental objection to the cruelty of the pastime could not be offset by the technical need for a prize to be run for. In reality the fox was a very small and unimportant part of the whole affair, and his entire absence would have done no harm.

The *modus operandi* may be thus described: A little time before the hour for starting, the drag (an anise-oiled rag or other strong-scented substance, *videlicet* a red herring) is trailed across the country by an attendant, who lays the course according to his judgment and according to his instructions—easy or difficult, as the case may be—for a distance of five or six miles. At the hour for the "meet" the roads in every direction in the vicinity are crowded with all manner of vehicles, and with such a gathering of mounted men, women, and children as America sees on no other occasion. Equestrians of all degrees—down to the farmer's boy on a plough-horse in blinder bridle and up to the latest thing in English outfit—fill the roadsides. Presently the master (Mr. Griswold), a couple of whippers-in, and a half-dozen others of the Hunt, all in red coats, appear on the scene with the hounds. Of these there are from twenty to thirty. They are English fox-hounds, but not of the highest type. After a short halt, they are led to a field at some distance from the crowd of carriages, where the drag has been started, and are soon away on the scent. Sometimes nearly a hundred riders follow to the point of starting, and perhaps half of this number as far as the first fence—the others taking to such roads as are most likely to lead in the direction of the run. The first stiff jump generally thins out the crowd of horsemen to from thirty to forty, and of these only fifteen or twenty succeed in keeping reasonably close to the pack. The others often await their turns at the gaps and breaks, until they fall farther and farther to the rear. The fifteen or twenty who pretend to ride straight do ride remarkably straight. There are always some young women among them and some little boys, and they all show a nerve in taking their fences and a boldness and coolness in all their work that cannot be too much admired. Indeed, I have seen a dozen persons in the field here who would ride in the front rank in any hunt in England—where the difficulties are rarely greater.

The horses are quite worthy of their riders, and it is really astonishing to see how naturally the American horse of good blood takes to cross-country work. On several occasions I saw green Virginia and Kentucky horses, actually out for the first time, going among the very best quite to the end of the run—taking the stiffest fence, like old stagers, and with as much enthusiasm for the work as though they had been regularly trained to it. Before the run is half over, the real field rarely numbers more than twenty, but most of these keep their place through the whole of it.

When the hounds near the end of the course of the drag a fox (usually a young one) is let out of a bag, and is soon run down. The farce of distributing the brush, the mask, and the pads among the riders—with no regard to the fact of straight riding, and with no especial reference to the route by which or the promptness with which the field has been reached—is then gone through with, and the hunt is over. The carcass is torn and devoured by the hounds, and all hands turn toward home. There is generally a muddy coat or two, and a cut or scratch on a horse's leg to tell of falls and blunders; but there has not been a serious mishap this season, nor is any one now the worse for a fall in 1879.

The inference would seem natural that such immunity from injury must indicate an easy country; but this is far from being the case. A stout stone wall, four feet high, with a firm, broad capstone, is never an easy jump. No man ever rides at such a fence with a certainty of a safe landing. These fences are by no means frequent, yet there is rarely a day when from one to half a dozen such, or worse, are not taken by a dozen or twenty riders. I saw three such stone walls, fully four and a half feet high, jumped in quick succession by eight or ten horsemen. Five-feet walls are rare, but I have seen one such wall successfully taken. It is said that one leap was made over a wall five feet and seven inches high, measured from the taking-off place, but this I did not see. I have seen horses in the field here that I think would be equal even to that.

It is frequently asked, "What is the good of it all? Why not be content with a brisk ride on a Christian road? Why risk life and limb and horseflesh in such madcap cross-country racing after fox-hounds and 'a poor little fox'?" It seems to me that the answer is easy to find: Simply because life and limb and horseflesh never feel their full power and value and delight until they come to the hunting-field and are put to their most vigorous and most exhilarating use. The saddle is infinitely better than the buggy, but the saddle is only half enjoyed until it turns from the roads and takes to the fields and fences in hot pursuit, not of a poor little fox—he only leads the uncertain way—but of the quick recurring adventure and hazard which no other peaceful exercise affords.

Nor does the good of it all stop here. It takes men, and women too, out of their arm-chairs and their carriages, and teaches them a lesson they never forget—the lesson of fresh air, vigorous effort, thrilling physical excitement, quick and cool judgment, and all else that comes of the best development of horsemanship. More than this, it gives a new ambition to the young and affords a most wholesome substitute for the usual aims of sedentary American youth. Even the farmers' sons of Rhode Island are getting out their grandfathers' saddles and are joining in a revival which promises to grow into a reform. Three years ago, after the summer population had gone, a horseman was a rare sight at Newport. Now men and women and boys and girls are riding in every direction, and horsemanship is promising to become general here as it is in England. Then, again, this is a good centre for the infection: we send our influence back to all the cities, and New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore are feeling the effect of the interest in riding that the Queens County Hunt has awakened here.

G. E. W., Jr.

Newport, Oct. 6, 1880.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND THE GREEK GOVERNMENT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I am glad that Mr. Ludlow, in his note in the *Nation* of Sept. 16, agrees in the main with my strictures on the Archæological Society of Athens; but as the defence of the Society is that it has no means, I have only to reply that if it cannot undertake the work to be done it should not prevent others from doing it. The outcry in Greece about the exportation of the works of art now buried in the earth or already excavated is the outgrowth of pure ignorance of the commonest laws of political economy, and chauvinism of the very narrowest and most reprehensible kind. Suppose all the nations of Europe had made the same law, and Greece, in the course of its civilization, wanted to form a gallery of pictures for the education of her people, where would she get them? Venice would refuse her Titians, Florence her Giottos and Angelicas, Holland her Rembrandts, and France and Germany their modern masters, and Greece would have no gallery. But fortunately no other government in the world is so imbecile as to deny its art treasures the quality of property. Italy is the only country, besides Greece, where any legal restriction is placed on the sale of art treasures, and there the Government reserves the right of buying at a fair valuation, in default of which it permits exportation with an export duty. What the Greek Government does is first to levy a discovery duty of fifty per cent.—*i. e.*, the half of all that is found goes to the Government; but the other half, not being permitted to be exported, has no mercantile value unless it is portable enough to be smuggled out of the country. The consequence of the first provision is, that if antiquities are discovered they are, if possible, concealed from the authorities and smuggled out—the civil service, of which that of our own country is so tolerable a copy, giving immense facilities for contraband operations; and where they are too large to be moved easily they are commonly broken up and sold as fragments, a head here and a hand there (the peasant finder caring nothing for his ancestors but a good deal for his family), so that many things are broken, many exported without any clue to connect them with their original localities, and many most important archæological data are lost to us because the peasant who finds them dares not offer them to any archæological authority, but sells them to little dealers who sell them out of the country. Not one-tenth of the excavation is done that would be done if the digging were left free, under reasonable supervision and conditions; and, in the present state of Greece, the Government ought to do everything to encourage excavation by competent and honorable persons.

I can give two or three cases of the working of the present law which I came across in my late visit. I found by the merest accident, in a pile of stones coming from some chance excavation, an extremely interesting inscription (noticed in the *Nation* some months since). This had been on a tomb, to the contents of which I could get no clue whatever, every one in the place denying that there had been anything found—which was simply im-

possible—as the law punishes severely evasion of the restrictions on excavation (and this even when a man digs in his own garden), or neglect to render half to the Government. Now, as this inscription is one of the oldest known of the Greek language in Greek characters, a fragment of the pottery or other objects which must have been found in the tomb would, even if broken, have thrown light much wanted on the relation of art to letters, comparative dates, etc., but no one would confess to having found even a tile. In another case, the villagers having struck the site of an early temple of Apollo, found many objects which had belonged to it. The Government, getting a hint of the find, sent soldiers to search the village; and the people, aware of the penalty of having transgressed an absurd law, simply removed all evidence by throwing the objects found over the cliffs into the sea, which being there one hundred feet deep, they are lost to archæology for ever. I could recount scores of instances more or less similar, either of destruction, partial or entire, or removal in such a way as to destroy the evidence of location. The laws on the subject are conceived in the most childish spirit and carried out with the most disastrous stupidity.

What the Greek Government should do in the interest of the ancient history of the country and of its archæology is, firstly, to make excavation as extensive and easy as possible—*which is impracticable while exportation is forbidden*, because the prohibition to export keeps prices down in proportion to its effectiveness; secondly, to remove all impost on the results of excavation, so that no one may have an object in keeping these results secret to avoid the tax; and, thirdly, to levy an export tax so reasonable as to make smuggling not worth the risk, and then, retaining the reasonable right of prior purchase, to devote the proceeds of the export tax to the purchase of such of the articles found as may be deemed of importance to the archæology, history, or glory of the country, with a provision for special rewards to any peasant or other excavator who may bring in an inscription of value as such. With such provisions there is no danger that Greek students would be obliged to go abroad "to study the antiquities of their own country," or any other, as the amount of excavation to be done in Greece is so great that the proceeds of vigorous and wise excavation would soon fill the Greek museums and give funds for other things, and such excavation will never take place under the present laws. I know that practical archæologists in Athens complain of the restrictions as I do, as making research almost impossible.

As to the notion which Mr. Ludlow advances, that the return of the Elgin marbles to Athens would advance the interests of art, it is only necessary to say that they can only be properly studied in their position as part of a great series, side by side with what went before and came after, and *that* they can only be at London, Berlin, or Paris; and if every government were as absurd as the Greek no such comparative study of art would ever be possible either at London or Athens. Great museums are the indispensable basis of artistic and archæological science, but no great museums would ever exist if such chauvinism as prevails at Athens were to obtain generally. The best indication of the unwisdom of the Greek policy is that if Greece were rich she would resent as an injustice the adoption by other nations of laws like hers, which would compel her to send her students abroad to study art in its largest and most applicable forms; for, after all, so far as modern life is concerned, Italian and Flemish art are of more importance than Greek as Art or as application of the arts.

Yours truly,

W. J. Stillman.

Florence, September 29, 1880.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE INDIANA CAMPAIGN.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The Republicans of Indiana have won a great victory, at which no one is more surprised than themselves. The late Senator Morton left the machine in good working order, and the men who have manned it are such as he liked; from the chairman of the State Committee down, as a rule, they had no thought of moving voters by an honest discussion of principles, but by arousing their selfish interests and their prejudices. Before the nominations Governor Hendricks and General Harrison made speeches to their respective party clubs, and both failed utterly to give evidence that political discussion was this year to be upon a higher plane. I asked a politician of his party why General Harrison did not speak of some things which the Republican party at least ought to do in the future, and was answered that no one would presume to do that until the National Convention had "made up the issues." But the bold and effectual stand against Grantism which Indiana, under the lead of General Harrison, took in the Chicago Convention was an intense gratification to every Independent, and the Republicans have received practically their unanimous support. The Democrats have stood upon the "Electoral Commission Fraud," the United States marshals in the South, and General Garfield's personal shortcomings, and they have been led by a State organ which probably has no equal in political corruption and dishonesty. On their side the Republicans had a superabundance of excellent questions for discussion: the civil service, the silver coinage, the greenbacks, tariff reforms, and business prosperity were national issues of the highest order. There were State questions equally good: the removal of the outrageous burden imposed by the fees of our county officers, the purification of our elections, and the riddance of the State from the curse of an October election, had all been defeated by the action of the Democratic party. An equally strong argument against that party was its criminal and barbarous application of the spoils doctrine to our extensive benevolent institutions, filled with unfortunate and helpless wards of the State. Mr. Schurz delivered one of the first speeches. The thousands who crowded to hear him and the thousands who tried but were unable to get within hearing seemed a clear indication of the desire of the people to hear a candid discussion of our real political problems. But any hopes that the managers would take high ground were not realized. Why General Harrison, in no sense a politician, never courting popularity, despising bossism, loving good government, and able to do much toward giving a proper bent to the campaign, did not do so I cannot say. His speeches in no way rank above the average campaign speeches of the last fifteen years. On every hand the Chicago platform was kicked aside and a fishing operation begun to find something which would stir up the people. I have heard of civil service being mentioned in two cases; the silver coinage and the retirement of the greenbacks not at all. Financial discussions were discouraged. One member of the State Committee remarked in my hearing, "The less we say about finance in this country the better we are off." After Mr. Schurz no one who held independent opinions was put forward, and the class of orators who did find favor with the committees, after floundering awhile, took to the only subject to which they had ever given any serious attention, and fell tooth and nail upon the South. Mr. Logan gave us his peculiar views in his peculiar manner, the campaign became thoroughly Stalwart, and speakers brought in from the South added their fuel to the pile all were attempting to light. For weeks the State resounded with hoarse cries and falsetto shrieks to the effect that the Democrats of to-day were "the same old party we had to fight in 1861."

But it began to be apparent, and especially so after the Maine election, that the Solid South issue was not going to avail to carry this State. The great body of voters had scarcely looked up from their work, and the soldiers failed to "rally" in satisfactory numbers. Then the managers began to declare their intention of buying enough votes to accomplish the end. The State Committee gave a good indication of its attitude when it answered a man, who asked for funds to bring home voters who were out of the State and not able to come at their own expense, that it could buy three voters on the spot for what it would cost to bring home one. But against the purchasing policy the better Republicans cried out so decidedly that their State organ, owned by the chairman of the State Committee, felt compelled to say that while then if ever the Republicans would be justified in buying votes, yet it was not their intention to do so. At last they got General Grant to issue a call for the "Boys in Blue" to meet in Indianapolis, and Mr. Conkling condescended to be the speaker. Then they were frightened at what they had done, for they remembered the thousands of Republicans here who, at the time of the Chicago Convention, openly declared this pair an unsightly object. In absolute despair they were driven to the discussion of new questions, and the machine deftly changed its gearing to run in the new direction. The cry against the South was in great part dropped. The good times were lauded on every hand, and business men were thoroughly frightened and got to active work by awful pictures of the results of "a change." High tariff was extolled and explained to the workingmen, just as it would have been denounced had that been necessary to get votes. The fact that Mr. De Pauw, the glass manufacturer at New Albany, and a lifelong Democrat, had come over to the Republicans for fear of Democratic free-trade, suddenly became of vast importance and probably changed more votes than any other influence. General Grant never appeared, and the great reunion of the "Boys in Blue" turned out to be a very large procession of business men and citizens of Indianapolis and its neighborhood, in which were mingled a few soldiers' organizations; in the preparations beforehand and in this crowd Mr. Conkling was allowed to be forgotten.

Toward the close of the campaign each State organ began to accuse the other party of bringing into the State classes of persons of which the following names, taken from the issues of the same day, represent part: repeaters, blood-tubs, plug-uglies, murderers, thieves, cut-throats, desperadoes, jailbirds, garroters, felons, hounds, ruffians, shoulder-hitters, bullies, and shoulder-strikers. Each charged the other party with intending violence, until, judging from these two papers, we were on the verge of anarchy. Two days before the election a man named McCorkle, the Democratic sheriff of an adjoining county, died of wounds received in quelling a drunken brawl. The next morning the State organ of that party appeared in mourning, holding this death to be caused by the Republicans, and in several tragic editorials dwelling upon McCorkle's memory and untimely end. On the same day, in the Republican organ, there appeared two editorials, one of them, at least, written by Mr. George C. Gorham, Secretary of the Republican National

Committee. These editorials together stated that the Democrats had formed a military organization; that their plan was to go early and vote, and then meet at a rendezvous; then their "imported bullies" were to get up a riot with the Republicans; then the Democratic military organization, armed with the State arms, was to be called out by the Governor, and the ballot-boxes in Republican wards were to be seized and "rifled or changed." The Republicans were called upon to organize, and were told that "the way not to be shot was to be able to shoot," and a meeting of all citizens was called to meet at ten o'clock that morning. To that meeting came Senator McDonald and Mr. English, and both disclaimed all knowledge of any such organization. But to that meeting did not come a representative of the paper making the charges, nor was any proof of the charges produced, nor has there been up to this time. A professional newspaper correspondent naïvely stated that, speaking for the class who get up these stories, he would say that three-fourths of them were lies, and he thought they had gone in this manufacture about far enough. Adopting a harmless resolution advising public officers to look to their business, the meeting adjourned in the best of humor, disclosing the fact that the wild raving of the papers had gone completely over the heads of the people; but two more incendiary publications cannot be found than were those organs on the day before the election.

The 10,000 votes, or thereabouts, which the Republicans have gained are made up in the main (1) of Independent votes, (2) of the votes of the bulk of the business men and of votes which they gained by great activity during the last three weeks, (3) of the manufacturers and hundreds of their workmen whom they influenced, (4) votes due to the unpopularity of Mr. Landers, especially with the Greenbackers, whom he deserted for the Democratic nomination, (5) votes due to the unpopularity of Mr. English, and (6) votes of Democrats dissatisfied with the overthrow of the constitutional amendments. The Republicans had such a righteous cause that they won almost in spite of the machine. Down to the time when it was driven to talk of something beside the Solid South it was worthless. The only votes it has gained were gained in the last three weeks and after it began to discuss, even in its selfish way, questions which pertained more to the economic interests of the country. The campaign in Indiana has given another demonstration of the total lack of principle of the Republican machine, and of the hopelessness of ever securing through its agency an honest discussion before the people of things necessary to good government in this country. C. S. R.

INDIANAPOLIS, October 14, 1880.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The somewhat protracted discussion to which you have so courteously opened your valuable columns on the subject of civil-service reform agitation, seems to me to have settled several questions upon which there was up to this time more or less doubt in the minds of even the most sincere friends of the reform. These are, first, that there is all over the country a large and powerful element in both parties in favor of civil-service reform agitation by means of an education of the masses through publications, broadsides, etc. Furthermore, that very many of these gentlemen are willing to join a society having this object in view, and that sufficient money can easily be procured to pay the necessary expenses. Second, that it is absolutely essential to the efficient working of such a society that it be entirely non-partisan, and that its management be entrusted to gentlemen respected even by the enemies of the movement. The unanimity of sentiment on the part of all your correspondents leaves no doubt as regards this subject. A necessary consequence is that nothing can be done towards the organization of such a society until after the election. Third, that the basis of organization must be modelled somewhat after that of the "Honest Money League" of Chicago—with a central executive committee in New York, and a local auxiliary society wherever there is a sufficient number of members to warrant it. The work of the executive committee should consist in the issuing of broadsides, tracts, and possibly of a separate quarterly organ—though in my opinion, at least, the society would do well to use the columns of the regular press as far as practicable. Auxiliary organizations should receive the publications of the central committee in quantities for distribution, and could, moreover, work for the cause by arranging lectures, meetings, etc., as far as would seem expedient. The basis of membership should be the payment of an annual fee, to be determined upon hereafter, and members should receive the publications regularly and free of charge.

I think I am not far wrong if I take the above as the average result of this interesting discussion. All will agree that it would be a great mistake to let this occasion pass without doing something; and I think that it can be confidently predicted that soon after the election a call for a preliminary meeting, such as was suggested in the first hasty letter on the subject, will be issued, either under the auspices or independently of the old Civil-Service Reform Association of New York. "A. B. M.'s" suggestion, that the Publication Society should not be merely the new edition of a fossil organization is well worthy of attention, but with regard to the association in question his fears seem groundless. The support of the eminent gentlemen whom this body numbers among its members will be invaluable, and indeed indispensable, for a new society.

That the latter will have to begin by educating some of its originators seems to be indicated by the letter of "W.," in number 798 of the *Nation*. This writer thinks a "clean sweep" may do away with party assessments, while "all experience hath shown" that the latter are secured only by the fear on the part of the officials that there might possibly be a "sweep." If an officer were secure of his place as long as he remained efficient and honest, he would certainly not submit to any forced taxation on the part of a "machine."—Very truly yours, F. W. H.

MOUNT VERNON, N. Y., Oct. 15, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have heard so much in commendation of the proposed Civil-Service Reform Publication Society that I am convinced that four out of five of those who are interested in the subject underestimate the hold which the reform has in the minds of the people. The defeat of the Grant and Tilden bosses in the recent nominating campaigns was something more than a choice between men—it was a popular reaction against the politician as such; and whatever the result of the coming election, many thousands of voters are being made civil-service reformers by the logic of the positions of the two parties. Most of these converts must come from the Republican party, which, with the aid of Mr. English's demand for a "clean sweep," is now engaged in painting in high lights the peril of a system it has failed to amend. Such adherents, being largely moved by alarm, are not now to be counted as more than a reserve force to be called upon at the proper time to do the voting. The initiative can only be taken by those who believe the reform to be not a mere incidental desideratum, but a fundamental condition of political health. Fortunately, a large proportion of its present advocates have no party sensibilities to be treated gingerly, and can therefore work heartily for a movement which of necessity must assail the record of both parties. It would hardly seem wise or desirable for any one to cast in his lot with this movement who has any expectation of being either a Democrat or a Republican in 1888.

For these reasons—and not for those I see given in the correspondence of the *Nation* on this subject—I favor a non-partisan organization, with officers whose characters are vouchers that the funds will neither be squandered nor misapplied. To such a leadership I can pledge at least five supporters, with an annual contribution.—Respectfully yours,

R. U. J.

NEW YORK, Sept. 30, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: If you will allow a woman to become a subscriber to your Civil-service Reform Publication Society, I shall be glad to send you a subscription of five dollars. Any movement which will tend to make politics an honorable and honored occupation may well be supported by women as well as men. Surely the desperate struggle for party spoils is the worm gnawing at the heart of our public life and making our fair republic more and more a mass of corruption at the core. H.

NEW JERSEY, October 14, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I will give $20 a year for five years to a society formed for the purpose of purifying the civil service. If any section of the nation has felt the want of an upright and impartial administration of the civil service more than any other, it is that part of the nation which believed so strongly in the defunct doctrine of State sovereignty as to risk life and fortune to maintain it. I agree with "A. B. M." in believing that a new and non-partisan society will be most likely to succeed.—Respectfully, O. H. COOPER.

HUNTSVILLE, TEXAS, Oct. 12, 1880.

[We are able to announce, as the result of all this discussion, that active steps are being taken for a reorganization of the old Civil-Service Reform Association in the direction indicated by "F. W. H." We believe the work will be completed and the result announced immediately after the election, and those who have already expressed their willingness to contribute money receive notice personally of the readiness of the Society to receive it. A public statement will be made of the objects of the organization and of the means by which it proposes to accomplish them. As we understand it, no direct political action or influence by the Society is contemplated, or, indeed, would be possible on the part of a non-partisan body. It will confine itself to efforts to create a public opinion favorable to such a change in the administrative machinery of the Government as will take the subordinate offices "out of politics."—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

D. APPLETON & CO. announce among their fall publications a new edition of 'American Painters,' largely extended by engravings after the works of artists not included in the first edition; a companion volume of contemporary 'British Painters'; the Memoirs of Jefferson Davis; Sir Charles Gavan's 'Young Ireland'; Jennings's 'Anecdotal History of the British Parliament'; and, in the International Scientific Series, 'Sight,' by Prof. Joseph Le Conte.——Lockwood, Brooks & Co., Boston, have in press 'Literary Remains of the Rev. Charles Henry Brigham,' late of Ann Arbor, Michigan, edited by Messrs. Livermore and Wilson; and an 'American Poets' Calendar,' being selections for every day in the year, with chromatic and other designs by the Misses Hyde, of Norwich Town, Conn.—Harroun & Bierstadt, 58 Reade Street, send us a specimen of their series of eight artotype views of the several stages of landing and re-erecting the obelisk now nearing its resting-place in Central Park. They are valuable records of a great undertaking.——In the *Popular Science Monthly* for November Herbert Spencer begins a series of articles on the "Development of Political Institutions."——The Cincinnati Art Museum Fund has been fully subscribed, and amounts to $300,000, enough for the beginning of a building on a plan capable of extension.——The Metropolitan Museum of Art was reopened yesterday, with a new loan exhibition of paintings. The free days will be, as heretofore, those following Tuesday.——The University of Virginia is endeavoring to raise $8,000 to ensure a gift of $25,000 from Mr. W. H. Vanderbilt for an observatory, and a fifty-thousand dollar telescope promised conditionally by Mr. Leander McCormick. Mr. Vanderbilt's condition is the raising of an endowment fund of $50,000.——The Worcester correspondent of the Salem (Mass.) *Gazette* makes an appeal for funds to print the MS. remains of the late Dr. Bentley, who died in 1819, and whose papers are said to be "rich in information of a most various nature" in relation to old Salem, its family and municipal history, manners, etc.——The *Newport Historical Magazine* for October continues its valuable reprint of the records of births and marriages in that town and in Middletown, and begins the publication of Dr. Turner's paper on Governor Jeremiah Clarke and his family, who have held a singularly prominent position in the government of the colony and the State of Rhode Island.——Parents who have already found in Miss C. M. Hewins's *Bulletin* of the Hartford Library Association valuable suggestions how to teach children to like good books, will find a valuable page on "How to teach the right use of books" in the October issue.

—Mr. M. D. Conway pursues, in the November *Harper's*, his demonologic journey through Touraine, dealing this time with the St. Mexme of the town of Chinon under cover of a chat about "Rabelais at Home." There is a readable summary, in another paper, of the St. Cecilia legends, garnished with specimens of what inspiration the artists and the poets have derived from them; Dryden, Addison, and Pope being thus brought into juxtaposition at full length. Mr. W. H. Gibson's "Autumn Pastoral" has the usual qualities of his pen and pencil, and Mr. John W. Chadwick's "In Western Massachusetts" tells pleasantly of the town of Chesterfield and its vicinity, in which the writer made the discovery that "New England is dotted all over with homesteads going to decay, which can be purchased for a song, and made habitable and even charming for a few hundred dollars." It is well to remark, for the benefit of those who prefer the shore to the highlands, that this holds good of the inexhaustible coast, and not of New England alone; for example, we dare say, of that region concerning which Mr. Gaston Fay is prudently reticent of names and direction when treating of certain "Saline Types." The peculiar characteristics of a population of small farmers, fishermen, sportsmen, and wreckers withal are grotesquely and pungently described with sufficient freedom of imagination, and Mr. Fay in conjunction with Mr. A. B. Frost supplies the pictorial representations of his "types." Apart from the artistic merit of these, which in some cases is very great, they deserve to be studied by foreign artists who attempt to illustrate American works of fiction. We have in mind particularly the designs in the *Cornhill* for Mr. Henry James, jr.'s "Washington Square," which in the current *Harper's* is approaching its crisis, happily before the heroine's ruin is complete. Mr. Walton's report upon the Norfolk County schools furnishes Mr. C. F. Adams, jr., a text for a discourse on "Scientific Common-School Education," which turns on the production of professional superintendents, through the universities, by means of "another and distinct post-graduate course, with chairs occupied by professors of pedagogy, as it is called, but which is in reality nothing but the familiar science of psychology." In closing its sixty-first volume *Harper's* has many announcements to make, but none more interesting than that the magazine will with the next number begin to be published in London as well as in New York. This means, of course, that the "contraband" literary features in which it has hitherto indulged will be dropt, or else maintained by some international comity. Liberty in the choice of illustrations must also be curtailed.

—Mr. Henry James, jr., begins "The Portrait of a Lady" in the November *Atlantic* (and also, by the way, in the October *Macmillan*). It is apparently to be another study in spiritual dissection, and as such promises well, though the work is hardly more than cut out in the five chapters here printed. It is a return to the "international" plan, and argues that "Washington Square" may be regarded as in this respect a momentary aberration. Prof. N. S. Shaler has a paper on "The Future of Weather-Foretelling," to which we may recur hereafter. S. J. Barrows writes enthusiastically of "The Silk Industry in America," and the rest of the number is rather light. We ought perhaps to except from this characterization an indescribable series of detonating observations by Miss Phelps, entitled "What is a Fact?"—which divulges the truth—or shall we say fact?—that "the MENTAL SCIENCES EXIST," and that their phenomena are as much facts as any of the facts of baldly material science. There is a weak point in the argument, it will be anticipated; but we owe Miss Phelps a phrase which, considering its setting, is nothing less than a stroke of genius—namely, "the marked uselessness of discussion with the initial moods of 'emancipated minds.'" Mr. G. P. Lathrop discourses with every intention (and not unsuccessfully upon the whole) of lightness on "Philosophy and Apples," meaning the Concord School; Mr. Higginson conducts prettily enough "A Search for the Pleiades," which we will not further describe; the Washington gossip is entertaining as usual, if, indeed, it does not grow in interest now that the writer feels more certain than he did at first, perhaps, of the copiousness of his material; Mr. Richard Grant White, in "Letters and Notes from England," makes the mistake, we think, of supposing extracts at hap-hazard from his own letters "home" popularly interesting, and seems unmindful of the risk of spoiling an excellent series by tapering off into garrulity. The poetry of the number calls for no special mention, and this is not a good review month, though there is plenty of evident effort after excellence, and one or two of the graver notices have the merit of exciting in the reader a desire to know more of the work noticed.

—Colonel Mapleson opened his third season of Italian opera in New York on Monday night before a delighted and crowded audience. Donizetti's "Lucia," which had been selected for this occasion, seems to possess unfading attractions for the popular mind, and the reappearance of Madame Gerster in one of her favorite parts, and the *début* of a new tenor, Sig. Ravelli, made the performance particularly interesting. Madame Gerster was received with a great burst of applause, and several minutes elapsed before she could begin her part. Nothing new can be said about this charming artist. Her voice is as rich, pure, and sympathetic as ever, her method is perfect, and her acting thoroughly artistic. Such rounds of applause as rewarded her efforts after the celebrated duo with the flute in the third act have seldom re-echoed within the walls of an American theatre. The new tenor cannot be called a great singer, but he is, nevertheless, a very desirable acquisition to the Mapleson company. His voice is very even and sympathetic and of pure lyric quality. He sings in tune, is young and good-looking, and, like most of his countrymen—he is a Frenchman—an excellent actor. Signor Galassi, as *Ashton*, has never failed to delight his audience, and was again as satisfactory as ever. The orchestral performance under Signor Arditi was in every respect successful.

—Mr. Constantin Sternberg, a Russian pianist, made his first appearance in America under particularly unfavorable circumstances. In the first place, he had been very imprudently advertised as one of the most eminent of living virtuosos, while it became evident before he had played many bars that he is a young artist possessed of some very desirable qualities, but having as yet no claim to rank among the distinguished pianists who of late years have been heard in New York. Mr. Sternberg has very considerable powers of execution, but his interpretation is cold, conventional, and without intelligence, wanting in fine effects of light and shade, and in delicate and artistic phrasing. This became at once evident in the concerto by Scharwenka in B flat minor, with which he introduced himself. The three "Scenes from Norway," by Grieg, which he selected for solo pieces, are really too unimportant to require comment. They are little drawing-room pieces within comfortable reach of an ordinary amateur, and to choose such music for a début was most unfortunate before an audience accustomed to the wonderful programmes which artists like Essipoff, Bülow, and Joseffy have introduced here. In his last number, Liszt's "Rhapsodie Espagnole," the artist's technical powers were decidedly at fault. He was unable to master the great difficulties which this most uninteresting composition presents. A serious drawback to Mr. Sternberg's success in any event was the choice of a hall. The Academy of Music is not a place for pianists of his stamp. It requires the strength of Rubinstein to fill it, and whatever effects Mr. Sternberg might be able to produce were lost in the great building. The artist was not much more fortunate in a concert which he gave in Madison Square Theatre, where he played compositions by Liszt, Chopin, Saint-Saëns, and Moskowski, and a polonaise of his own.

—Ferdinand Hiller, who is much more favorably known to music-lovers

as a good conductor and prolific writer on musical topics than by his numerous but very commonplace compositions, contributes to the *Rundschau* for September an article on the attitude of different classes of society towards music. Where so many individual differences prevail it is somewhat unsafe to hazard general statements, yet it is of interest to know what conclusions forced themselves on an observant mind during a long life of varied and rich experience in musical circles. A body of French scientists once voted that music occupied about the same level as smoking. Between the class represented by these *savants* and the musical enthusiast whose eyes gather tears every time he hears an *adagio*, there are intermediate stages. What is most universally appreciated in music is the rhythmical element, as is attested by the popularity of dance-music, in which rhythm is the predominant feature. Variety and richness of tone-color as given by a full orchestra stand next in the estimation of the multitude, while musical ideas pure and simple, as in a string-quartet, where most of these embellishments have to be dispensed with, appeal to the smallest circle of hearers. From absolute music of this sort the executants themselves derive the greatest amount of enjoyment, while a majority of the audience listen in a dreamlike state from which they are only aroused by the recurrence of very distinct melodies which they may greet as acquaintances already met with. As to the sexes, the votaries of music, as of religion, are more numerous among females than males, for reasons apparent to all; but women are very apt to transfer their love from the music to the musician. In regard to professions, Hiller found in his personal experience more love of music among physicians than among lawyers, more among philologians than among philosophers. The former is easily understood, while the latter must have been purely accidental. Theologians are divided into two camps, to one of which, whatever may be its personal tastes, is prescribed an abhorrence of all music except that which is distinctly sacred, while the other is at liberty to follow its own inclinations. Music gains many recruits from theological students, while the reverse is seldom the case. When professional men and men of science do take an interest in music they usually prefer the better kinds. Between men of letters or poets and musicians there is a certain rivalry; their products often appear united before the public, and each is apt to regard the share of the other as subordinate to his own. But it must be observed that a bad poem set to good music has a much better chance of success than a good poem wedded to poor music. On the whole, Hiller thinks men of letters are less accessible to the influence of music than men of science, because the latter find in music a source of emotional nourishment which the former derive from other quarters. The representatives of the plastic arts, and especially painters, are frequently enthusiastic admirers of music. Hiller might have added that at the Bayreuth festival in 1876 the list of famous painters present was larger than that of the representatives of any other art. Finally, as to the musicians themselves, whose attitude towards their art varies very much with their position, each has his personal equation which prevents him from looking at a composition from a purely objective point of view. Singers are apt to approve or disapprove of a piece accordingly as it affords them opportunity to display their good points; and to some extent this is true of orchestras and their leaders, who may also become prejudiced against certain works by excessive repetition, especially in the opera. The disadvantage of the critic is that he must always be on the lookout for points and think of what he has got to say, which prevents him from enjoying a work in that naïve and purely receptive state of mind for which it was intended, while composers often succumb to the weakness of opposing altogether too violently works written on principles they do not approve of. This last remark is evidently introspective.

—We have several times commented upon the extraordinary German tariff legislation of last year, and our Berlin correspondent, in a letter published in No. 795, again calls attention to the motives of this tariff and to some of its mischievous results. One particular point of special interest to Americans—the question of lumber, as exported from our Southern States—seems to have escaped general observation. It appears that, thanks to its intrinsic worth, so considerable quantities of American hard-pine lumber have been imported into Germany that the producers of wood in that country took alarm and rallied to exclude the intruder. One of the most curious features of the effort to check the importation of the wood was the presentation of a petition by the timber merchants of Berlin to the Chancellor of the Empire, in which is set forth the value of German oak and pine (*Kiefer*) as contrasted with that of American yellow pine. This petition, which is a somewhat lengthy document, has every appearance of having been "inspired" by some one in the Chancellor's office; but the ostensible ground on which it is based is that the lumber dealers have been pained to see American yellow pine used in the construction of certain public buildings at Berlin to the prejudice of domestic woods. They therefore humbly pray that no more of this American wood shall be used upon any public work. The petition goes on to name some of the advantages which are commonly claimed for the American wood, and strives to rebut them one by one; the burden of the argument being that there are German woods good enough for all practical purposes, that the hard-pine is not well fitted for many uses, and that the continued importation of it will seriously depress the price of domestic lumber. The point is taken that inasmuch as the American wood is imported in a partially-manufactured condition, many German laborers must suffer as well as mill-owners and the proprietors of forests. Prince Bismarck maintained in the Reichstag that American wood was inferior, and professed to be mystified at the preference manifested for it. The duty now in force upon sawn lumber imported into the German Empire is but a small fraction less than $2\frac{3}{4}$ cents for 100 lbs. avoirdupois. That is to say, in order that the owners of the German forests may find a ready market for their trees, the construction of the best possible buildings in that country is hindered, hampered, and made difficult to the extent which this sum represents.

—The Royal Library at Stockholm has published two remarkably well-printed numbers of its "Handlingar"—Transactions, or, as libraries here usually say, Bulletin. The first contained the yearly report for 1878, and a list of Sweden's older liturgical literature; the second gave the report for 1879, and an account of the epistolary collection in the library. Each correspondence is described in a general way in from half a page to a couple of pages, and a list of the correspondents' names is given, with the years covered and the number of the letters. At the end of the volume an index refers to every writer's name. Of course many belong to persons known only in Sweden. We see, however, the names of Axel Oxenstierna, Hugo Grotius, Charles XII. and several other of the kings, and among the writers of one or two letters Beaumarchais, Frederic the Great, A. W. von Schlegel, Tegnér, Voltaire, and Oehlenschläger. It will be an excellent thing if libraries which have valuable collections of manuscript letters get into the way of publishing such lists as this. We remember only a single similar one issued by a library in this country, the list of manuscripts at the end of the catalogue of the Prince collection in the Boston Public Library. We might add the catalogue of President Sparks's MSS., which are now deposited in Harvard College Library, though that was published by Mrs. Sparks and not by the Library. In both these catalogues the subject of each letter was briefly given.

RECENT NAVAL REPORTS.*

THE three books named below may be said, without exaggeration, to form a complete though concise summary of the condition of naval science and naval affairs throughout the world at this date. The authors are well qualified for their respective tasks: Chief Engineer King has been chief of a bureau in the Navy Department, and is well known to all naval men by his admirable report, published in 1877, on "European Ships-of-War"; Professor Soley has for several years been at the head of the department of English studies at the Naval Academy, and is the author of a history of that institution; Commander Chadwick is an officer of twenty years' service, of high standing in his profession, and identified with the training system in our own service. One book tells us of ships, engines, guns, and dockyards; another of the education of officers; and the third of the training of seamen: taken together they form an encyclopædia of naval knowledge. The greatest practical value of such knowledge—which doubtless always exists in various pigeon-holes of the Navy Department, but has not previously been laid before the world in such a comprehensive and intelligent form—is to enable not only naval experts, but every intelligent reader, to form a just estimate of our own position among the naval powers of the world, and to learn whether we receive an adequate return for the sums of money, ranging from fourteen to twenty millions of dollars annually, which we bestow on our Navy in these times of peace.

Mr. Soley describes in detail the courses of study and the management of the various schools of different grades devoted to naval education in England, France, Germany, and Italy. Among these details there may be many valuable hints to naval officers, but the general bearing of the whole subject is mainly interesting to lay readers. From the experience of Germany and Italy, whose navies have been created within the last twenty years and have yet to prove their merits or defects, but little is to be learned. In the English service the author finds that boys are taken at the age of thirteen, placed on a stationary ship for two years, during which they are crammed with a course far beyond their age and capacities, and which, in fact, they do not acquire; then sent to sea on regular cruises for five years; at the end of which time they are brought home and set to work for six months, at the naval school at Greenwich, on a course which it would be impossible to acquire in so short a time, but which in reality is the same course they were supposed to have learned five years before. Professor Soley is therefore "led to the conclusion that the high scientific and professional acquirements of many English naval officers are not in consequence, but in spite, of their early educa-

* 'The War-Ships and Navies of the World. By Chief Engineer J. W. King, U. S. Navy.' Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1880.
'Report on Foreign Systems of Naval Education. By Professor James Russell Soley, U. S. Navy.' Washington: Government Printing-Office. 1880.
'Report on the Training of Seamen in England and France. By Lieutenant-Commander F. E. Chadwick, U. S. Navy.' Washington: Government Printing-Office. 1880.

tion." On the other hand, he found everything to admire in the French system, which takes boys at sixteen from the *lycées*, where they have received a thorough elementary education, and devotes two years to their professional studies in the naval school at Brest, followed by a year of service at sea on a practice-ship. Yet by common consent the English are more skilful sailors than the French. As our own system of education, which has now been in existence for thirty-five years, has produced a body of officers who are not surpassed by those of any other nation in professional acquirements, naval aptitude, or uprightness of character, it may fairly be presumed that we have little to learn, except in minor details, on the subject of education.

If we pass from the officers to the men, however, we find no such flattering picture. Mr. Chadwick mentions incidentally that the last ship in which he served "had, in a crew of three hundred and one men, the representatives of *seventeen* different nationalities," including natives of Finland and the Sandwich Islands. Nor was this an exceptional ship. A few years ago a large portion of the "landsmen" who manned our ships-of-war could not understand the language of the country they were serving! Such a state of affairs is certainly in glaring contrast to the condition of England, which has nearly twenty thousand educated seamen ("blue-jackets"), which annually turns out three thousand educated boys, bound to serve until their twenty-ninth year; where, by means of the training system, "the sailor has been made a man of high respectability, instead of the drunken, careless fellow of some years since"; and where "the men who man her ships are a body of whom England is justly proud." The training system, in brief, consists of taking boys at the age of sixteen, and giving them an elementary education on board ships employed for this special purpose, at the same time that they learn their practical duties as sailors. After three or four years of instruction they are sent to sea on regular cruisers. They are bound to serve for a certain period, and in the English service special inducements are offered for re-enlistment. The advantages of the system are too obvious to need enumeration, and its cost is very slight. It has long been in vogue in England, and was introduced in our own service a few years since. Its details are specified with great minuteness in Commander Chadwick's report. He also gives an account of the training systems for the merchant service, the necessity for which is apparent from the following facts: "In 1877 the losses of the English marine comprised 560 sailing vessels and 68 steamers, representing a value, with cargoes, of $18,000,000. With these ships were lost 2,700 lives. Two-thirds of these wrecks are set down by the British Board of Trade as the result of ignorance and incompetency. There would thus (taking the losses of England alone) be a saving of $12,000,000 if the masters were better fitted for their duties." Although there is one school-ship of this class maintained by the State of New York, it does not meet the demands of even a portion of our mercantile marine. The system might well be extended, and this portion of Commander Chadwick's report could be studied to advantage by the shipping interest.

Of Chief-Engineer King's book it is hardly possible to speak too highly. When his former report on European ships-of-war was published it was at once recognized by all naval authorities as so comprehensive and so original in method and treatment as to constitute a novelty in naval literature; it quickly found its way to every war-ship afloat, and has since retained its place as a standard book of reference. The present volume is much larger, being a stout octavo of over six hundred pages; it brings the subject down to date, and in general bears about the same relation to the previous report as a treatise to a school text-book. More than one-third of the book is naturally devoted to the English navy, which has been the battle-ground of all the opposing theories about naval architecture and naval artillery that have been evolved during the twenty years in which both of these sciences have been completely revolutionized; but the navies of other nations—twenty-two in all—are fully described in proportion to their importance. For each of the twelve most important of these nations is given a table showing the name of each ship, and its dimensions, character and thickness of armor, kind of engines, number and size of guns, speed, displacement, etc., etc. For the modern ships a type of each class is selected and described in great detail, with drawings showing all its essential features. There is also a full discussion of modern great guns, of torpedoes, of marine engines and ship-building. The appearance of trustworthy and well-digested data on these subjects, from an author who has visited nearly every great dock-yard and arsenal in Europe and inspected every type of modern ship-of-war, is most timely; for, as we showed the other day in reviewing Lieutenant Very's work, the ships in our Navy have been steadily degenerating in comparison with those of other powers, until now they have reached such a state of inefficiency that a thorough reconstruction must be effected or we must cease to be considered a great naval power, and this in spite of the fact that the sums expended on our Navy in the last fifteen years have been far in excess of those expended by any other nation except England and France. In number of armored ships we stand sixth on the list, in tonnage eighth, in number of guns tenth. We have not a single sea-going iron-clad of the character possessed by eleven other nations, not a single iron-built ship sheathed with wood, only one fast cruiser of modern type and effective size, only sixteen rifled guns afloat, and these not larger than eight inches in calibre. Our Navy, in short, consists of a few monitors left over from the war, equally incapable of venturing to sea or meeting in action the modern armored ships of other powers, and of about forty wooden cruisers, three-fourths of which are of the type which excited the admiration of the world twenty-five years ago, but which are now almost as much inferior to the rapid cruisers of European nations as sailing ships are inferior to themselves. Moreover, the average cost of repairing our wooden hulls during the five years from 1870 to 1875, as stated in an official table quoted by Mr. King, was little less than $300,000 per vessel; whereas the cost of repairing an iron or composite ship of the modern type is but $70,000 in ten years.

These are a few of the facts which attract attention in perusing this admirable book. They warrant the statement that our naval expenditures, which amount to one-fourteenth of our revenue, are so misdirected that it may almost be said that they are wholly wasted. Under existing laws the naval officials are obliged to expend enormous sums in patching up old ships in order to make some show of a force afloat. We cannot have iron ships because the lumber interests are opposed to it; we cannot have proper guns because the iron interests are not agreed among themselves who shall construct them. Between the upper and nether millstones of these conflicting interests the Navy is being ground to pieces; and this state of affairs is likely to continue until the public takes some interest in the matter, and compels these rival industries to subordinate their private advantage to the public welfare. When the public mind, as represented in Congress, is ready to demand that we shall have efficient ships and guns in place of the antiquated affairs for which we are now paying so heavily, the data contained in Chief-Engineer King's book, comprising as it does the costly experience of the whole world in building up modern navies, will be simply invaluable. It is to be hoped that the book itself will hasten the arrival of that time.

FROM CHINA TO INDIA OVERLAND.*

CAPTAIN GILL'S book is the latest and most important of recent works on China, though the author gives us simply his diary written from day to day during a journey of some four thousand miles and extending over a period of thirteen months. Its bright, vivacious style, and the occasional graphic pictures of the country and its inhabitants, their peculiarities in habit, dress, and agriculture, render it very attractive. True, it adds little to our knowledge in these respects, as only in a single instance did Captain Gill pass over ground untrodden by previous travellers. His claim to a high rank among travellers, however, rests upon his contributions to our geographical knowledge of China. For over a thousand miles, to quote the words of Sir R. Alcock on the presentation to the author of the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society last year, "he made a traverse survey of all the remote westerly region, and took a careful series of hypsometrical measurements, the result of which is that we have now an accurate knowledge of the elevation and configuration of that great extent of mountainous country, besides a clear idea of its geography, from the admirable map in forty-two sheets which Captain Gill has presented to the Society." He landed in China, very opportunely, in the fall of 1876, just as the convention known as the "Agreement of Chefoo" was concluded with England. To a clause in the convention "enjoining the local authorities to give protection to foreign travellers" is due the fact "that Englishmen may travel in comfort throughout the vast empire." No doubt the uniform courtesy with which our author was treated was owing in great measure to his personal courage and tact in dealing with the people, and especially the petty officials. His testimony, however, is amply confirmed by that of Mr. McCarthy, an English missionary, who preceded him over the most dangerous part of his journey through the province of Yünnan to Burmah. In a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society this gentleman says: "I was not once called upon to produce my passport, nor had I once to appeal to any official for help or protection. From the people everywhere I received only civility and kindness."

In the first chapters of his work Captain Gill gives a brief account of his journey to Peking and a trip which he made to the province of Pe-Chi-Li, to the northeast of the capital and beyond the Great Wall. A great part of the country visited was under water, and the scenery was monotonous in the extreme from the wearisome alternations of swamp and level plain. After a lively description of Shanghai and a shooting excursion on the Grand Canal, we are fairly launched on the great river which gives its name to the book. The Yang-tze-kiang, the largest river of Asia and the fourth in size in the world, unless the Congo should be found to supplant it, has different names in different parts of its course. The name Ocean River, by which it is known to Englishmen, is applied only to that part nearest the sea. From the borders of Tibet to Fu-chu, in the province of Szr-Chwan, much the longest

* 'The River of Golden Sand. The narrative of a journey through China and Eastern Tibet to Burmah. With illustrations and ten maps from original surveys. By Capt. William Gill, R.E. With an introductory essay by Col. Henry Yule, C.B., R.E.' In two volumes. London: J. Murray. 1880.

part of its course, it is called the Kin-sha-kiang—river of golden sand. In the steppes of Tibet it receives the name of Mu-rui-ussu, or winding water. Its source is one of the yet unsolved geographical problems of the day, but is probably to be found not far from lat. 36° and long. 90°. The river journey of 1,500 miles to Chung-Ching, in an American-built steamer as far as Hankow, 680 miles, in a junk for the remainder of the distance, calls for no particular remark. It is only when the author leaves this city that his narrative has the charm of novelty. In making his arrangements for his transport into the comparatively unknown territory to the northwest he refers to a very elaborate agreement which he made with a coolie-master as to the most minute details of the journey :

"But, unlike English documents," he adds, "this charter, once drawn up and verbally agreed to by the coolie-master and myself, required neither witness nor signature, but, being confided to the depths of my pocket, was as valid, according to Chinese usage, as the most formal document that ever issued from Lincoln's Inn. This confidence that people have in one another is a feature in the character of the people that has been strangely unnoticed by foreign writers. Merchants in China rely implicitly on one another ; indeed, if they did not, all business would come to an end at once. In my position I was over and over again compelled to trust the Chinese with large sums of money without receiving any receipt, and in other ways to rely on their probity to a far greater extent than I should have trusted Europeans, or Chinese if I could have avoided it. But I was never deceived in the smallest degree, nor did I lose anything during all the time I was travelling."

At Chung-Ching the river was left and the remainder of the journey was made on foot or pony back, the baggage being carried by coolies. These men carry enormous loads. Captain Gill mentions overtaking a "somewhat slenderly-built carrier freighted with twenty-two of the Ya-chau packages [of tea], which must, at the lowest computation, have exceeded 400 pounds in weight!" Their pay is as small as their burdens are great. For carrying six packages 150 miles, or twenty days' journey, over an exceedingly mountainous country a coolie receives 1.8 taels, or about $2.59. The province of Szr-Chwan, through which Captain Gill now passed, is "one of the most beautiful, perhaps the richest, and for foreigners certainly the most pleasant, in the empire." The roads and inns were good. Village schools were numerous, and the country everywhere bore witness to a long-continued peace and prosperity. Ching-tu-fu, the capital, was thronged with candidates for the examinations and it was difficult to find a lodging. Here, as frequently afterwards, our traveller received cordial and efficient aid from the French missionaries. From this point he took what he terms a "loop-cast" to the Northern Alps, a region the greater part of which had never been visited by any European. His route lay among the mountains which run parallel with the vast range separating China from Tibet. In some of the remoter valleys he found villages of the Man-tse, people speaking a Tibetan dialect, who are supposed to be the descendants of the original inhabitants. "The houses are of stone, and the lower part is like a fort, with a few narrow windows like loopholes ; there is a flat roof, and on part of this a kind of shed is erected, also flat-roofed and open to the front. There is a high tower in each village. These are usually square ; but I once saw an octagonal one." The Man-tse appear to be independent, but are gradually disappearing before the irresistible advance of the Chinese. In one of the larger towns of this district Captain Gill saw for the first time the Margary proclamation. This was in accordance with the Chefoo convention, by which the Chinese Government bound itself to post throughout the empire a document reciting the facts of Mr. Margary's murder, dwelling upon the gravity of the offence and charging upon officials to protect travellers, "and to study the treaty of Tien-tsin." This proclamation was afterwards seen at almost every stopping place. The next town of importance which he reached was Ta-chien-lu, lying at the foot of the mountains in a district in which the government is administered by both Chinese and Tibetan officials. Here the tea is prepared for the Tibetan market, and it is estimated that about ten million pounds pay duty annually, and in addition a large quantity is smuggled over the border. Between this place and Batang, the frontier town, the road at but a single point descends below 10,000 feet above the sea-level. Four of the passes are over 15,000 feet and one is 16,568 feet. Yet even at this height there was no snow, and just below the summit "wild flowers of every color were growing." At this season—August—"a carpet of luxuriant grass covered the whole surface of the hills and dales ; the richness of the pasture was astonishing, and thousands of yaks and sheep were feeding on the magnificent vegetation." At Batang Captain Gill's progress westward was barred by the determination of the Lamas to prevent any foreigners from entering Tibet, and the traveller turned to the southward along the banks of the "river of golden sand." The country bore a poverty-stricken appearance, chiefly on account of the oppressions of the Lamas, who have possessed themselves of most of the arable and pasture land, but pay no taxes. These are levied without abatement on the dispossessed people, who are either becoming Lamas themselves or are emigrating into the neighboring province of Yünnan. At Shik-ku, where the river turns to the eastward, 2,500 miles from its mouth, it "was so swollen by the constant rain that it was more like an immense sea than a river." Yünnan, though naturally one of the richest of the provinces of the empire, had not yet recovered from the desolation consequent upon the Mohammedan rebellion at the time of Captain Gill's visit. Ta-li-fu, the capital of the rebels and formerly a very important place, was then "little better than a ruin." A somewhat wearisome journey of thirty days through a comparatively uninteresting country brought our author safely to Bhamo, the border town of Burmah, thus accomplishing successfully, what till recently has been impracticable, the overland passage from China to India.

The work is edited by Colonel Henry Yule, who contributes a valuable introductory chapter on the geography of Tibet, together with a brief account of the various expeditions which preceded that of Captain Gill.

A History of Classical Greek Literature. By the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, M.A., Fellow and Professor of Ancient History, Trinity College, Dublin. (New York : Harper & Bros. 1880.)—Mr. Mahaffy, whose 'Social Life in Greece' made him, if not celebrated, well known, has given us in these two volumes a very readable and interesting account of the classical writers of Greece. The scope of his work did not allow him to include the post-classical period ; hence, the first volume, which discusses the poets, terminates with Menander, while his second does not extend beyond the lost historians of the fourth century B.C. Hitherto a kind of fatality has attached to English histories of Greek literature. O. Müller's admirable sketch, written expressly for English students, in a transparent and most un-German style, was cut short by his premature death, and rather unequally supplemented by Donaldson. Colonel Mure's work is disfigured by a vicious redundancy of words, as well as by a standpoint which, with Mr. Mahaffy and most sane critics, we cannot but regard as too often uncritical. Moreover, the size and costliness of both these works place them beyond the reach of ordinary students. Thus, there is not only room but an actual demand for a work which, like the present, aims at giving with an account of each writer a condensed summary of modern criticism upon them.

Mr. Mahaffy starts with one great advantage : he is thoroughly readable and lively. His History will be read through by those who begin it, and is rarely, if ever, fatiguing. Hence it is likely to be popular with younger students, whether in schools or universities, whether male or female. It might easily be got up for an examination, and is sufficiently learned to flatter those who read it into the belief that they are masters (or mistresses) of the subject. We recommend it in particular to those who combine the sexes in mixed classes and teach both together. Yet light and unpedantic as it is, it contains the result of long and laborious study, and this not merely of the authors themselves, but of the literature, in some cases enormous, upon them. Thus, the discussion on Homer, without affecting to be learned or exhaustive, is a really admirable résumé of the fluctuation of opinion on the origin and composition of the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' from Wolf to our own time. The chapter on Euripides, a poet on whom the author has written a special monograph, is thoroughly adequate and appreciatory ; that on Sophocles will please most readers less, for Sophocles, in Mr. Mahaffy's judgment, has been overrated. Few will agree with him that the "Antigone" is not a very great tragedy, albeit a most brilliant and beautiful dramatic poem. And though he may be right in stating that many of the faults ordinarily supposed to belong to Euripides alone—*e. g.*, the altercations of the characters and the occasional irrelevance of the choral odes—are anticipated by Sophocles, it remains true that Sophocles did not lower the tone of tragedy and that Euripides did. This degradation or decadence was no doubt inevitable ; the germs of it may be in Sophocles ; yet Aristophanes was not wrong in associating it almost entirely with Euripides. It is indeed clear that the accident of time or the hostility of monks has destroyed some dramas of the two elder tragedians which must have exhibited scenes of very Greek morality ; and it may be true that, from a modern point of view, if we still possessed all that Sophocles produced, we should judge him more harshly than the extant specimens justify. But on the evidence of those specimens we hold by the ordinary belief, not by Mr. Mahaffy. He is, we think, carried away by the limpid clearness of the younger dramatist, as indeed were the Athenians themselves, and has hardly sufficient sympathy with that wonderful subtlety of suggestive diction which places Sophocles on a level with the greatest poets, a Virgil or a Goethe. Again, when Mr. Mahaffy, after an interesting criticism of the "Œdipus Coloneus," sums up by declaring it "for vigor, for variety, and for poetic beauty" equal to any of Sophocles's plays, and inclines to rank it first of all, the strangeness of the *particular* verdict is in too direct antagonism to received belief not to make us pause about accepting his *generally* unfavorable estimate of the poet's genius.

The remark may be taken as applying to a great deal throughout the book : its general soundness of judgment, especially in dealing with the over-destructive criticism of the Germans, is apt to be marred by freaks of individual caprice—such, *e. g.*, as the author's preference of the "Trachiniæ" to the "Medea" ; his tendency to underrate Thucydides, involving as it does a denial of the great historian's belief in virtue *per se*, and a quotation which we could well spare of Mure's absurd criticism of the famous passage (vii. 71) describing

the emotions of the crowd that watched on land the battle in the harbor of Syracuse (vol. ii. p. 112). To some readers the most objectionable part of Mr. Mahaffy's work will be the two pages on the 'Phædon' of Plato, where he draws a most uncalled-for parallel between the last interview of Socrates with his wife and of Jesus Christ with his mother; and finds a "singular analogy" between Plato's discussion on the immortality of the soul and Mozart's Requiem. It seems to us a very unfortunate circumstance in this analogy that much of the famous Requiem is not certainly, we had almost said is believed to be certainly not, Mozart's. But faults like these are inconsiderable if compared with the far greater merits of the work. Few points on which criticism can be raised are neglected by Mr. Mahaffy, and the discussion on any one is never long enough to become wearisome. Every reader will be grateful, too, for the judicious use of foreign works either little read or not as much as they deserve, such as M. Patin's 'Tragiques Grecs,' or Blass's 'Geschichte der Attischen Beredsamkeit.' Such flaws as the iteration of particular words, *e.g.*, "splendid," or Hibernicisms like "along with" and "except" in the sense of "unless," are the excusable emergencies of haste, and will no doubt be removed in another edition.

Health and Health Resorts. By John Wilson, M.D., late Medical Inspector of Camps and Hospitals, U.S.A. (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 1880. 16mo, pp. 288.)—Dr. Wilson's book is chiefly taken up with descriptions of the leading European watering-places—Italian, Swiss, German, and French—while an early chapter on "Expatriation" is given, somewhat contradictorily, to the dispraise of foreign as contrasted with American watering-places. But the patriotic physiologist is in danger of neglecting a great many facts; and when Dr. Wilson claims "equability of temperature," either in winter or summer, for any of our health resorts either on or near the Atlantic coast he claims what observation does not bear out. Those of the Florida Keys, which lie nearly on the inner edge of the Gulf Stream, have, indeed, a climate as equable as that of the Riviera; but the popular health resorts of Florida cannot compare in equability of climate with those of the Mediterranean. Thus, in Jacksonville the monthly ranges or variations of temperature during each of the seven months from May to September, 1874, were 50,° 49°, 46°, 31°, 24°, 34°, and 36° Fahr. respectively, with a maximum of 100.° The climate of St. Augustine, with extremes of 21° and 103° during a period of seven years (we give the Fort Marion observations), showed extremes for the months of January during a term of years of from 21° to 84°, and of 58° to 103° during the month of June. We cite these figures as sufficiently illustrative of our climate's racking changes, and yet they are, if we may use the expression, the most moderate of our extremes; the range of month and season variations increasing as we go northward.

Dr. Wilson writes in apparent ignorance of American climatology. His account of foreign watering-places has a certain popular value, but is marred by a diffuse and trivial style. It must be added that the book is a museum of misspellings and misprints; we have marked the following within the compass of three pages: Lepey, Comballel, Ormund, Litlis, Schiedeck, Remermont, and Guardmer (pp. 126–128).

A Short History of the Norman Conquest of England. By Edward A. Freeman, D.C.L., LL.D. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. Pp. 156.)—In this little volume Mr. Freeman has given, in his graphic style, a sketch of the Norman Conquest that will serve well as a continuation of his 'Old English History.' It is in no sense, he says, an abridgment of his great work; for example, the period following the Conqueror's reign is dismissed with a single short chapter, quite in contrast to the thick fifth volume which is devoted to this period. But the introductory chapters, narrating the causes of the conquest, are sufficiently full, and the chapter on the results of the conquest is in due proportion. On the whole it seems as if he would have done well to give more space (not much over a page as it is) at least to the Norman kings William II., Henry I., and Stephen; for this is a particularly good part of his larger work, and these reigns would fairly come in with a history of the conquest. The volume would be a very thin one even then. It may be noted that in this volume Mr. Freeman tacitly gives up the contest as to the spelling of Anglo-Saxon names: we have *Edmund*, *Edward*, and *Alfred*.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Adam and Eve	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Allen (Prof. W. F.), Introduction to Latin Composition	(Ginn & Heath)
Arnold (E.), Poems	(Roberts Bros.) $1 00
Chapin (J. H.), The Creation	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 75
Christlieb (T.), Protestant Foreign Missions	(Congregational Pub. Soc.)
Directory of the Charities of Boston	(A. Williams & Co.)
Eggleston (E.) and Seelye (L. E.), Montezuma and the Conquest of Mexico	(Dodd, Mead & Co.) 1 25
Guinness (H. G.), The Approaching End of the Age	(A. C. Armstrong & Son) 2 50
Hale (Dr. Amie M.), Management of Children	(Presley Blakiston)
Handy Book of Popular Quotations	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 75
Hundred Greatest Men of History, vols. i. and ii.	(Fords, Howard & Hulbert)
Ingram (J. H.), Edgar Allan Poe, 2 vols.	(John Hogg)
Janney (Lucy N.), Alton-Thorpe: a Novel	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Kenney (H. A.) and Atwood (D.), The Fathers of Wisconsin	(David Atwood)
Lincoln (Dr. D. F.), School and Industrial Hygiene	(Presley Blakiston) 50
Maclaren (Rev. A.), The Life of David as Reflected in his Psalms	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 25
McCalman (A. H.), Abridged History of England	(Trow's Printing Co.)
Norton (C. E.), Historical Studies of Church-building in the Middle Ages	(Harper & Bros.)
Oswald (F. L.), Summerland Sketches	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 3 00
Parker (F. W.) and Marvel (L. H.), Supplementary Reading for Primary Schools	(Robert S. Davis & Co.)
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Pictorial Tour of the World	(Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.) 4 00
Reed (D. A.), Protestant Foreign Missions	(Congregational Publishing Soc.)
Schumann (R.), Music and Musicians, Second Series	(E. Schuberth & Co.)
Scudder (H. E.), Stories and Romances	(Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) 1 25
Smith (Mrs. H. B.), Henry Boynton Smith: His Life and Work	(A. C. Armstrong & Son)
Sophocles, The Œdipus Tyrannus, translated into English verse	(Miami Pub. Co.)
Tafel (T. F. L. and L. H.), English-German and German-English Dictionary	(I. Kohler)
Thomson (P. G.), Bibliography of the State of Ohio	(Peter G. Thomson) 8 00
Thompson (S. D.), Charging the Jury	(Wm. H. Stevenson) 2 00
Verne (J.), The Tribulations of a Chinaman	(E. P. Dutton & Co.) 2 50

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1880.

The Week.

BEFORE our next issue reaches our readers the Presidential contest will have taken place and the result been made known. It would not be quite true to say that the Democratic prophets are as loud or as confident as the Republican, and it would be still less true to pretend that the chances, at best or at worst, are even. All the precedents, that are real precedents, in our political history, and all that we know of the temper and behavior of the American voter, assure the Republicans of victory in this as in the five preceding national elections. The causes, however, for discouragement which affect the general ticket are less potent in the Congressional districts, and no one can exactly forecast the gains of the Republicans in the lower House. At the South the present hopelessness of the election of Hancock is evidently serving as a fresh incentive to efforts to maintain and extend the "brigadier" representation. Success in this direction we should regard with indifference if, as some Republican orators believe and assert, the approaching defeat of the Democrats means the end of that party. There can be no doubt that such a catastrophe would ensue if the Solid South seceded from an organization which has been nothing but a hindrance and an injury to it since April, 1877. While we also look forward to this, we will not undertake to fix the date of its happening. The one thing certain, since both sets of prophets agree in proclaiming it, is that, whether Hancock or Garfield be the next President, the Solid South will never be heard of again.

The canvass closes without a single speech having been openly made to and on behalf of the Republicans of the South under the auspices of the National Executive Committee. They have received in lieu of such aid and comfort an address by Marshall Jewell, the chairman of that committee, transmitted through the Associated Press. It is, in brief, an appeal "to the Republicans of the Southern States" to stand up in the sight of the whole country and cast their votes for the candidates of their choice. It hardly deserves notice as a serious document, for it has a squint northward rather than southward, or, in other words, is intended for general political effect. It says "the Republicans of the North are fully aroused to the truth that the Democratic party conquered" half the Southern States "by violence, and now proposes to retain them by fraud." The force of this, for those who have long memories, is greatly weakened by the fact that the address is countersigned by the secretary, an Arkansas carpet-bagger who is largely responsible for the Democratic recovery of supremacy in that State, as well as for its present disgraceful repudiating attitude, and whose relation to the Baxter-Brooks civil war at Little Rock in 1873, as described in a Congressional report, should put him to the blush and this manifesto to ridicule in what relates to violence and fraud.

The campaign story of the week emanated from a basement on Nassau Street, and was to the effect that General Garfield had written in January last to one "H. L. Morey, Employers' Union, Lynn, Mass.," a short letter giving his opinion that "the question of employees is only a question of private and corporate economy," and stating that he was not in favor of abrogating the treaty with China "until our great manufacturing and corporate interests are conserved in the matter of labor." The letter, together with its envelope, was printed in fac-simile, and was heralded as Garfield's political death-warrant. Diligent search was at once made for Morey and for the Employers' Union, but, with all the aid afforded by the telegraph, he has not yet been discovered, and the Lynn manufacturers deny any knowledge of the Union. The letter, of course, has not been exhibited, even under a glass case. Meantime Gen. Garfield has published several denunciations of it "as a bold forgery, both in its language and sentiment," while newspaper and post-office experts have picked flaws in the handwriting, the orthography, and the cancelling-stamp, Mr. S. B. Chittenden has offered $5,000 for the arrest of the forger, and detectives are said to have caught up with him already. Genuine fac-similes of Mr. Garfield's manuscript have been scattered broadcast through the press, and the interest manifested in the way he makes his loop-letters and dots his *i*'s has been equal to that displayed in the case of Whittaker's note of warning. The Morey letter represents the writer as spelling companies "companys," thus showing what simple precautions the forger omitted in the midst of so much elaborate apparatus for deceiving.

Another Democratic "bombshell" was the publication by Mr. Barnum of two telegrams sent from the Republican headquarters to Florida by Mr. Jewell, one promising to "provide as requested two hundred each for Callender and yourself as compensation," the other announcing that certain steamers "took" 150, 100, and 100, and that the "men on dock [had been] instructed to say nothing about it." This clearly meant bribery and the importation of "repeaters"; yet Mr. Jewell had the assurance to explain that Mr. Charles J. Noyes, the recipient of the first despatch, and Mr. Callender were simply Republican speakers now in Florida, whose expenses were guaranteed; and this does appear to be confirmed by a Florida letter which we print on another page, and which is a voucher for the dearness of Mr. Noyes's services at any price. As regards the three hundred and fifty men shipped to Key West, he produced a despatch in which he warned the Collector of that Port that two or three hundred workmen had been sent out, ostensibly to labor on some railroad, but that it looked to him "as though they were sent to Key West to vote." Subsequent enquiry had resulted, in spite of the reticence of the men on the dock, in ascertaining the exact number and the ships on which they had taken passage. This is, probably, the whole truth so far as Mr. Jewell is concerned, but explanations and contradictions have no discouragement, in the last week of a canvass, for the industrious exploders of bombshells.

General Grant has during the week fairly enrolled himself among the Republican campaign orators, and has presided and made speeches at meetings in Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York, not to mention sundry receptions to dispel *ennui*, and his testifying before the Warren court of enquiry in regard to Five Forks. In Jersey City he spoke three times in different halls in the course of the same evening. What he said was quite up to the level of campaign oratory, and some of his remarks had a force derived partly from their terseness and partly from the truths which they contained. Thus, of the rebels he said he had always contended during the war that "they were as much interested in their own defeat as we were interested in defeating them," and he now held, for a similar reason, that "the Republicans are just as much interested in the success to-day of the Republican party as the Republicans of the United States." So there was a certain felicity in his saying: "The beauty of the system of free ballot is that if an Administration is not a good one the next will be of a different sort. If you are going to control elections by the use of a shot-gun and by intimidation and assassination, if you get in a bad government it might perpetuate itself by simply being worse." But there is scarcely any speaker now on the stump from whom such words, addressed to the South, would be more irritating or more futile. His appearance, too, on the same platform with Conkling, and the "magnanimity" of these two men in working for Garfield, will naturally seem to many to impose on the latter an obligation which augurs ill for his Administration. We believe Mr. Garfield has made them no pledges and will make none, but that may not save him some day from the charge of ingratitude.

The Democratic National Committee has at last taken a hand in the local quarrel in Virginia, and in a manifesto issued last week calls upon the Democrats of "the Old Dominion" to support the regular—that is to say, the Funder—electors. This was, of course, the only shape that interference on its part could take. The Funders are indisputably

regular, and the only reason for "recognizing" their opponents consisted in the possibility that the Mahone faction had the most votes. The tardiness of the Committee's action is natural and consistent, and in view of the nature of political management it is entirely defensible. At one time there was a prospect of a union between the Funders and Readjusters, and as questions of paying indebtedness had evidently nothing to do with the proper conduct of a campaign, it behooved the national as well as the local managers to postpone a decision until it should appear either that one of the two factions was clearly the stronger, or that all hope of harmony was to be abandoned. The latter having been demonstrated, all that Mr. Barnum had to do was to support the faction which was least to blame for the failure of the attempt at union. Accordingly, he throws upon the Readjusters, very justly, "the responsibility for perpetuating the existing divisions," and pleads with Virginia Democrats to postpone to a State canvass the differences which now divide them, and at the present crisis to vote for the Funder electoral ticket.

Of course General Mahone has been in nowise cast down by this pronunciamiento. The results of Presidential elections doubtless seem rather trivial to him, considering the special task to which he has devoted his energies of reforming Virginia politics by repudiating the State debt and generally introducing more vigor into local administration. He has issued a counter-proclamation, saying that Barnum's address "is no surprise to any Readjuster in Virginia," and adding the neat remark that his party have "anticipated it for months, and wondered why it was delayed." He proceeds to say, in a defiant tone, which is probably very disconcerting to the Funders, that his party have never expected, sought, or claimed recognition from the National Committee, and that they "are fighting for a higher prize than any abstract title to Democracy." Whether or no he was wise in this last phrase it is impossible for any one north of the scene of controversy to decide. The Funders jump upon it with vigor as an unconscious unmasking of Mahone's treacherous intentions. "Read that honest confession, ye deluded people of Virginia who have innocently followed what you supposed was a Democratic leader," the Richmond *Dispatch* exclaims in triumph; and there are numberless other untimely indications that fidelity to "Democracy" is regarded by even those Virginia Democrats who object to the title "Bourbon" as the first of political duties, in no matter what exigency. This is what renders it doubtful, at least to people who have no intimate interest in the honor of Virginia, whether Mahone is not performing a public service in exploding the nonsense and antiquity of Bourbon notions, even at the expense of cheating the creditors of the State. As to the effect upon Garfield's chances of carrying Virginia, it is enough to say that the Republican party there is, of course, mainly composed of negroes, and that if these vote for the Garfield electors the Funders will have a substantial plurality over Mahone, whose party is largely made up of blacks. It is perhaps safe to say that he will look to their allegiance.

We expressed last week our opinion that the tariff tactics of the Republicans at the eleventh hour had turned the scale in Indiana. A better authority than ourselves, the editor of the Indianapolis *Journal*, divests the victory of any national significance whatever, and says "the election only made apparent what existed months before—a firm resolve on the part of the people to rebuke the outrage on their decree confirming the amendments to our State constitution." The *Journal* must be well informed, because it was bought out by the manager of the Republican canvass, Mr. John C. New, in order "to put it in harmony with the campaign plan." Its course throughout has been noticeably quiet and dignified, and we were struck by nothing more than its sudden lack of interest in the efforts to secure a reversal of the Supreme Court decision denying the adoption of the amendments. We felt then that a secret confidence in the Republican advantage made an October election perfectly acceptable to the leaders, with all the appearance of a special providence. Our impression has been that since the petition for a rehearing the amendments have figured but little in the *Journal's* warfare, and our surprise is therefore great when we find these produced as the chief, if not the sole, cause of "the late political revolution." We do not, of course, doubt the *Journal's* sincerity when it deplores the fate of the amendments as a loss to honest government in Indiana, apart from the abolition of the October election, which was, after all, of secondary importance. Men of all parties shared and share this feeling.

If we had any reason for doubting the *Journal's* interpretation of the Democratic defeat we should find it in the smallness of Judge Porter's plurality and the largeness of the *Journal's* phrase for the rebuking party—"the sovereign people." Here, we will agree, was a despicable conspiracy on the part of the Supreme Court and the adherents of Mr. Hendricks to nullify the adoption of the amendments, which, in the popular view of both parties, had really taken place. We should, therefore, have expected the juggle to receive a crushing condemnation, especially if the sovereign people had had any hand in it; but, as a matter of fact, the sovereignty appears to reside in 7,551 male voters, or thereabouts, who are all that remain if we pair the Republican and non-Republican ballots until the latter are exhausted, and constitute less than two per cent. of the total poll. This does not seem to be withering to evil-doers, or to indicate that the sovereign people, of whose absorbing and universal interest in stump-speaking we had such vivid accounts, had their eyes fixed upon the same object; or that Mr. Schurz, when he opened the campaign at Indianapolis, and confined himself wholly, unless we are mistaken, to national considerations, was talking beside the point.

Secretary Sherman made a speech, as usual both able and adroit, at the Cooper Union on Tuesday night, largely in defence of the financial measures of the Republican party since it came into power, but without a word of reference to silver, except as a portion of the currency which, like the restored gold and the redeemed greenbacks, was a monument of the party's wisdom. He undertook to meet again Senator Bayard's characterization of the Resumption Act as a "juggling measure," and complaint that Mr. Sherman would not allow him to offer an amendment to retire and cancel the greenbacks, by saying that Mr. Bayard "must have known" this would defeat the bill and increase the hostility to it of his Democratic associates. Now, the Senator from Delaware and every one else knew at the time that Mr. Sherman's refusal to put a precise construction on the terms of his measure was dictated by his desire to pass the bill with the aid of all the doubtful votes he could secure, and this is a kind of statesmanship which has its excuses at least. But it is odd to find in the *Times's* report (the *Tribune's* is quite different) Mr. Sherman saying in one breath: "If his [Mr. Bayard's] idea had been adopted it would have defeated resumption, and there would have been an end of it. That is what I complain of in respect to the Democratic party. In political life they are not frank and manly. They don't meet a question fairly."

Instead of putting an Opposition local ticket in the field the New York Republicans have nominated a straight Republican ticket, which would be all very well and very wise if there were any principle for which they were contending. But there is nothing of the kind, and can, in the nature of local politics here, be nothing at present, certainly, but hostility to the dictatorship which John Kelly exercises over the taxpayers. To nominate, therefore, men whom the many Democrats opposed to Kelly have no sort of interest in voting for is plainly idle, except in so far as it may serve to help the national ticket, which we believe was the openly-assigned reason for nominating Mr. Dowd instead of a Democrat. Of course Mr. Dowd has no chance of election, and it is perhaps his own business if he enjoys the sacrifice to which he has been called. As to the minor nominations, no one can apparently go wrong if we are to judge by the popular and non-partisan "endorsement" which notoriously it has long been possible to obtain in New York for candidates of almost any description. The registration now closed has been the largest ever known in the city—216,929 against 167,837 last year. The increase in Republican districts is said to be the larger, but it is to be remembered that the Republican districts bear but a small numerical proportion to the Democratic; and besides that, this is one of the statistical instances in which "anything can be made out of anything."

We print this week a number of interesting communications from writers deeply concerned in the result of the impending election. They happen to be adverse to the view which we have maintained in these columns, but we commend them to such of our readers as are accustomed to survey the whole political situation before deciding how their votes shall be cast. We do not remember a campaign in which we have received more evidences of rational deliberation among the class which the *Nation* reaches, and we have not felt it necessary in each case to accompany with a comment letters to which it would not be difficult to take exception. There would, for example, be something to remark this week on the probable readiness of the Republican advocates of the Civil-Service Reform Publication Society to vote for a Democrat who challenged their support on the ground of his superiority to his rival on this issue. But perhaps it would be better, since the Society will need and ought to have Mr. Wheeler's name and hearty support, to observe that his joining it will be the surest way of raising an issue which is not a practical one in the present canvass, but which can promptly be made so long before another Presidential election occurs if the public are meantime thoroughly enlightened, and the candidates for Congress duly catechised, by an organization or organizations above the suspicion of partisanship. We do not know why the Society now in hopeful process of reconstitution should be suspected of being a "side-show to the Republican party," unless the most active civil-service reformers, whether in or out of Congress, have been and are Republicans. But of course a publication committee (which will be the working power of the Society) composed only of Republicans would be suspected, even if a mixed committee were out of the question. Such, however, is not the case, as will appear shortly after the election, till when no specific announcements of aims or organization can be made.

The arrivals of foreign gold during the week reached the unprecedented total of $6,940,399, which makes the foreign specie receipts since the beginning of August $41,391,955 against $49,347,804 last year, and since January 1 $46,540,828 against $55,519,082 last year. These figures show that the receipts this year exceed the most sanguine expectations formed early in the season, and are close upon those of the remarkable year, 1879. A considerable part of the gold now arriving is to pay for securities; the prosperous condition of general business in this country, and particularly of transportation, having again attracted to a large degree the money of European investors. At the New York Stock Exchange, prices of first-class securities and of dividend-paying shares are in many cases higher than ever before, owing in good measure to the fact that the large purchases of bonds by the United States Treasury for the sinking fund have driven and are driving investment money out of United States bonds into choice railroad securities. Moreover Wall Street assumes that General Garfield will be elected President, and that refunding operations will be begun early next year with bonds to replace those maturing, which will bear not more than 3½ per cent., and possibly only 3 per cent., annual interest. The effect of this reduction in rate of interest on what are regarded as standard bonds on all classes of investments would be to make buyers satisfied with a smaller income, which is another way of saying that higher prices would be paid in the market for first-class railroad investments. The rise in the prices of railroad bonds ranged during the week from 1 to 5 per cent., and in stocks from 1 to 13½ per cent.; and it took place without the excitement which usually attends such great changes in prices. The money market continues very easy at 2 to 4 per cent., and although the surplus reserve of the banks is now less than $4,000,000, it contrasts favorably with that of last year, when there was a deficiency in the legal reserve of $82,700. General mercantile trade is active for the season and may be called prosperous. Railroad receipts show an increase of 20 to 30 per cent. over the large business of the autumn of 1879. The price of silver bullion in London has declined to 52*d.* per ounce; and here the value of the "buzzard dollar" has fallen to 87 cents.

The Irish difficulty has assumed alarming proportions. The resistance to legal process in all suits relating to land, and the intimidation of landlords claiming rent, of tenants paying rent, and of persons occupying farms from which others have been evicted, by assassination, assault, arson, and the killing and maiming of cattle, have spread so widely as apparently to amount in many districts to the total loss of security for life and property. The pressure of English opinion, roused by this state of things, has therefore driven the Government into prosecution of the leading orators of the Land League, Mr. Parnell at the head of them, of course, and among them Mr. Redpath, the correspondent of the *Tribune*, who says, however, that some of his utterances have been misreported by the venal and licentious English press. The charge on which the prosecution is to be based is, it is said, conspiracy, which is difficult to prove anywhere, and in Ireland would be impossible. Moreover, it is not probable that any conviction could be secured in Ireland without packing the jury in a manner that would convert the trials into a farce. Indeed, it is doubtful whether any juries could be found in the present state of the country who would consent to be packed, through fear of subsequent assassination. It is, therefore, alleged that the Ministry propose to avail themselves of some provision of the Judicature Act which will enable them to change the venue to any other part of the kingdom, and have the trials conducted in England, where conviction would be certain. It is difficult to see, however, what advantage this plan will have, as far as the effect on Irish opinion is concerned, over the passage of a coercion bill suspending jury trials altogether. A trial before an English jury will be in Irish eyes no trial at all, and will stimulate the hatred of Englishmen, which is now one of the worst elements in the Irish problem. There is no doubt, however, that the language of the Land League orators does stimulate and suggest violence, and the readiness of the peasantry to resort to it as the legitimate mode of expressing dissatisfaction was only too well exemplified in the Molly Maguire outrages in Pennsylvania, for which twenty were hanged a few years ago. No government, whatever its ideas or policy on the land question, can help putting down such a state of things with the strong hand.

Action is, in fact, forced on the Ministry by the rapid approach of civil war, for the landlords are beginning to hire armed bands for their own protection, and the Orangemen of the North have begun to take steps for active operations. Curiously enough, the most ferocious preacher of the policy of "bullet for bullet" is a Protestant minister named Kane, who has made several speeches calling for battle and offering to take a hand in the fighting himself. It would be cruelty to let matters go any further in this shape, as the Land League disciples would of course, as a hundred times before, get the worst of it in open encounters. The Catholic clergy, too, have come out against the folly of the hour. The priests are either disappearing from the meetings or making very moderate speeches, and the bishops have begun to denounce the movement in pastorals, that of the Archbishop of Dublin being very vehement. But there is much reason to fear that it has got beyond the control of the clergy. If we can judge by what happened in 1843 and 1848, the conviction and imprisonment of the orators will take the life out of it. The Repeal agitation never amounted to anything after O'Connell was put in jail, and the "Young-Ireland" movement collapsed after the arrest of Meagher, Mitchel, and O'Brien. There is in all Irish agitations a considerable element of what, for want of a better name, must be called fun, and they are consequently apt to droop when the other side seems to be taking it in earnest. This was well illustrated in the Fenian invasion of Canada. Everything went well until the invading force came on a British regiment which seemed inclined to shed blood, and then the whole Fenian army dispersed to its homes.

The disorder in which Afghanistan has been involved by Beaconsfield's policy of a scientific frontier appears to have reached a climax in a fresh rising at Kabul, where Abdurrahman Khan is reported to have been murdered. If the news prove true, the impolicy of attempting to make him the ruler of the whole country, when he was unable to control even the northern part of it, becomes manifest. There can be little question that his obligations to the British Government were a fatal legacy, but there will be no more going to Kabul to avenge his death. The field is now clear for the country to work out its own destinies without interference, but not without interested spectators to the north and to the south of it.

THE SOLID SOUTH AND THE NATIONAL TREASURY.

THE question of the power of the South over the conduct of national affairs, in case the Democratic party should be reinstated through its aid, has played a very prominent part, as every one knows, in the opening of the Republican canvass. It is an important question, and it has been frequently discussed in these columns. The older Republicans who participated in the anti-slavery struggle and in the war, and are still strongly influenced by the traditions and prepossessions of the long conflict, see nothing, or next to nothing, in the triumph of the Democratic party but the triumph of the South, and insist upon it that the methods and aims of the South when in power will be substantially what they were before 1860. They therefore refuse to give much attention to any vices or defects in the Democratic party which cannot be considered to be peculiar to its Southern wing, or which, if the party got into office, would not be likely to result in the realization of peculiarly Southern aims. Their interest in civil-service reform, for instance, is due wholly or mainly to the fact that the present system, which the Republicans still cling to, would in Democratic hands be used for the benefit of the South—that is, to keep the South in power. To its use by the Republicans for the purpose of keeping the South out of power, therefore, they do not object at all, or only object very faintly. We might furnish numerous other illustrations of the same thing if we had space. They maintain, moreover, that the South has not, for political purposes, undergone any material change during the past twenty years, but is still ruled, and is likely to be ruled, by an oligarchy who are still slaveholders all but in name, heavily in debt, and with loose notions about financial obligations, both public and private, and eager to use the Treasury for purely local ends. The growth of railroads, the springing up of manufactures, the opening of the South to the Northern press and therefore to the public opinion of the civilized world, the education of the negro children, the pressure of white population around the whole of the old slave States, the immense changes in public sentiment everywhere since 1860 on the subject of human equality and the rights of the laborer, the awfully impressive example of the physical force of a free democratic society afforded by the war itself, of which, previous to 1860, the world, and least of all the South, had no conception—all these things count in the eyes of the class of Republicans of which we speak for nothing or for very little. They, therefore, in the presence of what seems to them this frightful danger, refuse to give attention to any of the numerous reforms which the Independents have been trying to urge on them.

There is a striking historical parallel for their state of mind to be found in the condition of English opinion towards the Irish Catholics during the eighteenth century. From the date of the Spanish Armada down to the death of Louis XIV. the English people were engaged in a struggle, which at times was almost desperate, against Catholic supremacy, which then meant ferocious religious intolerance and the suppression of intellectual freedom. The struggle lasted a century, caused one domestic revolution and a succession of bloody and costly wars, and created a terror, half religious, half political, which burnt itself into the national hearts and conscience and, curiously enough, found expression in a popular phrase which is not unlike some of those with which Stalwart Republicans describe Southern domination. "Popery, brass money, and wooden shoes" during the hundred and fifty years before Waterloo meant to the plain Englishman that if the Catholics got the upper hand not only would he have to partake in idolatrous worship, but would have to put up with an adulterated coinage, and wear the clumsy sabots of Louis XIV.'s French serfs. This feeling did not pass away with the danger. There was not after 1715, certainly not after the defeat of the Young Pretender in 1745, the smallest danger of a Catholic invasion or revolution. But the impression left by the conflict was so profound that it was not until 1790 that it was thought safe to admit Irish Catholics to ordinary civil rights, and not until 1830 that it was thought safe to admit a Catholic to a seat in Parliament. What the civilized world thinks of that chapter in English history everybody knows. The lesson it conveys is the danger and injustice of legislating or judging men in great classes or categories, or concluding that with great classes or categories there are such things as permanent and unchanging motives, either political or religious, on which the roll of time and the new and growing forces of civilization make no impression. There are no such classes, or categories, or communities, or nations anywhere in Christendom, and there are no such motives now at work wherever the railroad runs and the newspaper is read and the telegraph works and the schools are open. Everything changes in our day with extraordinary rapidity; every generation, too, and in our day more rapidly than ever. Who, in the name of common sense, is the Southern planter, or brigadier, or oligarch, that in him only, of all civilized men, the shock of war, the flight of time, the remorseless rush of industry, the loud drum-beat of opinion, the resistless rivers of population, and, though last, not least, the destruction of wild hopes and the explosion of cherished illusions should make no impression?

Naturally, this class of Republicans fear that the younger generation, who remember nothing of the long and bloody fight by which Southern domination in American politics was overthrown, and who are now about to vote for the first time, may not share their apprehensions or rightly appreciate the meaning of a Democratic victory. The consequence has been a greater number of really earnest and able appeals to this class of voters than we remember in any previous canvass since the war, containing what seems a very alarming account of the use "the South" will make of such a victory. One of the most prominent of these appeals is a little book in Harper's "Half-Hour Series," by Mr. Alexander Bliss, addressed to the five hundred thousand young men who, it is estimated, have this year attained the age of twenty-one years, and will, therefore, vote for the first time. Mr. Bliss begins by a very useful sketch of the history of the two parties in relation to the slavery question down to the outbreak of the war. He then predicts the things the South, when it finds itself in possession of power, will seek and perhaps obtain. These are: the assumption of the rebel debt; the pensioning of the rebel soldiers; compensation for the losses incurred in the war, and "perhaps" for emancipated slaves, which, Mr. Bliss suggests, will add "another billion or two to the national debt." These are the substantial objections to Southern ascendency; the others produced by Mr. Bliss are sentimental only.

One of the most respected of the Massachusetts Republicans, Mr. John M. Forbes, has also addressed the young voters through the columns of the Boston *Advertiser*, and in doing so controverts some of the *Nation's* views about the dangers to be apprehended from the return of Southern ascendency. These dangers, as described by Mr. Forbes, are that the "leaders of the South mean now to attempt to rule through the North, as before 1860, by a coalition with the Northern Democracy," feeling that in that year they made a mistake in resorting to the bayonet; that the success of the Democrats would "mean a return to ante-bellum principles and generally to the same methods, sharpened by the teachings of experience"; that once in power, with no scruples as to the use of the spoils, "it may take three Presidential terms to turn them out, as they would have the entire use" of 80,000 office-holders, and of "any needful parts of their salaries—say, in the whole, $24,000,000 per annum"—and would also have the 138 votes of the "Solid South" always at their back; that though human nature in the South may be the same as elsewhere, there are certain conditions peculiar to the South which modify Southern human nature, viz., poverty, leading to financial unscrupulousness and recklessness, financial ignorance and long familiarity with private debt.

Now, there is one answer to all this, which relieves us from the necessity of examining the question whether all these charges against the South are true. Granting that they are true, it is evident that those who produce them believe that their effect on the Northern mind will be such, even in the form of prophecies, that they will tend to the defeat of the Democratic party at the polls, no matter how "solid" the South may be. That is, they think that the mere rehearsal of things which the South *may* do if it gets into power will of itself suffice, all other business being laid aside, to cause a majority of the American people to vote against putting them into power. If mere prediction of such things is likely to have so much influence on the Northern imagination, what would their actual occurrence have? Suppose the Democrats to win and at once proceed to satisfy Southern expectations by measures adding (to follow Mr. Bliss) $2,000,000,000 to the national debt; the immediate effect

of this on the national credit would undoubtedly be a rise in the rate at which the United States could borrow to, say, five per cent., thus increasing the debt charges by $100,000,000 annually; and this, be it remarked, not for the benefit of the whole people, but for sixteen of the States, containing 17,000,000 of population, or about 36 per cent. of the whole. This would be a sufficiently startling use of power, but it would be supplemented, according to Mr. Forbes, by the use of the Treasury "in a thousand ways" for the exclusive benefit of these same States, "even after throwing out of the account the danger of unjust and vexatious taxes." It is hardly too much to charge to account of these "thousand ways" $50,000,000 per annum more; so that, on what all must admit is a moderate estimate, the immediate result of the advent of the South to power would be an addition to the national burdens of $150,000,000 a year for the benefit of a small minority of the people belonging to the States lately in rebellion. We must add to this the extraordinary financial and commercial depression and derangement which would result from this strange and, indeed, monstrous legislation. The loss from this source would not be palpable and calculable like the increase of taxation, but it is safe to set it down at $300,000,000 per annum. All this would fall on the States which have 231 electoral votes against the 138 of the "Solid South," and return 187 members to Congress against 106 of the South. What would be the effect on the people of these States of the mere introduction of bills looking to this astounding and unprecedented levy of partial taxation? We will not answer this question. It would not be respectful to those who think the mere prediction of such performances is sufficient to rouse the North. Mr. Forbes maintains, however, that if through a feeling of false security we let the South into "power" we shall not be able to oust it under twelve years, when the mischief will be done. There is an ambiguity about the use of the word "power" here, however, which leads to confusion. We shall, if the Democrats get hold of the Presidency, perhaps not be able to get them out short of twelve years. But even if the Presidency gave them a majority in Congress, and even if the Northern section of the party was so demented as to follow the South in Congress in piling up these astounding liabilities, assuredly the next Congressional election, unless popular government at the North be a total failure, would result in returning to the House at least a large majority of members of both parties utterly hostile to all such legislation, and the Southern claims and expectations would disappear like a balloon before a gale of wind. This is true, whether it ruined the Democratic chances at the next Presidential election or not. We believe it would; but we also believe that the Southern claims would be dead and buried long before the Presidential election came. They would have perished under that popular disapproval to which the Stalwart Republicans now appeal through prophecy, but to which they could then appeal through proof.

Do we, then, advise the young voters to vote the Democratic ticket? By no means. As so many people are addressing them, we have taken the liberty of composing a few remarks to them ourselves, which will be found below, and which we take leave to say will be found to contain reasons for voting with the Republicans which are more solid and enduring than prophecies about Southern wickedness or dishonesty.

A SHORT ADDRESS TO YOUNG VOTERS.

YOU have received appeals from large numbers of Republicans to vote for the Garfield and Arthur ticket in order to prevent what is called the "Solid South" from saddling the country with an enormous addition to the public debt for the exclusive benefit of sixteen States, and from working great confusion in the finances through ignorance and indifference to the public credit. No other reason of nearly equal weight, so far as we have seen, has been given you. No inducement is held out to you in the shape of improvements in legislation or administration, in methods or in men, on the part of the Republicans, should you aid in giving the party a new lease of power. But you must remember that, although the South might like an enormous grant from the public Treasury, no money for any such purpose is in the Treasury now. It would have to be raised by loan and taxation from the whole country, by an act of Congress passed after full debate; and you know very well that there is no such love of the South among men of any party at the North as to make them willing to submit to an exaction so extraordinary that there is no precedent for it either in the history of your own country or that of any country in the world, except as the result of military conquest. Though, therefore, it is not *impossible* that a Democratic majority in Congress should propose such a thing, it is so improbable, according to all experience of human nature, that you would be very unwise to be influenced by it in casting your present vote. Politics is the art of dealing with near probabilities; it is only the political speculator who is called upon to provide for remote possibilities. Your concern as practical men is with the things which are likely to happen, not with those which might happen.

As regards the financial ignorance and recklessness with which the South is charged, it is no greater than, if so great as, that with which the Democratic party at the North—which, you must remember, comprises nearly, if not quite, half the Northern population—may justly be charged. These Northern Democrats are as poor as the Southern Democrats—are just as eager to get money out of the Treasury for their own benefit, and just as ignorant of, and indifferent to, sound finance. In fact, there is abundant reason for believing that the Northern division of the party is, on the whole, more dangerous to the public credit and to the currency, and has less conscious interest in the wise management of both, than the Southern division. Our good friends at the North, therefore, who ask you to single out the Southern Democrats as the principal or sole object of your distrust, are probably influenced rather by the traditions of the conflict with the South, of which you remember nothing, than by the facts of the existing situation. They tell you with much vehemence that the South is substantially the same now as it was before the war; but when you hear this, you will do well to ask: "What, then, was the use of abolishing slavery? Did the half million of men who died on both sides die in vain? Were the billions of dollars the war cost merely wasted on a fight of savages?" This question, however, you can answer for yourselves. The war was a success. Slavery was not abolished in vain. The dead did not die for nothing, and the national debt was not spent in senseless and fruitless slaughter.

But you will also say: "Since you, too, urge us to vote the Republican ticket, what difference does it make whether we vote it through fear of the South or through fear of the Democratic party in general? The motive of the voter in a political contest is of small importance if the result is satisfactory." It makes a great deal of difference, for two reasons. The first is, that the habit of regarding the inhabitants of one geographical division of his country, *en masse*, as evil-disposed persons, to be constantly distrusted, denounced, and voted against as public enemies, is probably the worst habit a young man can form in entering on political life. Habitual hatred and contempt, even for the people of a foreign country, are a state of mind of which every young man who seeks to be useful to his kind in our day should hasten to rid himself, even if inheritance have fastened it upon him. An attitude of hopefulness, of confidence, and of kindliness towards all, no matter of what race or antecedents, with whom he has to live under a common government, and with whom he has perforce to join in the pursuit of happiness through common political action, is the one which best befits every voter, whether young or old, in a free country. It is not unnatural that some of your elders should dislike and fear the South as long as they live, and refuse to make peace with it. But, happily for you, you do not share their passions or memories. If the generations which carried on the great wars of history had not died off, the world would never have seen as much peace as it now enjoys. All the neighboring nations of the globe would still be cutting each other's throats. Happily they give place to generations who have nothing to forgive or forget, and who can enter on the fruits of their fathers' sacrifices without bitterness or heartburning, and with a wider experience of the healing powers of Time.

The second reason is, that the concentration of your attention on the wickedness and shortcomings of the South will inevitably prevent your following the course of your own party with the wholesome criticism which is necessary to prevent even the best party from falling into bad hands and bad ways. As long as you think of the Republican party and vote for it as simply a defence against the South, all you ask of it is to keep the offices and pay election expenses out of the salaries of the office-holders. You make no call on its leaders for any attempts to im-

prove the Government by adapting its legislation and administration to the growth of the country, or to instruct the public by intelligent discussion of the thousand new problems by which all societies like ours are every day vexed. You help to produce, in fact, total stagnation in the party mind and to convert elections into a mere trial of the comparative efficiency and unscrupulousness of "machines." You deaden your own interest and that of those who are still younger than you, and will only vote next year or the year after for the first time, in all that Government can or ought to do for the happiness and prosperity of the thirty millions of your countrymen who do not live in the South. You discourage from entering on public life every man who sees a wider sphere of activity for his party than merely standing guard over the Government, and who believes in other tests of statesmanship than implacable dislike of whole classes of his countrymen and unfailing remembrance of their faults and shortcomings.

There is, however, no lack of reasons for voting the Republican ticket at this juncture. At every election the voter's duty is to make his choice between the parties which offer themselves for his approval. If he refused to vote for any party which did not in all respects merit his approval constitutional government would soon come to an end. The Republican party and its candidates are open to many and weighty objections, but they have the enormous merit of being the best there are in the field. To young men who seek to purify politics and promote reform of all kinds the party is in many ways a most unsatisfactory instrument, judged both by its history and by the men who manage it. But then it cannot be denied that there is more likelihood of getting good out of it and through it than out of or through the Democratic party. It has a policy of some kind, and its conduct during the last twenty years enables us to ascertain what this policy is. Its candidate may not be a perfect man, but he has a career behind him which enables us to form some idea of what he will do in the future. Finally, the party contains the larger part of that portion of the American people whose opinion in the long run governs the country, manages its industry, directs its material and intellectual progress, and to which every one who wishes for purer manners and nobler laws must sooner or later appeal.

With the Democratic party it is, on the other hand, very difficult for a young man to throw in his fortunes, because he cannot find out what road it is going to travel. There is no mode of ascertaining what its principles are. It is in favor of a high tariff if that seems likely to command most votes, and a low tariff if that seems likely to command most votes. It deals with the currency question, and indeed all other questions, in similar fashion. In fact, it stands for no known political doctrine. Its candidates are equally uncertain. Since the nomination of Greeley and Hancock there is no knowing whom it may nominate. It might, in 1884, nominate Grant, or Babcock, or Senator Edmunds or Senator Hoar, or Mr. Plaisted, or Cardinal McCloskey, or Colonel Bob Ingersoll, or even Smalls or Elliott, the South Carolina thieves. There is no American citizen whose nomination for the Presidency by the Democratic party seems to be out of the question. So that there is hardly any young man, to whom it is worth while to take politics intelligently, for whom the party at present can be considered serious enough. It will be time enough to join it when it appears that it has a creed, and that there is some article in the creed for which it is prepared to suffer defeat.

ARE THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES DECLINING?

A WRITER in the July number of *Macmillan's Magazine* answers this question with an emphatic affirmative. Centralization, Governmental interference, compulsory military service for students, the small pay of the younger teachers, he urges, have combined with other and minor causes to restrict the rôle which the universities formerly played in the national life and thought. These conclusions, based on observation of one of the smaller universities, do great injustice to the larger ones, of which this writer confessedly has known but little. The question is of vital importance for an increasing number of our young men.

In the first place, it is well known that many of the German universities were founded by petty principalities in a spirit of rivalry. A century ago there were nearly fifty of them. Patriotism and local pride bound teacher and student each to his own university. The corps which kept alive these sentiments have decayed or changed, and the attractions of the large centres have increased. At the smaller universities are now found impecunious students from the neighborhood, young professors in training for better places elsewhere, together with a few older men, some of whom, like Lotze at Göttingen, have made it a point of honor to decline calls to larger auditoriums. Students are sometimes allowed to serve their year in the army and to attend lectures at the same time. Hence the withdrawal of a regiment which had been stationed at Heidelberg diminished the number of students there. The professor who has but a handful of students often gives very poor lectures, and spends most of his time and energy in writing. In every case of advancement he knows that he will be judged solely by the amount and quality of his publications; hence the quantity and often the immaturity of them. One who has written little or nothing is almost never promoted. Again, the Government has in most cases transferred the authority to punish students' misdemeanors from the old university tribunal to the police or civil courts, but has left the ancient system unaltered in the larger universities. This measure deeply incensed the students, who thought it so slight a disgrace to be convicted by a *Pedell* that their corps badges might often be seen displayed behind the bars of the university prison-room. Why Berlin and Leipzig should retain the old system of legitimation and matriculation cards, while Giessen and Erlangen are not allowed to do so, is not clear. With inferior laboratories and libraries, with their productions often slightingly referred to or wholly ignored by professors of their own department in the larger centres, the faculties of the smaller universities can compete in no way save by lowering the requirements or the price for degrees and examinations. Even the facility with which the student can now migrate from one university to another is unfavorable for the smaller ones. For the latter the "decline" is thus evident enough, and is likely to continue with increasing centralization. They must eventually become gymnasia or *real*-schools, training young men either for business or for entrance into the large universities, or else cease to exist altogether. Their probable fate in this respect is not unlike that of many of our own rural or Western colleges. However much may be said, and however truly, about the advantages of a country location, it is now pretty clear that the large universities of the future will be in or near the large cities.

When restricted to the larger universities the question of decline is harder to determine. The professors, so numerous and so authoritative in legislative bodies a few decades ago at the beginning of parliamentary life in Germany, are now for the most part excluded from political and administrative affairs. The chief party leaders and journalists, with a few conspicuous exceptions, belong to no faculties. So far from the heads of departments being influenced in their policies by professors, as was common fifty years ago, in the age of the great systems of philosophy, the state now regards the universities as one of the means for the accomplishment of its ends, which they are too unpractical to be trusted to determine without guidance or even dictation. Hence no complaint is more common in university circles than that of the absoluteness of the state, which, although generally leaving the universities to manage their own affairs as of old, has not scrupled on several conspicuous occasions of late to assert its supremacy, reversing the decisions of academic senates, and even deposing professors and suppressing their works. Teachers of political or philosophical subjects who show their loyalty by zealously espousing the cause of the Government are generally promoted rapidly. At the same time academic freedom, even here, is not seriously or unwisely restricted.

Nepotism is a more real though not yet alarming danger. This occurs more often than elsewhere in the large laboratories, and usually somewhat as follows: The chief professor of a department lives in the building where he experiments and lectures. He has the power to appoint his own *famulus* to wash crucibles, scour up his instruments, etc. The salary for these duties is little or nothing beyond, perhaps, free tuition; and his own son, who is just beginning to hear lectures, takes the position without objection, and perhaps later even assists the father in experimenting before a lower class. After graduation he is regularly appointed assistant, and, on passing the examination of a docent, can begin to lecture, using the apparatus of the father, who leaves him one choice examination-topic after another till students of the department *must* hear him. We know one professor who has thus three members of his own family under him in various stages of advancement. Away from the patronage of a large laboratory, and hence throughout the academic department, this evil, though by no means unknown, is less liable to exist. The son is prone to seek to follow the occupation of the father, has the advantage of superior parental discipline, and should, of course, have the benefit of every such fair prestige.

The social attractions of a great city like Berlin seem making themselves felt unfavorably upon the younger professors there. To be introduced at court, to receive visits in the laboratory and lecture-room from members of the royal family, to be invited to conferences about the education of princes, and to receive honorary titles and medals; to be elected to active membership in various societies and administrative bodies, to superintend the construction and furnishing of hospitals and laboratories, to give popular lectures, and to

be urged by publishing houses to print something, anything—premature or popular though it be—these are some of the often too seductive incidents of professorial life in Berlin. It used to be shocking enough to a German savant to be called popular, like his Paris confrères ; it is less so now. Indeed, he loves to be the first to popularize his own discovery. Yet the competition for place and preferment in the capital is so intense that even these untoward influences affect for the most part only those who feel their positions tolerably well assured. For these the fact that a reputation once made lasts longer without effort to keep it up than elsewhere only aggravates the evil, while the remuneration attached to these positions is now so ample that the old stress of necessity to eke out an income by writing is removed.

In the department of philosophy, in the technical sense, there has been an unquestioned decline. The history of philosophic thought is likely to remain one of the most popular and important university topics, but the taste for original speculation is gone. There is no metaphysics to speak of, save in the new sense which embraces the theory of the constitution of matter and the nature and laws of force. Physiological psychology has recently assumed an almost supreme position in the philosophic curriculum. The other philosophers devote themselves to the theory and history of education, *Culturgeschichte*, æsthetics, free-religious exposition, or else represent special past schools of thought. Of eight nominal professors of philosophy in Leipzig but two can be called very strong or influential men. For many centuries philosophy was devoted to rationally determining and exploring the foundations of religion ; it now performs the same function for science. The old idealism, which used to be the dominant influence in the universities, is gone. Since the death of Rosenkranz not a single Hegelian professor lectures in Germany. While these old systems prevailed, science—even the medical sciences, the most practical of all—was in a lower condition than in France, England, or even Italy. When, however, its doctrines began to be tested by observation, as those of Schelling and Hegel were in the old *Natur-philosophie*, and by experiment, as those of Kant were and still are by physiological studies of sensation, then the impulses generated by speculation began to animate scientific research. The peculiar and increasing pre-eminence of the German universities is now in the field of experimental science. Archæology, philology, history, law, etc., have had their great triumphs and have their great monuments already completed, and are doing, perhaps, as valuable work as ever ; but the cultivation of science during the past twenty years has increased far faster. Five-sixths of the many new buildings which the universities have erected during that time are for scientific work or collections. Here all talk of decline is simply preposterous. In the above interval the number of scientific instructors has more than quadrupled, and seems likely to continue to increase in the future.

In this, then, perhaps even more than in other respects and than heretofore, the universities both lead and reflect the national, and we might almost add modern, life. The severe inductive methods, the thorough departmental organization, the weekly meetings for discussion of new discoveries, and the often perfervid ardor of investigation in the scientific field have not been without stimulating influence upon the other departments. One of the grandest things about the German universities is that they are devised, unlike ours, as much for the education of the professor as for that of the student. Another is that, unlike ours, they are pure republics, with perfect academic freedom for all who can pass the required examinations to lecture upon any subject, and, with the slight political qualification mentioned above, from any standpoint. The result is that the student is brought into the close contact of the laboratory with the best professors, learns to feel through them the genial warmth with which new creations or discoveries arise in the intellectual world, and thus is saved from the danger of losing enthusiasm without gaining insight—a danger to which all young men are liable, particularly if their teachers are drill-masters, instead of being educators in the broader sense. The writer has spent more than four years in four of the principal German universities, and is convinced that in each of these latter and essential respects and upon the whole they were never so influential or so truly prosperous as to-day. May they never be less so!

ENGLISH JOURNALISM.—IX.

ENGLISH PROVINCIAL JOURNALISM.

LONDON, October, 1880.

"THE note of provincialism" is one of those phrases to which Mr. Matthew Arnold, adopting and adapting it in part from Cardinal Newman, has given a currency which is apt to become a little wearisome. Provincialism has many notes, and among them we may remark a certain lack of cultivation, a swaggering overestimate of one's self and a vulgar depreciation of other people. The larger provincial towns are almost always comparing themselves with airs of supercilious superiority to London, and their political courtiers minister to this somewhat vulgar feeling by the most assiduous flattery. That Birmingham or Manchester is the real centre of the political life of the country, and that Edinburgh is the headquarters of its literary cultivation and intelligence, are statements which Birmingham and Manchester town-councillors and Edinburgh doctors and lawyers are never tired of making. The disposition to say in so many words "I am as good as you, if not a good deal better," is a marked feature of this vulgar provincialism which characterizes much of the political and social thought of England at the present time. It arises from there being no received standard of education and ability, by comparison with which local communities and local notabilities can measure their shortcomings or find an ideal to which they ought to endeavor to raise themselves. This feature and mental habit are abundantly reflected in the provincial press, which is always vaunting its superiority to that of London. There can be no doubt that the provincial press of England is a striking example of commercial intelligence and enterprise, and that its intellectual and political level is a high one ; but in so far as it reaches a lofty standard it ceases to be provincial. The writers who maintain its intellectual respectability are derived from London, and even to a great extent reside there, furnishing the leading articles and the literary and other criticisms from the capital. In a great part of their contents the leading provincial newspapers are simply detachments of London in the provinces. The writers of their "own correspondence" show that, in contradiction to noisy professions of an opposite kind, the chief interest of men living in the great provincial towns is fixed on London. Not merely reports of the proceedings of Parliament, but the doings of what is called Society, the movements and intentions of statesmen, the plays produced or about to be produced at the theatres, the books which have just come out or are about to come out—all that London is doing, and thinking, and saying furnishes the materials of these letters. The typical London correspondent of an older generation was not a literary character of the highest class. His letters were generally made up of startling fictions, of outrageous scandals, of pretended interviews with great men, and generally of the merest lying gossip. The London correspondent of the great provincial newspapers of the present day is a being of a very different order. He is a man of education and political knowledge. He frequents the lobby of the House of Commons and the ante-rooms of public offices ; he has interviews now and then with the heads of departments, and more frequently with private secretaries and confidential clerks, and he manages in this way to pick up a good deal of information that is often interesting and sometimes valuable. Things can be said of people in London by a Manchester, or Leeds, or Edinburgh newspaper which cannot be said of the same people by a London journal. Guesses can be stated as facts without bringing upon the correspondent instant contradiction, and what is highly probable can be set forward as absolutely certain, with the chance that the adventurous journalist will not be contradicted if he should turn out to be wrong, while he will obtain immense repute of accurate and positive information if he should prove to be right. These conditions give provincial newspapers now and then an advantage as regards priority in the statement of facts, or of what it is hoped may turn out to be facts, over their London contemporaries, just as people out of society can talk with more freedom and with less likelihood of being called to account of people in society than those who are mixing in the same circles and may come face to face with the persons whose designs and future conduct they have been speculating about. The London correspondence of the better class of provincial newspapers is, therefore, always worth studying by people engaged in political affairs, whether as writers or as actors. It must be studied sceptically and with much reservation, as rather giving hints for future enquiry than as stating what is absolutely certain ; but in this point of view it has a value which it would be unfair not to acknowledge. Still, it remains a fact that what is most valuable and interesting in the provincial papers is simply an infusion of London life. They are interesting precisely in the degree in which they are not provincial except as regards the places of their publication.

In one sense it may be admitted that the provincial newspapers existing in large centres of population are a better indication of political sentiment than the London journals. When an overwhelming impulse, a passion of reform or of resistance, an absolute devotion to this or that statesman seizes hold of the public mind it is likely to be more strongly felt outside London than in it. London is the centre in which all the currents of thought and feeling mingle, and this blending makes it impossible that any one of them should acquire an absolute and overmastering ascendency over the others. It is the centre of a various cultivation in which scholarship and art, science and literature, in their various forms, the presence of men habitually concerned in the conduct of political affairs, mastering their principles and conversant with their smallest details, interpose a thousand checks and qualifications to a single overwhelming impulse. The varied opinion of the country is more accurately and delicately reflected in London than in any other place. The dominant passion of the moment, carrying away average minds, almost every one of which is exactly like every other, finds no resistance, or finds little resistance derived from the presence of variously cultivated classes and highly developed individual genius, in the larger provincial towns. Therefore it happens that the provincial press at great crises of party struggle, being carried away by

local feeling, claims to have formed and directed, or, at any rate, to have interpreted it. This subjection to the dominant impulse, so far from being a credit and distinction, is rather a mark of inferiority. In proportion as the great provincial towns become real centres of varied intelligence and cultivation, instead of being mere seats of commercial activity and speculative enterprise—hives of industry, in which capital and labor are almost the only two factors of their mental and moral life—just in this proportion will the characteristic reserve and qualification of opinion, which are now made a reproach to London, show themselves there. The establishment of colleges at Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Newcastle, the foundation of a northern university which bears the name of the Queen, the effort to open local galleries of art, and the tendency generally to convert large provincial towns into the capitals of the districts of which they are the centres, these things will do much to deprive them and the newspapers which are their organs of their extravagantly provincial character. It will introduce into them a rational and temperate qualification of opinion, a disposition to judge men and measures upon their own merits, and to estimate the forces which are at work in society not merely by their strength but also by their worth, which mark the thought of London as it is expressed in its journals and in the tone of its society. Perhaps a compromise might with advantage be effected. London requires the infusion into it of a certain element of provincial directness and robustness; the provinces need a more ample and liberal education, and nicer powers of discernment and appreciation. When this exchange of good qualities has been effected the differences which mark the London and provincial press will gradually disappear, or will, at any rate, be less glaring than they are at present.

The great provincial newspapers do not belong solely to the towns in which they are published. Their circulation and influence extend over large areas of country, and are limited chiefly by their facilities of delivery at an early hour to the different towns with which railway communication brings Manchester and Liverpool, Birmingham and Leeds, and Newcastle into communication. Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the northern and midland counties are the battle-ground on which the great journals of Manchester, Leeds, Newcastle, and Liverpool contend for supremacy. The stations which are most easily reached from Leeds fall within the province of the Leeds *Mercury*; those which can be got at by an early hour from Manchester are divided between the Manchester *Guardian* and the Manchester *Examiner*. The *Scotsman*, of Edinburgh, not only wields paramount political authority north of the Tweed, but it makes raids south of it to contest with the Newcastle *Chronicle* its influence and circulation in Northumberland and Durham, Cumberland and North Yorkshire. The northern and midland districts of England are divided by the provincial newspapers of other great towns into a sort of heptarchy, octarchy, or even decarchy. The editors of these journals are men who find in local influence and authority a sufficient field for qualities which might have their legitimate field in London. The pleasures and advantages of various kinds attending a residence in the capital of England are compensated by a greater individual power, or rather by that greater recognition of individual power which accompanies the political monarchy of an ascendant provincial newspaper. The late Mr. Alexander Russel, probably the most successful and variously accomplished journalist of his time (if exception be made of the late Mr. Delane), as the editor of the *Scotsman* was almost the dictator of political opinion in Edinburgh and in North Britain generally. Mr. Henry Dunkley, the writer of the letters under the signature of "Verax," which discussed with a freedom and ability that roused general attention the relations of the Court to the Cabinet and to Parliament, and the influence exercised by the Crown through the Prince Consort upon the conduct of affairs, is the editor of the Manchester *Examiner*. Mr. Wemys Reid, the author of some interesting political sketches of living statesmen, the memorialist of Currer Bell and the Brontë family, and a frequent contributor to the magazine literature of London, brings qualities trained in metropolitan journalism to the conduct of the Leeds *Mercury*. Mr. Thomas MacKnight, who edits the *Northern Whig*, makes the large knowledge of English history and politics which is displayed in his biographies of Burke and Bolingbroke, and other writings, an instrument of much political enlightenment in the north of Ireland. These are instances which could not be indefinitely multiplied, but which do not stand alone in showing that the provincial press of the United Kingdom competes now and then with that of London in knowledge and intellectual power and influence.

Correspondence.

EX-SENATOR HOWE AND INFLATION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Senator Bayard, of Delaware, is reported to have used in his recent Tammany Hall speech language like the following:

"In 1873 the bubble burst, and then came from ruined speculators a cry for more money—more brandy to keep up the intoxication. The majorities in the Senate and House were overwhelmingly Republican, and well do I remember the countless and vigorous speeches in favor of increased paper money issues by the Government by Senator Morton, of Indiana; Mr. Ferry, of Michigan; Gen. John A. Logan, of Illinois; Senator Howe, of Wisconsin," etc.

The *Nation* of the 30th ult., to which a friend calls my attention, improves upon the text of Bayard's speech by the statement "that a bill actually passed both Houses, the Republicans being in the majority in both, for providing for the inflation of the currency up to $400,000,000—such Republican chiefs as Morton, Ferry, Logan, and Howe supporting it vigorously."

Now, if it were the purpose simply to burn me as a heretic for the amusement of my fellow-beings, perhaps it would be my duty to acquiesce. But when it is proposed to crucify the Republican party for my heresies, I hope it will not be deemed impertinent in me to deny the heresy.

Will you permit me, therefore, to say to the *Nation*, to its readers, and especially to Mr. Bayard, that I never voted for inflating the greenback currency since the war closed, and that neither Mr. Bayard nor any colleague of his struggled more persistently *against* "increased paper money issues by the Government" than I did. In proof of this I ask room in your columns for a few brief extracts from my utterances in the Senate.

In the morning of that protracted debate to which Senator Bayard refers, to wit, on the 18th of December, 1873, I said, when speaking of our greenback currency,

"there was once a good wholesome reason why we should have substituted paper for coin—for a metallic currency. That time passed by long ago. . . . I do hold that if this Government adds a dollar or a fragment—a square inch—to the volume of these broken promises, it will not do to call the Government a criminal, I suppose, but it will come too near the perpetration of a crime to suit me."—*Cong. Record*, vol. ii. part 1, p. 296.

On the 15th of January following I presented in the Senate a bill providing for the substitution of bank notes for United States notes. I argued then, and still believe, that well-regulated banks can maintain a circulation convertible into coin, while the Treasury cannot, except under unusual conditions. I then said:

"The bank note is conclusive evidence that its maker has accumulated capital exceeding its face by at least ten per cent. The Treasury note is conclusive evidence that the Government has borrowed a sum equal to its face, has spent it and has nothing to show for it. The bank note cannot be issued until the bonds of the Government have been pledged for its payment. The Treasury note is issued simply because there is nothing else to issue, and consequently nothing to pay it with. The bank note is *loaned* out, and the borrower himself promises to bring it or its equivalent back. The Treasury note is *paid* out, and the payee takes it because the statute compels him to take it, and in the forlorn hope that the Government may some time be prepared to take it back. The bank note is issued because business wants it and borrows it. The Treasury note is out because the public creditor wants payment and cannot get anything else. The bank note is a laborer and earns money for him who makes and him who borrows it. The Treasury note is a mendicant which the Government quarters upon its creditors in time of peace, simply by assuring them that when they meet a creditor they may in turn transfer the mendicant to him."—*Ibid.*, p. 672.

On the 26th of March, when Mr. Schurz moved to make $356,000,000 the maximum of Treasury notes, and Mr. Bogy and others urged $400,000,000, I said:

"Because $382,000,000 happens to be the sum now in circulation, I propose to acquiesce in that, without saying one word as to how that amount happened to get into circulation. And, on the other hand, I shall be compelled to vote against a proposition, let it come when it will or from whom it may, to increase the sum of legal-tender notes either to $400,000,000 or to any sum above that sum which is now outstanding."—*Ibid.*, part 3, p. 3480.

I might quote from that debate many other remarks of mine quite as much to the purpose, but these will be accepted as proof that I was not an inflationist, at least during that session of Congress. There never was a session during which the smell of inflation was found on my garments.

Long before the panic of 1873, to wit, on the 24th of January, 1870, I discussed our financial situation at considerable length. Then I enumerated our financial maladies as follows:

"We owe a large public debt. We are paying a profligate rate of interest upon it. We have no money in circulation. We have instead a circulation exclusively of paper. The business of supplying that circulation is a monopoly shared in nearly equal parts by the Government and by a limited number of privileged banking corporations. Those corporations are multiplied in one portion of the country and almost wholly denied to other large portions of it. The paper in circulation now, more than four years after the close of the war, in a time of profound peace, of quickened industry and of bountiful harvests, cannot be converted into gold save at a discount of some twenty per cent.; and in this hour of resplendent victory, when the Republic finds no foreign potentate to challenge her ability, she finds no foreign merchant to trust her integrity."

Quoting the remark of Professor Walker, that "no large national debt was ever paid or discharged except by repudiation," I replied:

"The republic may not find a precedent for the payment of her debt, but it is her high privilege to make a precedent."

I said further:

"Less than four hundred millions of this debt consists of United States notes and of fractional currency. This is all debt and all due. Yet many of our people and some of our legislators seem to labor under the strange delusion that these notes, instead of being classed with the debts of the nation, are properly to be scheduled with its assets; and so, instead of endeavoring to liquidate them as debts due, they are studious to invent some way to liquidate with them the debts which are not due."

Indeed, although I do not pretend to rank with those unutterably wise statesmen who, after the event, have always "told you so," yet I may fairly claim not to have been wholly blind to the true office of those United States notes, even at the time of their advent. When the first bill for the issue of legal-tender notes was pending in the Senate I took occasion to state my views of the whole subject. On the 12th of February, 1862, I said:

"It seems to me the Government should never issue a note of any denomination promising thereby to pay specie for it on demand."

Of this Government I said:

"Its contracts, like its records, should import absolute verity."

My advice then was to

"authorize the issue of stocks to the amount of your appropriations, less the revenue applicable to them. Authorize the exchange of those stocks for coin or Treasury notes at par. . . . Then, whoever prefers the interest on the stocks to the use of the money will invest either the coin or the notes in the stocks. But whoever needs money more than the interest of it will keep the coin or notes in circulation."

I respectfully submit that if the advice I then gave had been listened to the breed of inflationists would never have existed. And if any advice I have given at any time since had been listened to, neither Senator Bayard nor the *Nation* would have advertised me as an inflationist. T. O. HOWE.

GREEN BAY, WIS., Oct. 16, 1880.

ONE REPUBLICAN EMISSARY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: At a Republican meeting held at Jacksonville, Fla., last week—

"Hon. Chas. J. Noyes was then introduced as Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, one of the proudest positions in the gift of the people of that State. Mr. Noyes said:

. . . . . .

"'On one vital point Garfield and General Hancock are at variance. In Order No. 40 General Hancock says, in substance, that as against military rule the civil law shall prevail. Yet I remember his course when in Washington he upheld military rule above civil law and hung a woman—as innocent, I believe, as any man in the hall. Then the civil law, in the form of the *habeas corpus*, did not protect her, and he did not bring her before Judge White, but wrote with his own hands the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, and carried it to Andrew Johnson for his signature.'"

As the *Nation* suggested that leading Republican speakers should visit the South and enlighten the Southern people, we send you the above as a specimen of such enlightenment. EDITOR "MIRROR."

OFFICE OF "THE FLORIDA MIRROR," FERNANDINA, FLA., Oct. 18, 1880.

ANYTHING FOR A QUIET LIFE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The brief phrase above written may doubtless pass muster as a fair interpretation of the long Latin legend which surrounds the historic Indian on the coat-of-arms of Massachusetts. Another unconventional rendering of the same may be given: "He'll fight to the last gasp, if need be, but he *will* have peace." Twenty years ago, when the irrepressible conflict between the New-England idea and the Southern idea came to its climax, the real representative hand that took down from its crest the sword of the State and wielded it in triumphant vindication of the Massachusetts motto was the hand of William Francis Bartlett, the youngest major-general in the service when the war reached its end. He was the best contribution that it was the fortune of my State to send into the field; he was a true son of the soil if there ever was one, and if the name of any recent soldier of the old Commonwealth is destined to have a place in history that name is his. A Harvard writer has suggested that the college ought to establish a "Professorship of Patriotism" in his memory, to assure the ingenuous youth who come after him that the noble passion called public spirit has not yet vanished from the land. These and all similar honors would be well merited, for his brief life, so unreservedly given to his country, was a truly inspiring career, than which

"No grander episode doth chivalry hold,
In all its annals, back to Charlemagne."

But it was not more by his bravery in battle, by his paying with his person the penalty of patriotism, than by his magnanimity when the strife was over that Bartlett proved himself the typical fighting man—the typical Massachusetts man—of his time. He knew when he had won. He saw clearly that the Southern idea had gone down for ever before the New-England idea, and so he cried aloud for peace. He longed to enjoy the quiet life whose attainment had been his sole inspiration in fighting. He pleaded in trumpet tones for justice and generosity towards the conquered South. He had no wish to see his late adversaries crawl in the dust before him, or formally acknowledge their sins and make hypocritical professions of a repentance which as honorable men they could not be expected to feel. It was enough for him that he had carried his point—that the triumph of the North had removed for ever the one supreme obstacle in the way of a perfect and peaceful Union of all the States and sections. The remedy for lesser troubles, he sagaciously maintained, would be found by trusting to the good impulses of American human nature, to enlightened self-interest, to education, "progress," and time, which cures all things.

Now, the fact that I have read every number of the *Nation* which has ever been printed may fairly imply that the general drift of its opinions is pleasing to me; but nothing about the paper has ever pleased me better than the hearty way in which it has always upheld the pleadings of my Massachusetts hero for peace and harmony, and the sledge-hammer force with which, in amplification of his arguments, it has crushed out the Stalwart "cries" and pretences designed to arouse ugly passions against the South. I am somewhat surprised, therefore, that the holding of such beliefs does not drive the *Nation*, as it does drive me and as it unquestionably would drive General Bartlett were he in the land of the living, to accepting the suppression of the Stalwarts as the first duty which every patriotic voter now owes his country—as the essential preliminary to any substantial scheme of reform in American politics.

This idea was advanced by me four years ago, in the only political letter which I ever ventured to inflict upon you, and the *Nation* was at that time less definitely opposed than now to the success of the Opposition in the struggle for the Presidency. If in this present year of grace your treatment of the Stalwarts' candidate is such that the Boston *Journal*, their representative organ in New England, praises it as "candid," there is at least some satisfaction to us of the Opposition in seeing proof given, by the admittance to your columns of so much hostile political correspondence, that you still do possess an abundant supply of that sort of "candor" which is to the Stalwart journalist of all earthly things the most hateful. No part of the paper has of late been read by me with keener interest than the pages occupied by volunteer writers in ringing the changes on civil-service reform and the best way of starting a practicable scheme for its accomplishment. All political thought of any seriousness, all sober speculation as to the means by which the experiment of popular government on the magnificent scale attempted here in America may be prevented from becoming a dreary failure, is sure ultimately to concern this supreme need. The problem for patriots is, How to make their principle of "permanency in Government office during good behavior, without regard to political affiliations," a main question of practical politics, on one side or the other of which every practical politician will be forced squarely to array himself. The problem of the practical politician is, How longest to put off this evil day by the use of some "cry" which shall set by the ears the patriots of different sections and parties, and thereby prevent them from combining to achieve a common purpose.

In my letter of '76, explaining why many new men who had, like myself, voted both times for Grant, might be expected then to vote for Tilden, I said that the latter's election was absolutely the only thing which could put an end to the silly shriek against the Solid South; that if the shriek were successful then in winning votes it would be raised again in 1880, and in 1884, and indefinitely; and that, so long as it could be successfully raised, any talk about radical reform in governmental affairs would "belong to lunar politics," would be "visionary and fantastic." In brief, my letter was exactly such a one as I am proud to see you have printed for "* * * *" in this week's paper, though that person probably never set eyes on a single word of it. The Opposition did indeed tremendously outvote the Stalwarts in the election of '76, but it is clear enough that the latter's leaders believed that such degree of success as they anywhere attained was due to their "waving the bloody shirt" and "stirring up the rebel brigadiers." Otherwise they would not have begun the present campaign with the same devilish, and devilishly tiresome, cry. If the response that Maine made to it seemed to have driven them despairingly to the other old device of "scaring the capitalists," and the less threadbare one of "talking tariff to the workingmen," it is none the less true that the "solid" verdict of Vermont, where Vice-President Wheeler first set in motion the cry of "Destruction to the Vanquished," is accepted by them as a strong showing for the efficacy of that cry. They will raise it again in '84 if they get in their man this year, for they will certainly think it their surest stand-by—their true, winning card; and I shall think so too. A straw to strengthen this belief was blown into my face three weeks ago to-night, at Ashtabula, Ohio, where fate, in the form of a bicycle, caused me to alight a few hours in advance of the earliest train that could take me back out of the

State again. To beguile the monotony of waiting, I followed the crowd into a hall where the President of Hiram College, the biographer and bosom friend of the Stalwarts' candidate, sat in a chair upon the platform and discoursed concerning the "issues of the hour." The audience was an eminently respectable and orderly one—women composing perhaps a third of it—and the speech contained more words of truth and soberness than one expects to hear issue from the mouth of a "campaign orator." The notable thing about it all was that a tolerably guarded and decent appeal to prejudice against the Solid South was the only one that secured much applause.

People's passions can indeed be played upon so much more easily than their reason can be appealed to that the men inside politics will never resort to reasoning while the easier alternative remains open to them. No argument can now reach the man who believes in the bugaboo of a Solid South, who thinks that the prosperity of Massachusetts is a nobler thing for the Union than the prosperity of South Carolina, who accounts "Solid" Alabama a more portentous political phenomenon than "Solid" Vermont. When such a one shall see the Opposition put in complete control of the Government by aid of the Solid South, he will perforce be convinced that the Solid South is a myth, and he will never be convinced until then. When the editor of the Cincinnati *Commercial* (who is more responsible than any one man for the shameful spectacle which America now presents of a great commercial country slipping steadily downward towards a silver standard) shrieks about "the conquered Northern people prostrating themselves with inexpressible abjectness before Old Man Secesh," there is left to those of us who believe that the United States extend below Mason and Dixon's line no other alternative than to use Old Man Secesh as a club wherewith to drive the shrieker into an appropriate asylum. When ex-President Woolsey, of Yale, who is as sincere and scholarly a man as it was ever my good fortune to meet, says: "I do not want Grant; but I would vote to give him a third term rather than a first term to any Democrat—even Bayard," he convinces me that the Opposition ought at all hazards to be put in full control of the Government.

My hereditary prejudices are not friendly to this Opposition—though the last-named member of it is the only man now left on the stage at Washington for whom I entertain any definite sentiment of personal admiration—but politics is a practical business; and when the Stalwarts try to throw discredit on two and a half millions of voters in the North by pretending that they are "ruled" by the million and a half in the Solid South who help to elect their candidate, I am bound to reply that I wish the Solid South were, for my present purpose, larger as well as "solider." There is something inexpressibly wearisome about this rant against the solid one hundred and thirty-eight "rebel" electoral votes (thirty-eight of them representing four States which never rebelled, one of the four being Kentucky, which sent more than one hundred thousand white men into the Union army), when coming from the mouths of men who brag of the larger number of electoral votes that are solid for the Stalwarts' candidate. The brazen complacency of the pot in clamoring loudly against the blackness of the kettle may once have seemed amusing for its novelty, but has now degenerated into a damnable iteration.

It has been said that the time often comes in many a man's life when his first duty is to "clear his mind of cant." If a similar time ever comes in a nation's career, that time is plainly the present time. Since 1868 neither one of the rival parties has possessed any distinctive political principles—"not a principle; they're in the show business." Each Presidential election is, so far as the chief actors are concerned, a mere sordid strife between the office-holders and the office-seekers. The former have in their favor the nine points of possession, and this gave them so great an advantage in 1876 that even when outvoted they could not be dislodged. "Good men," who take the theological view of politics, and talk about "loyalty to their party" as if it were a church, winked at the fraud because it kept the "bad men" out of power. The solidity of the sullen and impoverished South in favor of Grant a dozen years ago had no terrors to the men who now stand appalled at the solidity of the hopeful and prosperous South in favor of Grant's classmate and fellow-soldier, Hancock. The vague dread with which many perfectly sane people, who had watched calmly the gradually-decreasing premium on gold, looked forward to the time when the premium should disappear altogether and the greenback rise to par, was often compared to the fears of a man in the dark, hanging by his hands to the top of a probably lofty wall, until compelled by exhaustion to drop to the ground—six inches below. The dreaded "triumph of the Opposition" next November would really cause the country just about as serious a jar. Both branches of the national legislature have been run by the Opposition for quite a while past, and nothing very serious has happened. When they control the Executive also it is probable that "the world will continue as usual to revolve on its axletree once in twenty-four hours, subject to the Constitution of the United States." To convince the weak-kneed brethren of this simple fact would alone be worth all the cost of "a change." The rebel brigadiers who may be sent to represent us abroad will doubtless do the country just as much credit as the rebel brigadiers named Longstreet and Mosby who now represent us. The new appointments to the Supreme Court most assuredly cannot do so much to bring that tribunal into disrepute as did the appointments made by Grant to secure a reversal of its righteous decision against the Legal-tender Act.

When a party has been so long in power that it claims for itself about all the patriotism, virtue, wealth, and respectability of the community; that it pretends to have the exclusive support of the capitalists and scholars and church members; that it believes itself to be for all practical purposes "the country," it is high time for it to be put out of power. When "Boss" Tweed grew insolent enough to ask, "What are you going to do about it?" as if he really owned New York City, he had to be overthrown, even though the "boss" system could not be overthrown with him. It was at least some reform to put ourselves in the hands of a less powerful and overbearing boss. In the present case, since the Stalwarts have forced their candidate to announce publicly his adhesion to the spoils doctrine, it will be at least an act in the line of the desired reform to vote for the opposition candidate, who has made no such pledge. I agree with my Chicago friend, "A. B. M.," and with some of your other correspondents, in thinking that the proposed Publication Society should be independent not only of existing parties but of existing local reform organizations, which have never accomplished anything. I am also ready to be enrolled as a five-dollar subscriber to the publication-fund. Absurd as it may seem to those who think the fund must chiefly be used in the conversion of Democrats, I will add that, if occasion offers, many prominent Democrats will endeavor to persuade President Hancock to retain in office the present "most efficient postmaster that the city of New York has ever been blessed with." I am convinced that President Bayard in such a case would have backbone enough to do his manifest duty, and I am not without hopes that Hancock's spinal column may prove equally rigid against the pressure of the place-hunters.

In discussing Grant's qualifications as a Presidential candidate in 1868 the *Nation*, while giving due force to the stock objections against an army man, laid much stress upon his praiseworthy habit of quietly doing his best by the duty nearest at hand, and spoke of him in a hopeful strain which seemed reasonable enough at the time, though it has not been justified by the actual history of his administration. It seems equally reasonable now to use the same words, with similar hopefulness, in reference to Hancock. I reproduce them from memory, but if you turn back to your files I am sure you will find that I quote them truly: "He is not a perfect being. He is not a man of the Golden Age, or a knight of the great Order of the Table Round. He is not a statesman in the highest sense of the word, or perhaps in any sense of the word—has probably little store of those acquisitions which a statesman ought to have. But, unless we greatly err, he has that thing which, of all others, the times most need, and which the rising generation ought most diligently to seek after." A MASSACHUSETTS YANKEE.

WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK, October 18, 1880.

A CONUNDRUM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Was the action of the Louisiana Returning Board in 1876 in awarding the Presidency, considered historically, so morally and legally unjust as to compel a Republican who profited by it, and whose every action is influenced, as far as he is able to control them, by the highest moral principles only, to make what reparation he can by voting the Democratic electoral ticket this fall; just as he would endeavor to restore, as far as he was able to do so, any material thing which the actions of his friends by the same methods placed in his possession? D. H. V.

NEW YORK, October 25, 1880.

[In what sense did this moral Republican "profit" by Mr. Hayes's success over Mr. Tilden? If by the subsequent good government of the country, we do not see what need there is of "reparation" on his part, or what he has to "restore." Nor do we understand the sort of reparation which consists in voting for a party without reference to its probable conduct of the Government. But this opens the whole question of the relative fitness of the two parties at the present time.—ED. NATION.]

IN THE HOUSE OF ITS FRIENDS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Not all the combined eloquence, sarcasm, and ridicule with which for the past ten years "tyrant man" has opposed the admission of woman to the responsibilities of the ballot have ever dealt that struggling cause so staggering a blow as has the recent public defence of the "Ladies' Deposit Company" by one who might fairly claim to rank among the highest female intellects of our country. But, says a prominent suffragist from Cambridge, for this regrettable state of things man is responsible by reason of his persistent withholding all proper financial education from the weaker sex. A financial education is necessary, it would seem, to impress upon the female

mind the consequence of suspending a supply of water from a vessel with a hole in its bottom. It is needless to say that the talented authoress in question indignantly repels this unflattering insinuation of idiocy. We know, she says, that ninety-six per cent. is no business rate of interest, and that to secure such profits we must take a corresponding risk, but man's duty is simply "to stand aside and let the women work it out." In other words, we know that we are gambling, and, as the *Advertiser's* raid threatens to overturn the table before my poor friend has had time to win from later depositors, I will trouble that respectable journal for its note at ninety-six per cent. As to those whose money the authoress's friends have already won, if they were simple enough to believe in the Quaker fund so much the worse for them. The presence or absence of wolves at *their* thresholds apparently concerns her not.

How clearly such a position as is here taken foreshadows the coming purification of the political arena, when woman shall no longer be excluded from the lists! How like cobwebs will be swept away the various sophistries by which man persuades himself that ends justify means, and is thereupon content to open his hand and shut his eyes and ask no questions and be told no lies! Neither Crédit-Mobilier dividends nor De Golyer contracts will in that day horrify an upright Democracy, while such devices as moieties and the salary grab will be remembered only to show from what depth of corruption the regenerating influence of woman in politics has raised us. If, however, such a case should arise, as the author of 'Democracy' so forcibly describes, where the country's salvation *actually demands* the pocketing of bribes or the counting out of bad men when they get the most votes, doubtless Mrs. Senator Ratcliffe would be equal even to that emergency. S. M. Q.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I should take pleasure in contributing to a Civil-Service Reform Publication Association which should be entirely dissociated from either existing political party, both in control and in name.

I should also be glad, in case Mr. D. B. Eaton would consent to rewrite and condense his valuable work on the history of this reform in England for popular use, to make a liberal donation, in conjunction with others, to have it printed in large numbers, handsomely bound in ornamental cloth of duodecimo size, and sold for twenty-five cents at retail, twenty per cent. off for five hundred or more copies, the object being to get a copy on the parlor-table of every farmer in America.—Yours respectfully, I. J. Wistar.

Philadelphia, Oct. 20, 1880.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The project of a Publication Society which shall have for its object the dissemination of sound opinions upon the great question of civil-service reform has interested many of your readers in this State. We of Virginia are peculiarly alive to the vital importance of reform in the civil service, not alone of the National Government, but of the State Government. We who have grown up since the war are heartily sick of the old methods, the spoils system, and all of those enormities which make our politics hideous and render it next to impossible for a decent man to be a candidate for office. The reform of the civil service will do more for the purification of the politics of the country than anything else. Let us, then, work for that reform, and let us bring it about as soon as possible. I will gladly contribute $5 a year to a publication society of the kind mentioned in your columns.—Very respectfully,

James Hay.

Madison C. H., Va., Oct. 21, 1880.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have read with interest the correspondence in your columns in reference to a society for civil-service reform. I should be very glad to contribute towards such a society but for the following reasons:

Many intelligent Democrats think that associations of this sort which are nominally non-partisan are generally managed as a side-show to the Republican party. In other words, the Republicans in them are very glad to get Democratic assistance when the action of such a society will help the Republican party, but refuse their aid when its action will help the Democrats. For example: President Hayes undertook to reform the New York Custom-house. He appointed a Commission which reported, after careful examination, that Collector Arthur and Mr. Cornell had been guilty of malfeasance in office in the following particulars: they had neglected their duties and turned the Custom-house into a political machine; they had increased its expenses, while its receipts diminished; they had kept over two hundred men in the employ of the Government, at an expense of $235,000 a year, who did no work except to come monthly and draw their pay; they had allowed their subordinates to take bribes; Mr. Arthur had allowed Deputy-Collector Lydecker to deliver large amounts of dutiable goods on special permits without the payment of duty, which amounted in one single instance to $55,000. All these abuses and frauds were known to Mr. Arthur, and he refused to rectify any of them. For this he was removed by the President, and the removal was approved by the Senate, the Democrats as a rule voting for it and the Republicans against it.

The Republican party in this State elected Mr. Cornell as governor. The Republican party in the United States have nominated Mr. Arthur for Vice-President. The latter was, of course, done to obtain the support of Conkling, Cameron, Logan, and that set. This nomination and Mr. Garfield's letter of acceptance surrender all the ground that President Hayes has gained. Democrats expected that Republicans interested in civil-service reform would refuse to support for the second office in the Government a man who had been convicted of these crimes. In this we are grievously disappointed.

Then take the Free-Trade issue. The Republican party in this canvass has committed itself to the maintenance of the present unjust and unequal tariff. It has distributed tracts and cards everywhere defending this, and reviling the Democrats in Congress, who have voted to revise and reduce it. It is true the Democratic party has not done all that it might on the other side. But its platform is right. Many of its speakers have supported this, and the party is now vigorously engaged in circulating revenue-reform documents to counteract those issued by the Republicans. I enclose samples. It is a mistake to say, as you have said, that no speakers on the Democratic side have discussed this question. At the first public meeting held in Chickering Hall, under the auspices of the Young Men's Democratic Club, the whole subject was fully discussed. It has been since by Mr. Hewitt in the same place, and so it has been in many parts of the country. The Free-Trade Club has been unable to supply the demand for revenue-reform documents from Democratic organizations in the West. We naturally expected aid from the free-traders in the Republican party, but this we have not received. In other words, we find practically that Republican newspapers and public men think more of the success of their party than of civil-service reform or the tariff. It will not do to say of the Democrats that they are no better. Whatever has been done during the last ten years to revise and reform the tariff has been done by the Democrats in Congress.

As for civil-service reform, no surrender could be more complete than that the Republicans have made during the present canvass. The Democrats cannot do worse. We do think that with the appointments in the hands of an Army officer of the highest character, who has spent his life in a service which is a model for reformers, we might look for some improvement.

Whenever you can show me any number of Republicans who will vote against a Republican who opposes civil-service and revenue reform, and will support a Democrat who supports such reform, I will gladly join the society that your correspondents propose. Everett P. Wheeler.

New York, Oct. 25, 1880.

Notes.

Little, Brown & Co., Boston, have issued a popular edition in eight volumes of the works of Francis Parkman, beginning with the 'Oregon Trail' of 1847 and ending for the present with 'Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.' There is nothing cheap about this edition except the price, the paper being quite opaque, and the binding elegant enough for any library. There is not a single volume that does not read like a novel, and every one of the histories is the highest authority on the subject of which it treats (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.)——Lodge's translation of Winckelmann's 'History of Ancient Art,' originally published in four volumes, is now brought out in two pretty solid but not unmanageable and still handsome volumes at a reduced price (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.) The notes are relegated to the end of each volume, but reference to and from them has not been facilitated.——A. Williams & Co., Boston, are the publishers of the 'Directory of the Charitable and Beneficent Organizations' of that city prepared by the body known as the Associated Charities. Some features of the Boston system, such as the registration of help extended to the needy, are peculiar to it; moreover, chapters like those entitled "Select List of Books and Papers on Charitable Work," "Health Hints," "Legal Suggestions," "Rules and Suggestions for Visitors of the Associated Charities," etc., commend themselves to the benevolent everywhere. The alphabetical index of Boston charities fills eighteen pages.——The October issue of the *Magazine of American History* is a so-called "Gates number," being given up to a history and vindication of Gates's Southern campaign, and to original unpublished documents.——Prof. Goldwin Smith's *Bystander*, "a monthly review of current events, Canadian and general," seems to have established itself on a firm footing, as well it may, for in the domain of politics at least it is always to be read with profit (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co.) The October number alludes incidentally to a fact concerning which we have never seen any precise statistics, but which every traveller's experience verifies: "American paper is now current for all but Government purposes in Canada." This, Mr. Smith adds, referring to the local "Beaverbackers," "may add to the difficulties of the Fiat men when they proceed, as they propose, to pro-

portion the issue of their paper exactly to the wealth of this country."——A beginning of references to publications concerning Russian Nihilism is made in No. 16 of the Harvard Library *Bulletin*.——No. 12 of the *American Art Review* brings the conclusion of Mr. W. J. Linton's "History of Wood-Engraving in America," which, except for the size of page required by some of the illustrations, one might naturally expect to see eventually in book-form. In a second and final article there is a further appreciation of the uneven genius of the late Dr. William Rimmer, with a number of fac-similes from his drawings now on exhibition at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.——The English article in the third number of the *American Journal of Philology* (Macmillan) discusses the introduction into our language of the words *coincide* and *coincident*. Prof. Gildersleeve's visit to England already bears fruit in a contribution by Prof. Nettleship.——Dr. Ph. J. J. Valentini has reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society his ingenious and, on the whole, convincing paper—"The Landa Alphabet: a Spanish fabrication."——Tide-tables for the principal ports of the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts of the United States, for 1881, have been issued as usual by the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Office, Washington, at the price of twenty-five cents each. A table of tidal constants meets the needs of intermediate ports.——The *American* is the title of a new quarto weekly paper issued in Philadelphia, which aims to belong to the class represented by the London *Spectator*. In its "national" creed Protection finds a distinct place. Politically it will be Republican in sympathy, but independent.——The Salmagundi Sketch Club will open its third annual exhibition in this city at the Academy of Design on December 20, and remain open at least a fortnight. In general everything in black and white is admissible. Mr. H. P. Share, the secretary, may be addressed at 896 Broadway. ——Part 9 of Vapereau's 'Dictionnaire Universel des Contemporains' (Christern) ends with Tennyson. Omissions like those of Leslie and Fitzjames Stephen, and the antiquated character of the American selections, show how greatly international co-operation is needed in a work of this character.——A laborious work, 'Glossaire archéologique du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance,' by M. Victor Gay, a former Government architect, will shortly begin to be put forth by the Société Bibliographique. The remarkable feature will be the illustrations of the articles, etc., defined in the glossary, from contemporaneous relics.——A writer in the September *Polybiblion* ascribes the maxim "Noblesse oblige" to the Duc de Lévis, giving it a date not earlier than 1807, when the first edition of that author's 'Maximes et réflexions sur différents sujets de morale et de politique' was published.——M. Sarcey's 'Comédiens et Comédiennes' is to have a German rival, 'Theatralische Carrièren: Biographien und Charakteristiken,' by Josef Lewinsky. This will contain portraits and fac-similes of twenty-five stage celebrities, including one American, Miss Minnie Hauk; two Italians, Ristori and Salvini; one Hungarian, Gerster; and two native Germans well known here, Wachtel and Lucca.

—A slip of the pen last week made us say that the new Ohio delegation would stand "15 Republicans to 20 Democrats," instead of "15 Republicans in a delegation of 20." As this would seriously affect the complexion of the next House, we hasten to correct the error while there is still time to prevent a national calamity.

—History does not, like fiction, well endure being brought out and read in monthly instalments, and perhaps in the case of Russia we have an extreme instance of the disadvantage of this mode of publication. Mr. Eugene Schuyler's "Life of Peter the Great" must, we think, hitherto have been followed with some difficulty in the successive issues of *Scribner's Monthly*, and it is only a mitigation of the standing drawback that in the November number he takes his hero to Western Europe, and begins the narrative of that portion of Peter's career with which the public is most familiar. That this very familiarity imposes on the writer a greater carefulness in details need hardly be pointed out. We notice, for example, a not unimportant slip in the title given to Joseph, son of the Emperor Leopold, viz., "King of Rome" instead of "King of the Romans." The third part of M. Alfred Sensier's biography of Millet maintains the interest excited at the outset, and is accompanied by a powerful interpretation of one of his paintings—we mean the frontispiece, "The Sower," engraved by Cole. Mr. Joseph B. Gilder's "Bordentown and the Bonapartes" is an exceptionally good specimen of a typical magazine article, both in text and illustrations. With Mr. De Kay's estimate of Elihu Vedder we quite agree on the whole, without being able to praise unreservedly the quality of it as art criticism. What with this article and those which recently appeared in the *American Art Review*, the public has had as ample materials as need be for judging of this singularly individual painter as a designer. Mr. Stedman's delicate undertaking to weigh the merits and defects of contemporary poetry is applied this month to Walt Whitman. We find in the essay nothing more acute and truthful than the conclusion that in spite of Whitman's expansiveness, his "hoarseness and coarseness," "he is the poet of a refined period, impossible in any other; . . . not a poet of the people." We must congratulate *Scribner's* upon the new design for its outer cover.

—The writer of "A Pivotal Point" in the November *Lippincott's*, describing Texas during secession, does not, perhaps, appreciate the fact that his State is now generally felt to be a large one, and therefore his paper seems a little rambling; but it is for the most part exceedingly interesting. Mr. Baker is a warm admirer of Sam Houston, it is needless to say, and though he both overdoes his eulogy here and there and, which is more curious, fails in appreciation, we think, when he ascribes to Houston's being "no longer young" his inaction in the crisis of secession, he paints an agreeable portrait of him, by the aid of various anecdotes as much as anything. Incidentally he describes an interview held, at the President's request, between Mr. Lincoln and a leading Union Texan so late as 1864, during which the former said:

"'If we held Texas, we should not only outflank the Confederacy by land but by water also'; and he developed the statement in all its details. 'Go back,' he entreated Mr. S——, 'and say to your State that if it will return to the Union the slaves will not be interfered with.'

"'But the Emancipation Proclamation has been issued,' Mr. S—— exclaimed.

"'No matter for that. We will consent to any plan for gradual emancipation the Texans will make,' replied the President; 'they may arrange for it not to go into effect for forty years to come if they will but return. We will fix it to suit them.'"

The first of two papers on "Automatism" by Dr. H. C. Wood is a popular exposition—popular in a good sense—of the unconscious acts of life and the working of the nervous system. Of two analogous articles Mr. Catlin's on "Limoges and its Porcelain" is compendious and entertaining, and Miss Young's on "The Arts of India" of the slightest claims upon any one's attention. "Adam and Eve" is not finished, though it is already issued in covers. We need mention nothing else except possibly a story by Olive Logan, with the following unique plot: The house of Mrs. Marcellus is made a centre of civilization and refinement by the elegant hospitality of its mistress, who for one evening's entertainment proposes that each guest shall relate his last love-affair. Her own is a railway adventure with a fascinating stranger who makes love to her while her daughters doze on the opposite seat, and, while very nearly winning her heart by tickling her vanity, picks her pocket of some hundreds of dollars. Of course she recounts this with the *aplomb* which Olive Logan understands so well how to represent.

—A weather-wise correspondent writes us from the Connecticut Valley as follows, under date of October 18:

"Yesterday (before the news of the snow-storm in Wisconsin) I remarked to a friend here that if I were ever going to prophesy I should write a letter predicting that this would be the snowiest winter, and nearly the stormiest, ever known. I differ from my more distinguished fellow-prophets in having reasons to give—viz., that this year being one of sun-spot maximum, the continents will be coldest, while the accumulated heat in the oceans, following the succession of long and warm summers, will be greatest, thus establishing a maximum of that inequality of temperature between continents and oceans which causes storms in winter, especially our Atlantic snow-storms. I should suppose that eleven or ten years ago, and also twenty-one years ago, similar conditions existed, but I have no records; and I surmise that even those years were not as remarkable as the past two. The storm of yesterday around Lake Michigan bears the same relation to that lake (as a reservoir of heat, and therefore a source of low pressure in early winter) which the New-England snow-storms bear to the Atlantic. Although rather early for the annual change of weather usually occurring in November, it is not too early, considering that this year it ought to be the earliest in the cycle of ten years; and the news of the severity of the cold proves that it may be clearly set down as such."

—The musical season at Steinway Hall was opened with a miscellaneous concert on Thursday last, which was followed by a second performance of the same character and by the same artists on Saturday. The concerts were not a success. The orchestra, extemporized for the occasion, was under the direction of a gentleman who was wanting both in experience and tact to control it. The result was that the orchestral numbers, which had been selected with good judgment and taste, were very crudely performed, and in some instances completely spoilt. This was particularly the case with the beautiful ballet music from Rubinstein's opera "Feramors." Mr. Rummel was the solo pianist on both evenings, and afforded in an extensive and ambitious selection an excellent opportunity of judging his artistic qualities. His programme included three celebrated concertos, the E flat by Beethoven, the E flat by Liszt, and the A minor by Grieg, with which he made his *début* in Steinway Hall just two years ago. All that has been said in praise of Mr. Rummel's many admirable qualities can be repeated: he possesses an excellent though uneven technique, and he plays with brilliancy and manly power. But he has lost none of his former defects, and his performance is still wanting in fine, intelligent phrasing and in artistic finish of touch. He showed to greatest advantage in the two works by Liszt, whose wild, rhapsodical style of writing seems to suit him best, and he was least fortunate in Schubert's beautiful "Wanderer" fantasia and in the second and third movement of the Grieg concerto, the quiet lyric character of which appears to be quite foreign to his nature. By far the most interesting performance

at these two concerts was that of a young singer, Miss Schelle, who made her first appearance on this occasion. Miss Schelle has a good deal to learn, but with all the advantages of youth, beauty, and a really charming, fresh voice in her favor she has a promising career before her. Mr. Fischer played several violoncello solos in his usual style: admirable and faultless as regards technique, weak and conventional in interpretation. The opera has suffered from the all-prevailing influenza, which seems to have no regard for the artistic requirements of the public and to have overcome some of Mr. Mapleson's best singers.

—The new loan exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum owes its attractiveness mainly to the remains of the last which it still contains. The pictures have the air of having been shaken up and settled anew, so that the general look of the walls is different, but on examination one finds the best canvases familiar. Of the new ones we have remarked few that need notice. Bonnat's portrait of Mr. Johnston, the first president of the Museum trustees, is, of course, the most important of them. It is hung, temporarily it is to be hoped, disagreeably high and can only be seen in bits—in an afternoon light at all events. Like all of Bonnat's work it is impressive in many ways. It is possibly an error to suspect haste in its execution, but we may safely infer from the uncertainty of the background and the "breadth" with which part of the drapery is handled, that pictorially it has not been the object of a loving care. As a portrait it is certainly fine, and a stranger may see that it is a good likeness of some one. It is needless to say that it is firmly modelled and vigorously painted—not too subtly, perhaps, for Bonnat, but a lesson in painting to many portraitists destitute of neither talent nor training. We hazard the suggestion that the artist conceived the attitude to be national as well as characteristic, which latter it clearly has every intrinsic evidence of being. The other new canvases are mainly American. Mr. Wylie's large "Death of a Vendean Chief" shows a good deal of power in spite of such obvious defects as overcrowding, apparent disproportion, and inexplicable lighting; it looks like a prize composition by a promising pupil rather than the purely spontaneous work of a practised hand, but this is rather because its defects are inconsistent with the notion that its merits owe anything directly to maturity. Mr. Huntington's landscape is one of the best illustrations we have ever seen of the relentless criticism of unwise dimensions; if it were but as many square inches as it is square feet its meagreness might possibly be less obvious. Either some of Mr. Bunce's marines are fresh contributions or they have been badly hung heretofore; as efforts after color they are entirely worth attention and examination, and if not wholly successful they have at least the merit of aiming high. In complete contrast are twenty or thirty water-color drawings by Mr. W. T. Richards, whose combined effect is one of pallor without the crisp quality by which water-color art atones for its inherent shortcomings. They are a gift to the Museum, and their accurate draughtsmanship may possibly have a beneficial "educational influence"—a consideration which reminds us, by the way, that the trustees display a curious remissness in allowing the label "Raphael" to remain upon the frame of a particularly flagrant "old master" in the East room. The West room is given over to a collection of the works of the late Mr. Sanford Gifford, which suggest nothing to add to what we recently said of him.

—"American housewives," we read in the New York *Times*, "will learn with regret of the death of Lydia Maria Child"; but this is absurdly to narrow the circle of those to whose happiness Mrs. Child ministered by her life and writings. Five years before the 'Frugal Housewife' appeared (and the work is still in use at the end of half a century) Miss Francis had made her successful début almost as the first American authoress of the present century with an Indian story called 'Hobomok'; and the ripeness of her intellectual powers is shown by the familiar fact that the next year (1825), at the age of twenty-three, her Revolutionary tale, 'The Rebels,' contained a sermon ascribed to Whitefield and a speech to James Otis which were long supposed to be authentic pieces, and the latter of which is still declaimed by school-boys along with the speech on the Fourth of July which Webster put in the mouth of John Adams. Her literary activity was unchecked by her marriage, in 1828, to David Lee Child, a Boston teacher, and lawyer, and journalist of eminent abilities. Miss Francis was herself at the time a teacher and editor, having founded the *Juvenile Miscellany*, the first publication of the kind in the country, which she conducted for eight years. The rising generation was also indebted to her for 'The Girl's Own Book,' while 'The Mother's Book' (which went through many editions both here and in England), 'The History of the Condition of Women in Various Ages and Nations,' 'The Biographies of Good Wives,' and the cookery book already alluded to won for her the grateful attachment of her countrywomen. The rise of the anti-slavery movement gave a new turn to her thoughts as to her husband's, and she sacrificed her popularity by issuing in 1836 her 'Appeal in favor of that Class of Americans called Africans,' which was very widely circulated by the abolitionists and exerted a powerful influence. 'The Oasis' and other less literary works having the same philanthropic aim followed the 'Appeal,' and in 1841, on the founding of the *American Anti-Slavery Standard* in this city, Mr. and Mrs. Child were appointed to the editorial charge of the paper, and retained it for some eight years. Corresponding meanwhile with the Boston *Courier*, Mrs. Child formed the materials for two volumes of familiar 'Letters from New York' (1843–45), which are still among the best sources of information for the social aspects of the period which they cover. Returning to her native State (she was born in Medford, Mass.), she was occupied for many years in composing her 'History of the Progress of Religious Ideas,' in three volumes (1855). We have not room even for a list of the productions of Mrs. Child's old age, but we should not omit her interesting, if somewhat idealized, 'Life of Isaac T. Hopper,' published in 1852. Her taste for fiction was shown by her 'Romance of the Republic,' composed as late as 1867. In the John Brown excitement she had a famous correspondence with Mrs. Mason, of Virginia, who asked her the solemn question, "Do you read your Bible?" as a sufficient rebuke to her sympathy with the captive of Harper's Ferry. Mrs. Child survived her husband, leading a quiet but always cheerful life at Wayland, and lending her name and hearty sympathy to the woman-suffrage agitation. Her death on October 20 was sudden and almost painless, at the age of seventy-eight. She had no children.

—The recent address on science and culture by Prof. Huxley, delivered on the occasion of the opening of the new scientific college founded by Sir Josiah Mason at Birmingham, illustrates, perhaps more clearly than any other of his utterances, the position held by that naturalist in relation to a liberal education. The professor's departure from the orthodox principles which have hitherto guided the system of university education in Great Britain has not only elicited a good deal of comment from the English press, but also a fair amount of condemnation, the latter being due to a peculiar misconstruction of the ideas conveyed by some of the passages contained in the address. As has frequently been the case in the past, so in the present instance, the author has been credited with having said much more than he actually did say. It has come to be a received opinion among many that Huxley was an enemy of a literary education, and that he favored the exclusion of the purely literary studies from the curriculum of university instruction; but nothing could be further removed from the truth than this supposition. What he maintains is, that no culture can be said to be complete which excludes from its domain a knowledge of nature, or, in other words, scientific knowledge; and that, for the purposes of obtaining real culture, a purely literary education is no more effectual than a purely scientific education. The objection is directed against the ordinary classical training, the *sine quâ non* of accepted culture, which is forced upon all classes of students. The following passages will best illustrate the professor's views:

"For those who mean to make science their serious occupation; or who intend to follow the profession of medicine; or who have to enter early upon the business of life; for all these, in my opinion, classical education is a mistake; and it is for that reason that I am glad to see" mere literary education and instruction "shut out from the curriculum of Sir Josiah Mason's college, seeing that its inclusion would probably lead to the introduction of the ordinary smattering of Latin and Greek. Nevertheless, I am the last person to question the importance of genuine literary education, or to suppose that intellectual culture can be complete without it. An exclusively scientific training will bring about a mental twist as surely as an exclusively literary training. The value of the cargo does not compensate for a ship's being out of trim; and I should be very sorry to think that the Scientific College would turn out none but lopsided men."

—An excellent number of Racinet's 'Costume' (New York: Bouton), being the ninth in the series, contains twenty-five plates, and perhaps three hundred figures in gold and colors. Of the wide studies undertaken by M. Racinet none are more gravely committed to memory than his investigations into the fated follies which precipitated the Revolution in France, or, perhaps, his notes of the resolute frivolity which ensued just after. The present fascicule of his work contains two singular prints. One is after Lawreince, a Swedish artist who painted modes under Marie Antoinette, and represents the toilet of a beauty, with dressing-maids and barbers and a convenient abbé. In this period a woman received her admirers when, by her own account of the matter, she was undressed, or when her stay-pinched form was encircled by what she called a Tippoo-Saïb, by a Boston-woman, by a Czarina, or a Dutch clown—a pierrot-hollandais—these being so many styles of the caraco; or when a zebra was on her shoulders, and mules were on her feet. After the Terror, folly received a new and much harder crystallization from pride, and its latitude is solemnly perpetuated in a scarce print here copied after Martinet, the originals of which penny broadside are now rare at four hundred francs. Here the popinjay patriotism and sorrows and vanities and vices parade in happy self-esteem at Longchamps, in the epoch of 'Atala' and the 'Genius of Christianity'; the ci-devant displays his desolation in the most populous part of the crowd, proud of his English garments of exile and his in-folio wig; while the "riz-pain-sel," or soldier of the Consulate, is equally vain of his embroideries and tasselled chapeau, as he struts among the "godiches" and "gobe-mouches," all equally bent on catching the eyes of the half-dressed "inconcevables"; and the chariots, whose fashion

changes monthly, roll through the Bois, clung to by cherub-faced jockeys who are dressing-maids in the morning and grooms in the afternoon. In another place M. Racinet, whose plates have already given us most of the historic kings and queens from contemporary paintings, accommodates us, out of a fourteenth-century romance, with King Arthur and Iseult, and a chevalier already wearing the knightly garter. Copies from the 'Emblemata' of Johan de Brunes, Amsterdam, 1636, show us the intimate home-life of Rembrandt's time. Another plate exhibits a gorgeous and very comfortless room of state in modern Cairo. More remote researches give us the Assyrian king from the palace of Nimrod, who wears the order of the Maltese cross on his breast; or Egyptian monarchs, whose thrones show groups of fettered captives under the seat or around the footstool, or who drink from rhytons fashioned like the heads of enslaved enemies, thus anticipating the Scandinavian skull-cup. In editing this enormous work the editor plagues himself at every point with the most scrupulous demonstration for each effigy, referring to the original authority, while the completeness of his search seems exhaustive. It is reported that the plates have long been completely ready in the storehouses of Firmin-Didot, and that it is the editor's excessive scruple alone in preparing the text which causes the somewhat dawdling appearance of the numbers. Nearly half of these, however, have now been received.

LANIER'S SCIENCE OF ENGLISH VERSE.*

THE characteristic feature of Mr. Lanier's treatise is the application of the principles and notation of music to English verse. Readers who have no previous knowledge of musical notation and construction will, in spite of the instruction volunteered by the author, labor under considerable disadvantages. The system is not altogether novel. Dr. J. H. Heinrich Schmidt, of Berlin, in an elaborate work on the rhythm and metre of the classical languages, has adopted essentially the same principles, and has also published a smaller work for schools which has been translated into English. Mr. Lanier nowhere refers to Dr. Schmidt; nor is it necessary to suppose that the former is in any way indebted to the latter. Two works starting with the same fundamental principles would often run parallel to each other, although entirely independent.

In a learned and interesting preface Mr. Lanier gives an historical sketch of the attempts to construct a theory of the technic of English verse. He thinks this sketch justifies a new attempt. His first chapter treats of sound as artistic material, and herein, it is almost needless to add, he acknowledges his indebtedness to Helmholtz. Starting with the proposition that a series of words which to the hearer have no meaning, or which may be actually without any meaning, may yet be recognized by the ear as perfect verse, he finds the essential distinction between prose and verse to be that the latter has a definite material or mechanical form, recognizable by the ear, independent of the meaning. It is necessary to what we have to say further on to limit this proposition a little. It does not follow that in all cases a person would recognize a piece of verse as such, even if read to him in the most perfect manner, in a language with which he was unacquainted. That which is manifest and pleasing to the ears of one people may be wholly unperceived by those of another.

Verse being a series of sounds "co-ordinated by the ear," according to some physical law, it becomes necessary to investigate the relations of sounds to each other. Two sounds may differ, and by the laws of nature can only differ, in one or more of four particulars. One sound may be longer or shorter than another, they may differ in "duration"; one may be louder or softer than another, they may differ in "intensity"; one may be higher or lower than another, they may differ in "pitch"; finally, two sounds may differ in what the French call *timbre*, the Germans *Klangfarbe*, and Mr. Lanier "tone-color"—that quality, namely, by which we distinguish from each other the tones of the piano, violin, the human voice, etc. We do not like the term "tone-color," but the suggestion of another would involve an argument. Of these particulars the author gives numerous and apt illustrations. As they cover all that can be said or conceived of sound, we must seek in them the foundations of a theory of verse. When a series of sounds is co-ordinated by the ear with reference to their relative *duration*, it gives rise, both in music and verse, to the conception of "rhythm"; when with reference to *pitch*, it gives rise to the conception of "tune"; when with reference to *tone-color*, it gives rise to the conception of "flute-tone," "violin-tone," etc., in music, and to "rhyme," "alliteration," and other physical properties, in verse. *Intensity*, as an elemental factor, is omitted. Mr. Lanier maintains that the ear is incapable of exactly co-ordinating sounds with reference to intensity; it perceives that one sound is more intense—*i.e.*, louder—than another, but it has no standard and no method of measurement by which it can tell *how much*; we have no definite notion of what is meant when we are told one sound is twice as loud, or three times as loud, as another. All our judgments of intensity are vague and inexact; hence they cannot be the foundation of a system of verse. To this view there are many objections. Mr. Lanier says the musician can state exactly how much one sound is higher or lower than another by designating the place of both in the musical scale. But the majority of even music-loving people know nothing of the musical scale. They cannot state in any form of words whatever *how much* one sound is higher than another. There are any number of persons who can tune a violin with as much accuracy as Theodore Thomas and yet do not know the difference between a fifth and a fugue. The musician has no adequate method of expressing in words what is meant by his *pp*, *p*, *mf*, *f*, etc., but in any given case he can *show* you very exactly what he understands by these marks. The same remark applies to the execution of *crescendo* and *diminuendo* passages. So in all that relates to language there is no point on which the ear decides more instantaneously and accurately than in regard to accent. If a series of accented and unaccented syllables were arranged according to some definite law, appreciable by the ear, any violation of which, in a series pretending to be so arranged, would be immediately noticed, it would certainly be a species of verse. It might not be rhythmical in the sense in which Mr. Lanier uses the word, and which we do not wish to dispute, but it would possess all the qualities necessary to bring it under the definition of verse, and in the absence of a better word people would very likely call it rhythmical.

Having explained the fundamental principles, Mr. Lanier divides his treatise into three parts, corresponding to the three particulars, rhythm, tune, and tone-color. Part I., "On the Rhythms of English Verse," is three times as long as the other two combined. He includes under the term English verse all our poetry from the earliest Anglo-Saxon to the present time. We must limit ourselves to a consideration of the two extremes, and it will conduce to clearness to begin where he ends. It would be impossible to state in a few words Mr. Lanier's doctrine in regard to quantity, or the relative duration of syllables in English. We can only mention two points: 1st, accented syllables may be either long or short; 2d, the quantity of English syllables, although definite in any given case, is continually shifting, even in the same word, according to its connection with other words. The mere statement of these points must render it evident that long and short syllables will offer no serious obstacle to Mr. Lanier in forming whatever theory he pleases. He rejects the word *foot* altogether from the nomenclature of poetical science and substitutes the word *bar*, borrowed from the vocabulary of music. He says this change "clears away at a single stroke . . . an accumulation of errors and confusions. . . . The foot of classic metres was . . . whatever fancy might choose to make it; but as soon as it is identified with the 'bar' of music . . . it becomes a thing which can be discussed with profit, as being matter of scientific precision" (p. 150, note). For those acquainted with musical notation the word *bar* has undoubtedly a meaning mathematically precise. But there are advantages in having two terms. It is certainly convenient to know from the words used that *bar* means a certain division of the air to which a song is set, and foot a certain division of the syllables as ordinarily read. The next step in Mr. Lanier's theory is the important one. He holds that by looking over a piece of English verse the rhythm in which it is written can be discovered, and the same marks with the same meaning can be written at its commencement that the musician writes at the commencement of a strain of music, $\frac{4}{4}$, $\frac{3}{8}$, etc. The verse can then be divided into bars, and each syllable marked with its appropriate note, quarter-note, eighth-note, etc. In doing this, silences or rests are to be taken into account and marked as in music. Each bar will, as in music, occupy the same time in its delivery. It must be borne in mind that Mr. Lanier uses the word *rhythm* to include what the musician calls *time*. The musician generally means by rhythm the manner in which notes of different lengths are combined. The time of all waltzes is the same; the distinction into $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{3}{8}$ is merely formal. The rhythms of waltzes are as various as the genius of composers. What the musician calls rhythm Mr. Lanier calls "primary rhythm"; what the musician calls *time* Mr. Lanier calls "secondary rhythm." For the general reader it will be most intelligible to retain the old term. The following lines from William Morris's "Love is Enough" are given on p. 158 with the musical notation:

> "Love is enough; tho' the world be awaning
> And the woods have no voice but the voice of complaining."

To save more detailed explanations the reader will please regard the two syllables "And the" at the beginning of the second line as equivalent to one. Mr. Lanier marks these lines as $\frac{3}{8}$ time, and divides into bars as follows, the *dash* representing the *bar* in music:

> "Love is e—nough; tho' the—world be a—waning, And the—
> woods have no—voice but the—voice of com—plaining."

To each syllable he gives an eighth-note, filling out the last bar with an eighth-rest. The first syllable of each bar is accented, so that the whole corresponds exactly to eight bars of music in $\frac{3}{8}$ time. According to the system, each bar should occupy the same time in its delivery; yet we have no doubt that if the poem were read by a good reader, and we had some precise method of measuring the time occupied in the reading of each bar, almost any two suc-

* 'The Science of English Verse. By Sidney Lanier.' New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880. 8vo, pp. xxii. 315.

cessive bars would be found to present quite an appreciable difference, a difference which if observed in the ticking of a clock would give the appearance of great irregularity, and would make nonsense of a strain of music. Nevertheless the general impression would be that of $\frac{3}{8}$, or, as we should prefer, $\frac{3}{4}$ time. But we think Mr. Lanier has, perhaps unconsciously, covered up some of the weak points in his theory by his choice between two things in themselves indifferent.

We proceed to the next step in the development. He says (p. 141): "The following chapter will deal (1) with the remarkable fact of the almost exclusive prevalence of 3-rhythm ($\frac{3}{8}$ time) in English poetry from its beginning to the present time." The following lines from Longfellow's "Psalm of Life" are given with the notation (p. 174). The dashes, as before, represent bars:

"Tell me—not in—mournful—numbers—
Life is—but an—empty—dream."

These lines are marked by Mr. Lanier, in the same manner as "Love is Enough," as $\frac{3}{8}$ time. To the first syllable of each bar he gives a quarter-note, to the second an eighth-note, filling out the last bar with an eighth-rest. Both poems are marked in the same time, with the result that if the same word occurred in the two poems it would be marked and read in one way in one poem and in another way in the other. Take the word *mournful*. In the "Psalm of Life" the first syllable is marked with a quarter-note, the second with an eighth-note. The same word in a poem written in the measure of "Love is Enough" would be marked with two eighth-notes. In the one case the reader must make the first syllable twice as long as the second; in the other, he must make the two exactly alike. Which way is correct it is needless to discuss. Unless the utterance of the word is influenced by the sentiment a good reader will always pronounce it in the same manner. We do not believe that either in regard to rhythm or any other physical property there is one English language for prose, another for one kind of verse, still another for a second kind, and so on. We would mark "Love is Enough" in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, meaning, of course, the same thing as Mr. Lanier does by $\frac{3}{8}$ rhythm. We would mark the "Psalm of Life" in $\frac{2}{4}$ time, and then always read English in the same manner, subject, we repeat, to such variations as may be required by the sentiment and other circumstances not connected with the present question. We think the mass of English poetry is in $\frac{2}{4}$ and not in $\frac{3}{8}$ time, as Mr. Lanier maintains. We have tried over and over again all the experiments mentioned by him, besides many others, some of them very curious and interesting, and entirely independent of our own or anybody's opinions or theories, and all have led to the same result. Dr. Schmidt, in his 'Leitfaden in der Rhythmik' (p. 9), has given two lines of German verse with the notation. One line corresponds syllable for syllable with the first line of "Love is Enough." He marks it in the same manner as Mr. Lanier, only using $\frac{3}{4}$ instead of $\frac{3}{8}$ time. The other line corresponds syllable for syllable with the first line of the "Psalm of Life." He marks it in $\frac{2}{4}$ time. He arrived at the result by an entirely different method, but we are all the more confident the result is correct.

Mr. Lanier's treatment of Anglo-Saxon verse is very full. He gives twenty-five lines of the "Battle of Maldon," a poem dating from the tenth century, with the notation attached. It is the longest example in the book of the application of his system. A single direction will render what we have to say intelligible to those unacquainted with the language. Every vowel is to be pronounced, especially the *e* at the end of words; thus, *mathelode* is a word of four syllables. We give the beginning of Mr. Lanier's extract, printed as it usually is in Anglo-Saxon texts:

"Byrhtnoth mathelode,
bord hafenode,
wand wacne æsc
wordum mælde." *

Here are two couplets. In each line are two accented syllables, four in each couplet. In the first line of each couplet there must be one, and there may be two accented syllables which form an alliteration with one of the accented syllables of the second line. Not more than one accented syllable must be allowed to come between two which form an alliteration. In the above lines in the first couplet the accented syllable *Byrht* in the first line forms the alliteration with the accented syllable *bord* in the second line, and the accented syllable *math* comes between. In the second couplet the accented syllables *wand* and *wac* in the first line form the alliteration with the accented syllable *word* in the second line, and no accented syllable intervenes. Apart from details, this is all that is known directly of the structure of Anglo-Saxon verse. The number of syllables in a line appears to be limited only by the possibilities of the language. With two or three doubtful exceptions, there are no lines in the poem with less than four syllables, and we have noticed none with more than nine. But in other Anglo-Saxon poems we could show lines of eleven and twelve syllables. Any division of the lines into bars or feet must be *argued* into the text, not arrived at by counting. This form of verse was not peculiar to Anglo-Saxon: it was widely distributed in the related languages through the north of Europe. The Elder Edda is in the same form of verse, but it is generally more strict than the Anglo-Saxon in its adherence to form. This is especially the case in the "Völuspâ," the oldest of the poems included under the general name of Edda. Of each couplet of Anglo-Saxon verse Mr. Lanier makes one line, so that his twenty-five lines include fifty of the ordinary text. He is not alone in this, though the best scholars object to it. He marks the extract in $\frac{3}{8}$ time, and divides it into bars as follows:

"Byrhtnoth—mathelode—bord—hafenode—
wand—wacne æsc—wordum—mælde."

Here we have bars or feet of one, two, three, and four syllables, and as each bar must be read so as to occupy the same time in its delivery, some syllables must be four times as long as others. In other parts of his extract there are bars containing five syllables. We give another line (couplet) from the same poem, though not contained in his extract, divided according to his system:

"Wigan to—wige tha hwile the he—wæpen—mæge."

The second bar contains seven syllables. In fact Mr. Lanier gives to some of the syllables in his extract notes twelve times as long as to others; but as this was not necessary we do not urge the point. The word *bord* in his first line fills a whole bar, and is consequently marked with a three-eighth note or "dotted crotchet"; the same word occurs in his twenty-first line, in both cases accented, and is marked with an eighth note—in the one case three times as long as in the other. Mr. Lanier has a good deal to say about the "swing of the rhythm." When one syllable can be made to occupy the same time as seven others, to say nothing of twelve, it does not seem difficult to give the rhythm any "swing" the theory may require. It must be admitted that if Anglo-Saxon verse is to be forced into any strictly rhythmical scheme it must be one to which all the objections apply with nearly the same force as to Mr. Lanier's. We must have syllables of all relative proportions between one to one and one to seven, or even worse. But is this necessary? Who shall say that the ear of the Anglo-Saxon and the Norseman was not both pleased and satisfied with the recurrence of the alliteration once in every four accented syllables, according to those rules which scholars have deduced from the inspection of the text, and about which there can be no doubt, because they are merely statements of facts which can be verified even by those who are unacquainted with the language? We have one more objection to Mr. Lanier's notation. Assuming the correctness of his method, we have arranged his extract in $\frac{2}{4}$ time, and it seems to our ear more in harmony with the ordinary method of reading than his arrangement in $\frac{3}{8}$ time.

Mr. Lanier's examination of English blank-verse, especially of the verse of Shakspere, is very elaborate. He devotes four pages (189 *et seq.*) to a single line from "Measure for Measure." In the course of the examination the line is printed six times with the accompanying notation. Four of the six times it is misprinted, fortunately not so as to interfere with his argument. There is a great deal of learning very clearly expressed, and which, to all who have not made Shaksperian criticism a special study, will be new and interesting.

Part II. treats of "The Tunes of English Verse." The principal distinction between music and speech, says Mr. Lanier, is, that while music employs only a certain number of the tones appreciable by the ear, speech employs all that fall within the range of the human voice. The semitone is the *minimum* of musical notation. The voice indicates and the ear takes cognizance of intervals of only the ninth part of a tone. Ordinary speech is a series of tunes, though very different from the tunes of music. He says he is engaged in making special experiments on this point, the results of which he hopes to publish hereafter. Part III., "On the Colors of English Verse," treats of rhyme, alliteration, and some other points relating to the material form of verse. It contains much sound practical advice to the makers of verse. The whole work shows extensive reading and a refined taste both in poetry and in music.

* Mr. Lanier translates very exactly as follows:

"Byrhtnoth cried to him,
brandished the buckler,
shook the slim ash (*i.e.*, ashen spear)
with words made utterance."

RECENT POETRY.*

IT is not an altogether fanciful notion, perhaps, that the conscious and systematic development of a new conception in literature or art—as well as in other domains, indeed, with which we have here nothing to do, however—is apt to prove, in the nature of things, either futile or fatal. The

* 'New and Old: A Volume of Verse. By John Addington Symonds.' Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1880.
'Poems. By Edwin Arnold, author of 'The Light of Asia.'' Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1880.
'Ultima Thule. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.' Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1880.
'The Iron Gate, and Other Poems. By Oliver Wendell Holmes.' Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1880.
'Echoes from the Orient. With Miscellaneous Poems. By Edward King.' London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.
'Three Friends' Fancies.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.
'Pipes of Corn: A Collection of Miscellaneous Verse. By George P. Guerrier.' Boston: W. B. Clarke. 1880.

question is one of intuition mainly; and the idea once apprehended intuitively, it is difficult to see how it can be added to without being altered or without detriment to its completeness. All sorts of evolution are, of course, to be noticed in literary history, but the elaboration into a distinct and formulated creed of any original conception is too conscious and systematic a procedure to result happily in most instances, it seems, and it is to this, probably, that the lifelessness of "schools" is to be ascribed, their sincere flattery of imitation being conspicuously superficial variations upon the theme set by the master, which is either lost sight of or reproduced in faint reflection. Certainly we intend no reference to the effect of teaching, which is a fructifying pollen as it were, and, operating as a spiritual stimulant, produces in the pupil work that is genuine and real. An illustration of what we have in mind is furnished in what has been so much talked of for the past few years, the "modern realism" of the followers of Balzac, who have systematically developed his invention, but in whose work it is easy to see that what is not Balzac is not only not of the same species but of a different genus. And a more pertinent example still is the "school" to which Mr. Symonds belongs. The poetry of Byron, Shelley, and Keats discovered all its cognate possibilities as soon as it was written, and we may be sure that no one else will carry it any further; another equal genius will have his own to write, as others have had since then. When, therefore, Mr. Swinburne, who calls De Musset Byron's "attendant dwarf," sets out to develop Byron's poetry of passion—of passionate protest against the social police-system of the nineteenth century—into a neo-pagan cult, he loses the essence of it, its passionate sincerity, namely, and gives us something quite different. What he gives us has its own value, and a very great value, it is not to be denied, but this is lacking in his followers—his "school" one may surely say by this time—and in them we get only his development of Byron's protestantism into a distinct and positive credo which is not only not Byron but is something in its nature affected and valueless.

So far as we can see, there are few poems of the hundred in Mr. Symonds's volume to which both of these adjectives are not to be applied. He would hardly deny, we imagine, that he is of Mr. Swinburne's "school"; it is likely, rather, that he would profess his fellowship with it modestly but with pride. His diction of itself indicates as much. Of course, accentual sapphics are more or less intimately associated with Mr. Swinburne, but such lines as these have considerably more than a metrical resemblance:

> "Ringed with uncontrollable storms that threaten,
> Ringed with envious shoals and a tide rebellious";

and we have "cool, lithe limbs" (also "firm limbs" and "mighty" and even "breathing limbs"), and "pallid anguish" and "passionate petals" (also "tearless" and "dusky" petals, and petals "soft as snow," and a wealth of simple petals), and "loosened hair" and "blown" hair, and "foam-fretted" and "wind-swept," and an echo of the "Hymn to Proserpine" in—

> "Through resounding pines and the roar of cataracts raging
> Down black-beetled crags, where winds incessantly wrangle."

It is impossible, indeed, to keep the mind from wandering, and wondering whether Mr. Swinburne himself may not come to grief all too soon, and perhaps unjustly, through his zealous followers' illustration of the ease with which he may be copied, and unconsciously parodied as well as deliberately—which latter, of course, is notorious. But from Mr. Symonds it would be exaggeration to say he stands in imminent peril. His diction is not always penetrated with passion when it purports to be, but it is never so obviously perfunctory and mechanical, and when he is most "obscure" (to use what is here a euphemism, we suspect) he evidently fancies himself uttering pregnant significance of some sort. This is not the case with Mr. Symonds, whose mind occasionally almost seems to stop while his pen keeps on in the paces it has practised so diligently. There is hardly anything strictly "mental" in

> "White as peeled willow-wands ableach in May";

and it is surprising to find how much of this kind of thing the volume contains. One marvels at the power to keep it up in poem after poem by mere force of habit after having been persuaded that it is a pretty thing to do. Every variety of infelicitous verse, from the irredeemably bad to the merely idle, it is easy to understand the genesis of; but the affectation of dilettantism pursuing patiently what it supposes to be, somehow, in an objective way burning, throbbing, intense, is puzzling. We make bold to say it is a new thing under the sun, as illustrated by the neo-pagan poets of England at the present time.

The effect of it is inexpressibly cheapening in the temptation it involves to belittle the poetry of passion, which is certainly one of the distinctions of the century. The average reader has all he can do to appreciate the poetic expression of egotism, melancholy, unrestrained ardor, reckless and law-defying sentiment, and so on, without the bias which moral reprehension of the same qualities illustrated in conduct creates. But his task is greatly complicated when he is confronted with a dilettante expression of them; the modern audience is apt to be peculiarly unable to distinguish between real coin of this kind and its counterfeit, and it naturally inclines to suspicion. The matter is not helped by the neo-paganist whose morality is either irreproachable or entirely defensible, as we make haste to say that of Mr. Symonds's verse may be for aught we can affirm to the contrary; but we feel sure that he differs from others of the "school" by dilution chiefly, and an emasculated neo-paganism has few advantages over a fierce one. Nor should it be understood that he is not something more, or rather something other, than a mechanician skilled in the use of Mr. Swinburne's rhythms and phrases, and other machinery. He is an accomplished Greek scholar, as every one has been made aware recently by his translations, and he is nearly as skilful with the classic poetical machinery; he is a man of marked cultivation in other directions, and reminds one of other poets as well as Mr. Swinburne now and then; and he has a nice ear, and a vocabulary whose apparent meagreness here and there is plainly wilful and needless. But for one illustration only of what we are considering, how he cheapens the machinery he knows so well by handling it without quick feeling or real significance, he says (p. 113):

> "But behind
> She left a memory frail as woven wind";

and the reader who sees the figure here for the first time may be struck by it, but in the poem in which it occurs it has no relief and would leave the impression left by Mr. Symonds's own imagery, we fancy; and after it Joubert's "Notre vie est du vent tissu" is half spoiled for us.

Of course Mr. Symonds would have claimed less of our space if his verses were not a type of what the systematic development of the poetry of passion has resulted in. The transition to Mr. Edwin Arnold is an agreeable one, and we are at once outside the atmosphere of affectation. These "poems" comprise a translation of the Indian 'Song of Songs,' and, to quote from the author's preface, "such other poetical works of mine as they [his publishers] think likely to be of interest in America." There are various narratives in verse—"The Rajpoot Wife," which is further witness to Mr. Arnold's interest in Oriental subjects; "King Saladin," and others; a rendering of "Hero and Leander," from the Greek of Musæus; "The Feast of Belshazzar," the Newdigate prize poem of 1852; some verses on a text from Aldrich's 'Flower and Thorn,' entitled "Three Roses: on Adelaide Procter, on Lord Raglan, and to Florence Nightingale"; and, besides several short miscellaneous poems, a number of translations from the Greek poets. The last strike us as very well done. Without comparing them with the original it is possible to perceive that they have not unsuccessfully caught the classic spirit, the hexameter being employed to advantage to this end, and serving the purpose excellently—as perhaps it generally does when it does not fail as English—especially in the passage from the 'Odyssey.' The 'Song of Songs' is a more difficult venture. Of its merits as a translation we are unable to speak, but we may mention that it makes some attempt to follow the original metres, and in consequence displays a variety of forms which are well enough handled to testify to the translator's ingenuity and facility. The language, especially the "descriptions," will be generally found "rich," we make no doubt, but we confess to a sense of thinness in it judged as poetry. Mr. Arnold, we have said before in these columns, does not strike us as a "born poet," but he here furnishes additional evidence that he has quick sympathies and a sincere feeling for what is beautiful, and that he is an agreeable versifier. A "born poet" would not be driven by metrical exigencies to say "Sit thee adown," nor to refer to Vishnoo's neck as "thy nape"; and, in a positive way, his verse would identify form and thought more closely. But we are almost prepared to retract this after reading the little succession of couplets called 'She and He,' for all of which except the ninth and twenty-fifth it is impossible to have anything but praise to express. It is thoroughly simple, and indeed almost homely in its pathos, but no one will mistake its simplicity for "the wholly common," from which it differs by a poetical treatment whose quality of distinction is marked; its appeal to the susceptibility, which is irresistible, is not more noteworthy than its intellectual dignity.

Our debt to Mr. Longfellow and Dr. Holmes is already large enough to prevent regret that their latest volumes do not greatly increase it. Their places in poetry have been so distinctly understood and so little disputed for so many years, too, that not only is criticism superfluous, but nothing is needed by way of description of the poems before us beyond saying that they are characteristic. They are also familiar to magazine readers, having all, if we are not mistaken, been published before. It is perhaps worth noting that the natural force of neither poet gives token of abatement, but it is to be said that their earliest work was conspicuously free from that intensity of youthful fervor which burns itself out quickly, and possessed, on the other hand, the staying qualities of grace and ease in the one instance, and the wit of *bonhomie* in the other—qualities that mellow rather than waste with time. In a word, both books may be best called mellow.

Mr. Edward King, on the contrary, is a new hand in this field, and as a "young" poet he will not object to our predicting a career for him. His 'Echoes from the Orient' owe a good deal, doubtless, to the romantic nature of the legends they embalm, but it is to be noticed that they do much more than show a sympathetic appreciation of these—they decorate and dignify in careful and natural verse the stories and sentiments which they treat.

If our memory is to be trusted, though they have not the spirited movement and metrical vivacity of Owen Meredith's 'Songs of Servia,' inspired by the legendary lore of the same region, they have the charm of more humanity, and a pleasant flow of not unmusical lines that does its best to atone for the absence of vivid imagery and verbal subtleties. The "Sorrow of Manol" is the longest and most pretentious, and it is entirely possible to read it with interest, and we are not sure that it cannot be reread with pleasure even after the story has been learned. "An Idyl among the Rocks" is less moving, perhaps, but of greater metrical variety and burns with local patriotism. Mr. King's sympathies with oppressed nationalities are very keen, and one of the best poems in his volume is "A Woman's Execution; Paris, 1871." We must make room for the last two stanzas:

"Powder and bread
Gave out together:
Droll! to be dead
In this bright weather!

"'Jean, boy, we might
Have married in June!
This the wall? Right!
Vive la Commune!'

We like this better than the sonnets on Switzerland or the "War Contrasts," sonnets which are very philo-Russian, or indeed than any of Mr. King's sonnets. "In Far Away France" has a good rhythmic movement, and the last poem of the book is pretty.

It is easy to account for the association of 'Three Friends' Fancies' here made. The authors are (or rather were, for the poems of one of them are posthumously published) evidently congenial, and it would be difficult microscopy to distinguish between them. All three, we judge from several allusions, are Southern, and the expressions of feeling anent the war and the havoc it wrought are not unpathetic. They and the rest of the poems are the more effective for being contained, and there is little or no grandiloquence to be found in the volume. A good many are of that character which the sympathetic reader would call sad, and an impersonal judgment lugubrious. Metrically they testify to a good ear if not to a wide range, and to say that they are not upon the whole important is by no means to say that they are not very good of their kind. As to that, it may perhaps be intelligibly described as the order of literary effort which it is impossible to eulogize with the warmth that the feeling engendered towards the authors of it would make very agreeable.

'Pipes of Corn' is an unpretending little volume of essays in verse, searching for a pleasant epithet for which we should hit upon "wholesome in tone." "Trowbridge and His Anchor" would make anybody laugh.

Secrets of the Great Whiskey Ring, etc. By General John McDonald, formerly Supervisor of Internal Revenue for the District comprising Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Kansas, Indian Territory, and New Mexico. (Chicago: Belford, Clarke & Co. 1880.)—It is difficult to classify this book. It was meant for a campaign document, in the confident expectation that the third term would triumph at Chicago, and that abuse of General Grant would then be in order. To save it from going to waste, it was turned into a high moral arraignment of General Garfield, which, as the author is an ex-convict, placed it at once in the *bouffe* category. Historically it breaks down in the attempt to implicate General Grant in the whiskey conspiracy of 1871–75. One might hastily conclude that it is worth only the paper on which it is printed; a careful perusal of it has convinced us, on the contrary, of its very considerable value for the student of American politics and for the reformer. It is almost a complete manual of the art of "poisoning the mind" of a partisan chief magistrate, illustrates the virtue of standing by one's friends "under fire," and draws in indisputable traits the picture of civil-service disorder and corruption of which Mr. Hayes's Administration has not effaced the memory, and against the recurrence of which it unhappily furnishes not the slightest guarantee beyond that of a decent precedent. Above all, it indicates the importance of tone as a qualification for the Presidency, and on this head a few words may be timely.

The intimacy between Grant and McDonald began in their army relations during the siege of Vicksburg. It does not appear how far the general was acquainted with the previous career of his subordinate, who is said to have started in life as a friendless boy on the levee at St. Louis, and subsequently to have become captain and part owner of a Mississippi steamboat; but his common origin must have been unmistakable, for in his deposition of Feb. 12, 1876, the President, when asked whether, in appointing McDonald to be Supervisor of Internal Revenue under protest, he knew that the latter "was an ignorant man, and barely able to write his name?" answered: "I was aware * that he was not an educated man, but he was a man that had seen a great deal of the world and of people; I would not call him ignorant exactly; he was illiterate." But McDonald had no need to open his mouth or to wrestle with his autograph in order to betray his essential vulgarity. Since this book was published his former chief, ex-Commissioner of Internal Revenue Douglass, who is held up to reproach in it, is said to have retorted that "the original cause of his dislike of McDonald was that he [McD.] looked and dressed like a gambler." We cannot vouch for the genuineness of this statement, but no description could better suit the portrait of the author which serves as a frontispiece. "Gambler" is the type to which he belongs, whether we think of him as passing the day in Washington playing billiards with "Bab," or as the speculator who operated in cotton below Memphis during the war and afterwards lost a fortune in bought-up war-claims through a railroad accident, or as the adventurer who laid his pipes for the Missouri supervisorship, and on the one hand directed the plunder of the revenues he was charged to collect, on the other kept the Republican machine well greased with the cheerful tributes of "crooked" distillers. Yet this fellow had ready access to the White House; was publicly "picked up on the sidewalk" by the President, and invited to drive with him (as the latter deposes, and indeed he could hardly avoid this attention if the costly equipage was McDonald's gift to the man who made him supervisor); and was allowed, while under indictment for conspiracy, to have a public interview with the President in the Lindell House (and no wonder if it be true that the latter had been formerly entertained there at McDonald's expense). McDonald's "wicked partner," Col. Joyce, who filled up the intervals of watching the approach of the Government inspectors with writing third-term and other acceptable editorials for the Republican press in Missouri, was also a welcome visitor at the White House, and rode about with the President's party at Lawrence, Kansas. His portrait, though McDonald has a weakness for photograph albums, is not given; but Babcock's is, and so is that of "Sylph," the woman of the town whom Joyce is said to have introduced to the smitten Babcock in St. Louis, and whose sobriquet furnished the latter with an alias in his "crooked" telegrams. For that matter, everybody in this precious circle indulged in aliases, not excepting Krum, Babcock's counsel on his trial, though Babcock, having a pleasant fancy, was more prolific of them than the rest. In short, this narrative, however calculated and insincere in its main object, is unconsciously pervaded by the atmosphere of the bar-room and the brothel, and it seems incredible that President Grant should have come in contact with it without detecting and without repelling it. We know, however, that the Visiting Statesmen breathed freely in the company of Madison Wells and his associates, and that Attorney-General Chamberlain enjoyed the fellowship of Scott and Parker without a suspicion as to their true character. In all these cases we may infer not so much simplicity of mind as self-sacrificing concession to the exigencies of party—

"Ahi fiera compagnia! ma nella chiesa
Co' santi, ed in taverna co' ghiottoni."

At the outset McDonald's appointment was urged on the ground that "it will add strength to the party here [in Missouri]," and his reappointment on the ground that "his large acquaintance in this State renders him especially valuable to the Republican party as a powerful adherent for the coming campaign [of 1872]." It sufficed, in order to get Secretary Bristow's order transferring supervisors from one district to another suspended by the President, for McDonald to telegraph: "Don't like the order; it will damage the Government and injure the Administration."

Quisisana. Novelle von Friedrich Spielhagen. (Leipzig: L. Staackman. 1880.)—In 'Quisisana' (the name of an inn at Capri, meaning "here one is healed"), as in all his earlier novels, Spielhagen reflects the century, and more especially the last decade of it, as observed from a German point of view, in a miniature mirror, and touches incidentally upon the problems of the age in a manner which reveals a clear and comprehensive insight. The hero, Bertram, is a man of wealth, a scholar of high attainments, and a liberal politician. He is, however, approaching middle age, has been jilted in his youth by a heartless coquette for nobler game, and has accepted celibacy with melancholy resignation. His health is also in a precarious condition, and his physician recommends him leisure and the rural quiet which the country-seat of a wealthy friend is supposed to afford. Bertram, having frequently been urged to accept Otto's hospitality, accordingly betakes himself to the latter's castle near the village of Rinstedt, and has there the misfortune to fall in love with his host's beautiful daughter Erna, who, to judge by superficial symptoms, returns his affection. To complicate the situation still further, his former fiancée, Fräulein von Aschhof, by the special contrivance of the hostess, appears upon the stage and manifests her readiness to renew their interrupted relations. A second aspirant for Fräulein Erna's hand, the Baron von Lotter-Vippach, is, for the moment, conspicuously favored by the mother, Frau Hildegard, who, as a piece of characterization, is the most vivid and admirably conceived personality in the book. The baron, however, as might have been anticipated by any one who knows Spielhagen's inveterate hatred of the nobility, turns out to be a gambler, whose honor has been hopelessly compromised by his transactions in past years during a journey in Italy. Nemesis, in this case, assumes the shape of a Russian princess whose mother the baron had cheated with an insolent frankness which almost challenged admiration.

* On p. 259 this reads: "I was not aware," which is plainly a typographic error.

While proofs of his identity with the unscrupulous gambler are accumulating, the baron helps to unmask himself by his fresh performances at the gaming-table during a festival given in honor of the officers of an army corps which is encamped in the neighborhood, and his qualifications as a son-in-law begin to be questioned even by the shallow and snobbish Frau Hildegard. Otto, in the meanwhile, in consequence of his wife's extravagance and tuft-hunting, has become financially embarrassed, and is saved from ruin only by Bertram's timely intervention. The rescuer is, however, too generous to avail himself of his friend's impulsive offer of Erna's hand. Learning in an ingenious and roundabout way that her heart has once been bestowed upon a young lieutenant, Kurt Ringberg, with whom she has recently quarrelled, he sets himself to the task of reconciling the estranged lovers. In this labor, it is needless to say, he encounters no insurmountable difficulties, and when all the other parties to the affair, such as fathers, mothers, and friends, have been persuaded of its desirableness, Kurt and Erna depart to spend their honeymoon at Capri, in the inn Quisisana, which, since the days of his Italian sojourn, had always been a hallowed spot in Bertram's memory. He too had hoped to go there to be healed of his incurable complaint. The story ends with his death, and the title gains a new significance as the physician lays his hand upon the silent heart, whispering "*Qui si sana.*"

As we have hinted, the chief excellence of the novel is not to be found in the complication of incidents which we have above recorded, but rather in its subtle atmosphere of German life, in its extremely modern and wide-awake spirit, and in the completeness of its portrayal of the society with which it professes to deal.

The True Story of the Exodus of Israel; together with a Brief View of the History of Monumental Egypt, compiled from the work of Dr. Henry Brugsch-Bey. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Francis H. Underwood. (Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1880.)—This is a readable and, in the absence of more independent popular works on the subject, a useful compilation; but it is rather strangely executed. The 'True Story' is, in fact, only the concluding portion of the book, and a translation of Brugsch's 'L'Exode et les Monuments Égyptiens (1875)'; and the 'Brief View' forms "the body of this work," as we are finally told in the "Notes." This, we are there further told, "was written in German"—that is, it was compiled from Brugsch's 'Geschichte Aegypten's unter den Pharaonen' (1877)—"and the concluding Memoir in French," as we have stated. "The translation," the note continues, "was begun by the late Henry Danby Seymour, F.R.G.S., and was completed by Philip Smith, B.A."; which evidently refers to both "the body" and "the Memoir," though the former is not a translation but a compilation. We have notes by Brugsch, by Philip Smith, and by the American editor; but what chiefly renders the whole very strange is the circumstance that the reader of the book—with the exception of the twelfth and last chapter, which contains the translated "Memoir" on the exodus—never knows whether it is Brugsch or one of his compilers who speaks; for Brugsch is by turns, and without a mark of quotation or the least indication of a transition, introduced in the first and in the third person—thus, "It is a well-known fact, of which that immortal master of science, Alexander von Humboldt, personally assured me" (p. 157), or thus, "This portion of Egyptian history was first made known to the world through the discoveries of Dr. Brugsch." We can, however, tell our readers that the famous German Egyptologist is, in the main—that is to say, as far as the sentences are correctly rendered and he is not personally mentioned—responsible for the contents of all the twelve chapters of the book, including statements savoring of the most extravagant admiration of ancient Egypt on one side, and of apparently unbounded reverence for the Old Testament on the other—though the Old Testament itself abominates Egypt ten times more than it admires it.

This is not the place to pass judgment on Brugsch's original theory of the history of the exodus, or on his other attempts at harmonizing the Scripture narratives with the evidences of the monuments—or rather, at sustaining the former against the contradictory silence of the latter—but we may call attention to the spirit, so unusual among German scientific explorers, in which his work of harmonization runs its course. On page 231 we read: "A happy chance—rather let us say, Divine Providence—has preserved, in one of the papyri of the British Museum, the most precious memorial of the epoch contemporary with the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt"; and on page 238, after an explanation which substitutes for the Biblical story of the passage of the *Yam Sūph*—which to Brugsch is not the Red Sea, just in that narrative—a march between the Mediterranean Sea and the Sirbonis Lake, during which "a great wave," from the Mediterranean, "took by surprise the Egyptian cavalry and the captains of the war-chariots, who pursued the Hebrews," we find this: "True, the miracle then ceases to be a miracle; but, let us avow it with full sincerity, the Providence of God still maintains its place and authority." To this Philip Smith demurs in a note, stating, "Dr. Brugsch has here made a perfectly gratuitous concession, and fallen into the common error of confounding a miracle with a special providence." To this note Mr. Underwood attaches another, saying, "The important fact is that the destruction of the Egyptian host is shown to have been brought about by the operation of natural forces. This being established, it does not matter whether theologians call it a miracle, or an instance of divine interposition." We too think that the theological view is secondary in importance to the critical "establishment" of the fact. Mr. Underwood believes Brugsch has established it, and he proclaims his results as "The True Story of the Exodus"; but Mr. Underwood's knowledge of ancient Egyptian things may not be sounder than his knowledge of the history of the living Egyptologist, of whom he says, "The author, under the patronage of the Egyptian government, spent thirty years in exploration," etc. The facts in this matter are that Brugsch visited Egypt for the first time in 1853, that he was afterwards successively director of the Berlin Egyptological Museum, historiographer of the Prussian embassy to Persia, Prussian ambassador there, consul at Cairo, and professor at Göttingen, and that his explorations "under the patronage of the Egyptian government" began in 1870. Somebody else may be responsible for such slips as speaking of the Nile flowing "*up* to the shore of the Mediterranean Sea" (p. 30), or of the "sixty sons and fifty-nine daughters" of Rameses II. (p. 170), and again of his "59 sons and 60 daughters" (p. 181). We could point out more inadvertences, but we refrain, remembering—and repeating—our general recommendation of the book.

History of the Waldenses. By the Rev. J. A. Wylie, LL.D., author of 'The Papacy,' 'Daybreak in Spain,' etc. Illustrated. (London and New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co. 1880.)—Mr. Wylie's 'History of the Waldenses' is not an independent work, but a reprint of the sixteenth book of the author's 'History of Protestantism.' Certainly the interest and importance of the subject warrant the separate publication of this portion; and the story is so full of graphic and pathetic incidents that even a less skilful writer could not fail to make an interesting book out of it. Mr. Wylie certainly has the gift of easy and interesting narration, and displays a hearty sympathy with the heroic people whom he describes. Beyond this we can hardly commend him as an historian. His book is full of repetitions, omissions, and inaccuracies, and wholly fails to present a clear and connected history of the people. To take one illustration of the slipshod manner in which the book is made up: the Waldensian valleys are described on pages 5 to 7, and it is stated that these valleys are seven in number, although there were formerly others. Then the three valleys of Lucerna, Angrogna, and Rora are described, but the reader is left to guess at the other four. Other authorities give these three as the present seat of the Waldenses, and we cannot make out from this book that there are any others. On page 26 the valley of Pragelas is mentioned as the seat of a persecution in 1400, and we are nowhere told when this valley was lost to the community; but in 1689 (p. 195) it is spoken of as a French valley, and hostile to the Waldenses. We note a few other inaccuracies. It is said of the invading French regiments in 1655 (p. 139) that their "thirst for blood the Huguenot wars had not been able to slake"; but the Huguenot wars were in the previous century—even those of Richelieu, which were not *religious* wars, were nearly a generation earlier. By a like anachronism (p. 30) the Albigensian heresy is described in 1488 as "recovering somewhat its terrible excision by Innocent III."—which occurred two hundred and fifty years earlier. Again, the peace granted in 1489 (p. 50) was not the work of Charles II., but of Charles I. Charles II. came to the throne the next year, aged nine months. The statement in a note that "Leger and Gille say that it was Philip VII." must rest upon a mistranslation, for there never was a Philip VII. of Savoy; the prince who succeeded Charles II. in 1496 was Philip of Bugey, *seventh duke.* When the duchess Christina, wife of Victor Amadeus I., is said (p. 133) to have been granddaughter of Catherine de Médicis, the author must have confounded Henry IV. (father of Christina) with Henry III.; or did he mean that Mary de Médicis was daughter of Catherine?

There is a good map (not, however, containing all the names in the body of the work) and a number of illustrations, most of them good, but some quite inappropriate, and several of them not placed where they would best illustrate the text. With all its defects, the book is a welcome and timely one. In these easy-going days it is as well that we should be reminded once in a while of the horrible crimes which have been committed in the name of religion.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Adams (W. H. D.), Shakspeare's Dramatic Works	(T. Nelson & Sons)	$3 50
American or Standard Whist	(J. R. Osgood & Co.)	1 00
Beecher (Rev. C.), The Eden Tableau	(Lee & Shepard)	1 50
Berthoud (H.), Stories of Bird Life	(T. Nelson & Sons)	1 50
Cooke (Prof. J. P.), Religion and Chemistry, new ed	(Chas. Scribner's Sons)	1 50
Curteis (A. M.), Rise of the Macedonian Empire	" " "	1 00
Green (Rev. S. G.), Pictures from the German Fatherland	(T. Nelson & Sons)	3 50
Jackson (Lady), Old Paris	(Henry Holt & Co.)	2 25
Kingston (W. H. G.), In the Wilds of Florida	(T. Nelson & Sons)	2 00
Morris (C.), Manual of Classical Literature	(S. C. Griggs & Co.)	1 75
Parkman (F.), Works, popular ed., 8 vols	(Little, Brown & Co.)	12 00
Talbot (Eleanor W.), Wonder-Eyes and What-For	(Cassell, Petter & Galpin)	2 00
Towle (G. M.), Marco Polo	(Lee & Shepard)	1 25
Young (A. W.), The Government Class-Book, new ed	(Clark & Maynard)	
Zola (E.), Magdalen Ferat	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.)	1 25

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The Week.

TUESDAY'S election, so far as the result is known at the present writing, gives General Garfield 219 electoral votes and General Hancock the remaining 150, a majority sufficiently decisive, of course, to remove any anxiety about the official count. This estimate gives Hancock, besides the 138 votes of the Southern States, the 9 of New Jersey and the 3 of Nevada. With these exceptions the line is exactly drawn between North and South, and Nevada is not yet conceded by the Republicans. In New Jersey, too, the Democratic majority is but a fraction of that in 1876, and the Republicans claim the Governor and State ticket, and undoubtedly have a substantial legislative majority on joint ballot. New York is the surprise of the day, the Republican majority being about 25,000, apparently, and due not to the State so much as to Democratic losses in this and in Kings County, Hancock's majority in them being some 20,000 below Tilden's. The majority in Ohio is largely increased over that of October. Indiana remains about the same, and Maine has been "redeemed." New Hampshire was comparatively close, and for a time Oregon was doubtful. The Democratic majority in Delaware was but 1,000 odd. In Virginia the Readjusters are badly beaten, and have either lost their negro allies or "traded" Hancock for Congressmen. In Tennessee, where the situation was somewhat similar, a Republican governor is probably elected; and the Hancock electoral ticket seems to have had a close shave in North Carolina. The estimates for the next Congress are various. The Republicans certainly have the House, however, and gain Senators from Indiana, New Jersey, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania; if they retain the disputed seat from Nevada they will, with General Arthur's vote, have a majority, though at present Fair seems to have the best chance. The defeat of Mr. Chittenden, in Brooklyn, is noteworthy and a misfortune. Mr. Hewitt has a very large, and Mr. Morton a sufficient, majority in the Tenth and Eleventh New York districts respectively. Grace is elected mayor of New York, but by a significantly small margin, and Truax is defeated for Justice of the Superior Court.

The result is, apart from its effect on the policy of the Government, gratifying in several ways. It promises to make the White House, during the next four years, as during the past four, the resort of good company—that is, of reputable and intelligent men—and to keep it clear of the class to which the Shepherds, Macdonalds, Joyces, Babcocks, and the like belonged. It proves, too, that there is no need of "a strong man" at the head of the Government, and that a well-equipped lawyer can carry as many States as are necessary to give him the Presidency without dispute, and that the best way of preventing the Democrats from making a fraudulent count is to put up a man who will get large majorities, and not a man who will make a close run and then offer to fight anybody who doubts his election. We see our esteemed and sorrowful and greatly-mistaken contemporary, the *World*, thinks Garfield in 1880 means Grant in 1884. General Garfield's *election* certainly means nothing of the kind. Whether his Administration will prepare the way for Grant in 1884 depends very much on the part the select body known as "the Grant crowd" plays in it. If it should be a pure and efficient Administration, and receive as such the steady support of "the crowd" in question, and they should successfully conceal their natural propensities for four years, it would undoubtedly strengthen them greatly, for the country is very indulgent and oblivious towards them. Should they dominate the Administration, however, with such ease as to make self-restraint and disguise seem unnecessary, the country will be just as sick of them in 1884 as it was in 1876 and 1880, and will show it in the same way. If General Garfield will consider carefully the causes of the Republican defeats between 1870 and 1876, and Tilden's Northern successes in the latter year, and the causes of Republican recovery since then, we are sure he will leave us no cause for anxiety about the nomination of 1884.

Mr. Grace's election, together with that of the Democratic aldermen, probably makes a Catholic majority in the Board of Apportionment, which distributes the School Fund. That this will lead to an attempt to divert a portion of it to sectarian schools is, of course, not certain, but it seems very probable. Mr. Grace, in his letter of acceptance, praised the common-school system; but what he said is quite consistent with his thinking the Catholics ought to have a share of the money for common schools managed in their own way. That Kelly thinks so there can be no doubt; for Kelly is a pious Catholic, and on the question whether Catholics should use public money, if they can get it, for Catholic schools the Church has never in any country exhibited the slightest wavering. She has compromised on most other questions of a politico-religious kind, but never on this. In fact, we are willing to stake our very slender reputation as theologians on the assertion that if Mr. Grace as Mayor has discretion in the disposition of the school fund, and fails to give the Catholics a share, he will commit a sin. The canvass was conducted by Kelly in a shocking way for a pious man. He filled his paper, the *Express*, with filthy stories about the editor of the *Herald*, to punish him for opposing his candidate, and disgusted a long-suffering community to such a degree that Grace's natural majority of about 40,000 was cut down to 4,000 or less. This indicates that he lost about 35,000 Democratic votes, probably owing to the extraordinary ruffianism of his political and religious patron.

President Hayes's absence on a pleasure-tour during the heat and fury of the canvass has excited some comment, and on the part of certain politicians some ire; but it is undoubtedly one of the many pieces of good example he has set. It presents a most agreeable contrast to the position of the Administration in 1876, when the Secretary of the Interior was chairman of a party committee, and was busy "fighting the devil with fire," and the President was backing up the Southern carpet-baggers with "troops" and snapping his fingers at the State courts, and generally seeing to it that the wicked Democrats got the worst of it. The fact is, that now that our elections are getting to be very close, and that disputed counts are becoming common, it is very desirable that both the chief executive officer of the Government and his legal adviser, the Attorney-General, should keep out of the fray, so that, if there should be a quarrel over the returns, they can exert whatever authority in the matter constitutionally belongs to them rather as bystanders than as participants.

The solid business men have held several meetings in Wall Street during the week, but the Republican rally Thursday was undoubtedly the most imposing as well as of the most unquestioned commercial character. The orator of the day was Col. Ingersoll, who made a most effective speech after his kind. The fitness of his selection to address the sober-minded and serious contingent has been criticised in Democratic quarters with customary flippancy, we observe; but it is plain, of course, that it is not such persons who need conversion to sound principles, and that the Colonel is admirably adapted to cheer and animate those who are already with him. A more noteworthy consideration is, perhaps, the toleration shown by pillars of society for his abandoned theological views, or possibly we should say the overlooking of these on account of his eminent services. We should not have to go back very many years to find a state of feeling far more alive to the interests of theology than to the success of political parties, and insisting on the close connection between the two. As it is, only the *World* is sensitive enough on this score to display the intolerance indicated in its remark that "the only financier who addressed the otherwise highly respectable, if not very intelligent, Garfield business meeting in Wall Street yesterday was Col. Bob Ingersoll." This is the cynicism of Bourbon orthodoxy. Mr. Beecher, we notice, does not feel in this way, and

endorses Ingersoll, for the campaign only perhaps, but cordially. In a letter to the Hon. "Al." Daggett, accepting an invitation to preside at an Ingersoll meeting, he draws the clear distinction between occasions like the present and ordinary occasions. This is no time, he says, to ask idle questions about a man's creed. "If it would promote the cause, I would preside at twenty meetings with twenty Robert Ingersolls to speak," he assures the ex-sheriff, and concludes: "Do what you think best about it, and I will be obedient." Accordingly, the two spoke together in Brooklyn Friday night, but whether they will be in such close sympathy again until the next Presidential canvass it is a delicate matter to predict.

The judicial enquiry into the genuineness of the so-called "Chinese letter" of General Garfield to "H. L. Morey" has occupied the week past without being concluded, so far as the guilt of the person accused of concocting it is concerned; but the production of the letter and its envelope in court betrayed at once the tampering to which the latter had been subjected, and settled the character of this disgraceful political manœuvre. The alleged forger is an English Bohemian who writes for the "story-papers," and who confessedly wrote the editorial articles defending the genuineness of the letter in the underground journal which first published it. No account has been offered of the source from which the precious document was obtained, nor any explanation of "Morey's" inaccessibility; while the most respectable testimony has been given to show that he is a myth, along with the "Employers' Union" of Lynn. The extensive use made of the forgery has, perhaps, justified the Republican managers in attaching so much importance to its disproof in addition to General Garfield's repudiation of it; but it was highly unfortunate that the last hours of a canvass not remarkable for the clash of principles should be taken up with so contemptible an incident. Moreover, the cunning of the parties implicated enabled them to entrap Mr. Jewell, who very unwisely sought to get a retraction from them, into actually bespeaking of Mr. Garfield a political reward for the lawyer who served as the medium of communication, and was made to appear to have been successful in his mission.

Mr. John M. Forbes, whose address to young voters we noticed last week, says in it that "there is a division among the Republican party as to the use by the Administration of the money and services of office-holders," while there is no such division among the Democrats. It would, perhaps, be more correct to say that the proportion of Republicans opposed to such use is greater than the proportion of Democrats, because there are undoubtedly a large number of the best Democrats opposed to it. But when Mr. Forbes goes on to say that only "a certain small use of both" has been made by the Republicans in this campaign, we are sure he greatly underestimates. We believe as much use has been made of both as the Democrats could or would make were they in power. As much money certainly has been asked of the office-holders, whose salaries Mr. Forbes estimates at $24,000,000 in the aggregate. If they paid what they have been asked for, it has fully equalled in amount their direct taxation, both State and Federal. We have seen a printed circular demanding $17 from a poor letter-carrier, whose salary was only $800, and another since the Indiana election demanding one per cent. of salary from everybody. We do not believe the managers have got nearly as much money as they demanded, however, because one result of Mr. Hayes's attempt at reform has been to infuse a little courage into the poor clerks. It is a shameful business throughout. The recognition it involves that the revenue belongs to one party, and that the income of the Government employees, which is unquestionably the property of poor and hardworked men, is taxable by party committees at discretion, is a national disgrace—a disgrace to our politics, our morals, and our religion, and a greater disgrace to the Republicans, for obvious reasons, than it would be to the Democrats.

Mr. Forbes complains that we did him injustice in our remarks on his letter last week in ascribing to him the opinion that the Treasury would be used, in case the South got into power, "in a thousand ways" for the exclusive benefit of the Southern States. Mr. Forbes's exact words were (we did not profess to quote him textually): "There are a thousand ways in which the Treasury can be used for their [the Southern States'] benefit, after throwing out of account the danger of vexatious and unjust taxes." The construction we put on this was that Mr. Forbes did not mean partial taxation; he must have meant direct votes of money to be spent in some way at the South, or, in other words, roughly speaking, for the exclusive benefit of the South, although, of course, strictly speaking, what benefits one part of the country in some degree benefits all parts of the country. But if money spent in the South benefited other parts of the country much or directly, the advent of the South to power would not on this score be at all dangerous. If, on the other hand, it only benefited the North slightly or indirectly, as it would benefit Canada or England, it seems hardly too strong to describe the benefit to the South as exclusive benefit. But Mr. Forbes explains that he meant simply to express his belief that "the Southern oligarchy would get more than their share of the public-improvement fund, and, what is worse, would throw their weight in favor of a system of public improvements by the nation [which he considers a dangerous and injudicious system], and thus involve us in large national expenditure *everywhere*, of which the South, needing outside help, would get more than its share, while paying less than its share of the taxes." To this we reply, first, that the West and every part of the country in which capital is scarce do this very thing. Every Congressman tries to get money out of the Treasury every year for his "deestrict," without the least reference to its share of the taxes. Secondly, that we do not see how Mr. Forbes reconciles the doctrine that the National Government should in making improvements take into account the amount of revenue collected at the *locus in quo* with the doctrine that this is a *National Government*. There is in this, it seems to us, a strong flavor of State sovereignty. A nation measures the public bounty by the needs of localities, and not by the amount it gets out of them. If this is a nation, the poverty of the South constitutes the strongest possible claim for assistance. If a confederacy, grants ought only to be made in proportion to receipts.

Mr. Edward Atkinson, of Boston, made a speech at Atlanta, Ga., a fortnight ago, in the Senate chamber, the most prominent State officials being present. After giving the audience a most dismal and plain-spoken sketch of their own condition under slavery, he said, among other things, that his own observations told him that "the progress of the colored people of the Atlantic States is one of the marvels of economic history." This, however, cannot be true, if we are to believe Mr. Sherman's and Mr. Dawes's account of the negro in those States, neither of whom, it must be admitted, has made any observations on the matter at all. Mr. Atkinson also put in a good or a bad word for the carpet-baggers by alleging that the majority of the white men in the carpet-bag legislatures which piled up the large State debts after the war, were natives. This, however, is not saying much for them, for, if we remember rightly, there were at one time only six whites in the South Carolina Legislature. The worst carpet-baggers were not in the legislatures, but devoted themselves to "manipulating," "mind-poisoning," and bond-peddling outside. Mr. Atkinson, whose address was mainly devoted to the methods of cotton culture and manufacture, also enforced in some very vigorous language the necessity to material prosperity of letting every man who came amongst them say his say without let or hindrance, and invited them, if they wanted to "jaw back," to come up to New England and "search out its weak places." The hardened and diabolical crowd, instead of precipitating themselves on the speaker with pistols and bludgeons, according to their nature as described by "staff correspondents," only laughed and cheered. He told a good story of an old colored man at Columbia, S. C., who accounted for the overthrow of the Chamberlain Government by saying that the reason was "dat you can't put ig'nance ober intelligence and make it stay."

The *Times* has not learned caution since its hasty adoption, through its Washington correspondent, of Marshal Fitzsimmons's account of the

cause of his "persecution" in Georgia. On Saturday it devoted the better part of a column to a despatch from the same quarter on behalf of "a persecuted freedman," by name Samuel Perry, who a year ago was a prominent leader in the negro exodus from North Carolina to Indiana. Extradition papers were served on Perry last week in the District to answer a charge of forging a school certificate in his native State, and Judge Cartter declined to go behind them, after ascertaining their regularity. Perry was accordingly remanded, but Judge Wylie here interposed by a writ of habeas corpus, and the case comes up for decision to-morrow. In the meantime the attempt to excite Northern sympathy is made by alleging that the real object of the "kidnapping" is to punish Perry for his part in the exodus, and the *Times* lends its columns for that purpose, as well, perhaps, as for campaign effect. Now, it clearly appeared from the testimony last winter before the Voorhees Committee that Perry, with one or two associates, "'worked up' the emigration" (we quote the *Times's* report of January 25) on business principles, receiving a drawback of one dollar per adult passenger over the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and fifty cents for each child or half-fare, and that his choice of Indiana over Kansas, the original destination, was determined by the profits of this arrangement. He admitted on the stand that the circulars which he distributed were extravagant, and he gave the impression of being entirely open to mercenary motives. It was shown that he had suddenly left North Carolina in October on account of this charge of forgery, and he has stayed away ever since. In short, there is no reason for suspecting that he is the object of persecution, or for proclaiming in advance of his trial that he is innocent of the alleged offence.

The three weeks' session of the Episcopal General Convention in this city was remarkable for the complete disappearance of the vexed questions of ritual, liturgy, and doctrine that have agitated the discussions of its recent predecessors. The High-Church faction made no trouble, being probably perfectly content to be let alone, and the tenacity with which it clings to its beliefs and practices has become so notorious that the other parties have undoubtedly come to the conclusion that there is nothing to be gained by stirring it up. The Low-Churchmen as such had very little to say, and since the secession of the "Cheneyites" it is perhaps noticeable that they have not. The withdrawal of the Reformers, indeed, may be said to have had an ameliorating effect in several ways upon the general body. Their success, except in attaining the rewards of conscience, has not been brilliant enough to attract large accessions from the Low-Church party, and yet it has probably made ecclesiastical trials such as that of the Rev. Dr. Tyng, jr., more unlikely than ever. It is clear that the councils of the Church are dominated now mainly by those who call themselves "conservative churchmen," and by those who sympathize nearly with the English Broad-Church spirit, the number of whom is evidently increasing every year. As to liturgy, the changes proposed in the Convention were very mild compared with the dogmatic changes formerly discussed; they concerned modifying the Lectionary, adding a phrase to the Litany, and a petition for extempore prayers from the pulpit on certain occasions and under specified conditions. The first only was carried. On the other hand, distinctly moral and religious matters were debated with fervor, and various measures taken to forward the strictly evangelical work of the Church. If this has fallen behind that of other denominations heretofore it has perhaps been due to the subordination of the characteristics of the Convention just closed to what the laic mind is apt to regard as technical questions.

Colonel Higginson has answered, in the *Woman's Journal*, our request that he would discuss Gail Hamilton's defence of the "Ladies' Deposit" swindle in Boston in its bearing on the expectation that the entrance of women into the political arena would exert a purifying influence on politics. The answer is that the purifying influence argument "has now been so generally abandoned or subordinated that we need no further sins or follies of women to point the moral." It was Theodore Parker, he says, who started it, "but the whole tendency of later years has been to abandon it and rest the movement on firmer grounds." The object of the woman's suffrage movement now, it appears, is not "to purify politics, but to establish justice." This may be the doctrine preached on Colonel Higginson's side of the *Woman's Journal*, but we fear he cannot read the writings of the other contributors with care or he would meet frequent instances of the use by them of the purification argument. In the very number in which his article appears, "H. B. B.," after pointing out that the *Nation* "has been betrayed by its prejudices into a still lower depth of idiocy" than the *Congregationalist*, maintains that Gail Hamilton's performance does not shake the purification argument, because she is an opponent of female suffrage and stands alone in defending the swindle, while fifty-seven other women, eminent in literature and journalism, advocate woman suffrage and deplore the swindle. He also calls attention to the fact that the great majority of criminals are men, and that only five per cent. of the convicts for swindling are women. It seems, therefore, that the purification argument is not so completely abandoned as Colonel Higginson supposes.

"H. B. B." does not seem to understand fully Gail Hamilton's position. Whether she advocates woman suffrage or not has nothing to do with her attitude towards the swindle. She is at any rate a prominent female political writer, and she has done what we maintain no male writer of any prominence has ever dared do, in publicly defending a swindle by which she was profiting, and asking the person who had exposed it to give his note of hand for the amount she lost by the exposure. This makes her position unique. Nobody, the week before she did it, or when she was abusing the civil-service reformers in the newspapers and writing books on woman's domestic wrongs, suspected for a moment that her mind worked in this way. Her performance, therefore, has spread alarm through the community about the other female lecturers and essayists. Men are asking whether any of the female contributors to the *Woman's Journal* may not any day advocate something which would break up the framework of society. But one short month ago Gail Hamilton seemed as sound about swindles as any of them. In fact, men's great objection to the entrance of the female mind into politics is drawn from a suspicion of its unsteadiness on matters in which the feelings could by any possibility be enlisted, and this objection draws support from a flagrant example of unsteadiness and obtuseness on the part not of an ordinary woman but a prominent "woman of intellect." It may be that it is unjust to keep women out of politics because they are unsteady, but to a great many men this consideration is a very powerful one; they prefer safety to abstract justice. They maintain that states were not built up and are not maintained by absolute equality of rights and duties, but by shrewdness and patience and good sense; and, in fact, talk about the whole thing in a most provoking and idiotic way. It was for the benefit of these absurd creatures that we desired to have the subject discussed.

The foreign specie imports during the week amounted to $3,404,089, making the total receipts of the year $49,944,917, against $59,753,355 last year. The rates for foreign exchange at the close of the week did not warrant further imports. The New York banks, notwithstanding the heavy receipts of foreign coin and the Treasury disbursements, barely maintained their surplus reserve of something over $3,500,000. Business in all departments was dull during the week. At the Stock Exchange prices continued to advance in anticipation of General Garfield's election. The purchase of railroad securities since the October elections, on the theory that they decided the Presidential contest, advanced during October the prices of the active stocks at the Stock Exchange from 5½ to 23 points, the percentage in some stocks being nearly 50 per cent. Whether General Garfield's election has been "discounted" remains to be seen. In London, British consols have advanced to 99¼ and 99⅝, the highest price for a long time. United States bonds there have been steady, but American railroad securities have generally advanced. The price of silver bullion in London has dropped to 51¾*d.* to 51⅞*d.* per ounce; and the bullion value here of the "buzzard dollar" has fallen to less than 86½ cents.

WHAT THE SOUTH HAD BETTER DO NOW.

AT this writing the result of the Presidential election is unknown, but whichever way it turns, the question what the South had better do in national politics is one of the last importance both for itself and for the whole country. If Hancock be elected it will be largely due to the fact that the North has not believed Republican predictions of the ascendency of the South in Democratic councils. If, in case of his election, there is any sign that the South is disposed to use the Government for its own especial benefit, the reaction at the North against the Democrats will undoubtedly show itself in a very marked way at the next Congressional election, and General Hancock will pass his term as Johnson did, in a hopeless contest with a hostile Congress. It is undoubtedly the disgust and alarm inspired by the absorption of the Democratic majority during the last four years in legislation (whether justifiable or not) for the Southern benefit which has been gradually frittering that majority away, and giving the Republicans once more the power they lost under General Grant, and has enabled the "old set" to come out of their retirement and swagger once more in the light of day. If, on the other hand, Garfield be elected, and the South maintain its alliance with the Democrats, it will, of course, mean the continued exclusion of all Southern whites of character and ability from any share in the administration of the Government, and the exclusion of Southern opinion from all influence on public policy. The Southern say about finance, taxation, foreign affairs, Indian affairs, civil-service reform, and a host of other matters which are sure to come to the front before long, will count for as little during the next four years as it has during the past fifteen. In other words, the Government will be carried on still longer with an almost cultivated indifference to the opinions of three-fourths of the population of sixteen States, including the bulk of the property-holders. This is a most unfortunate situation, not for the South only but for the whole country. Is there no remedy for it?

Many Southerners—perhaps we should say most Southerners—like our correspondent in Memphis, Tenn., whose letter we print elsewhere, seem disposed to give way to despair, and to treat Northern hatred of the South not only as fact, but as one of the permanent forces of American politics, against which there is no use in struggling, and the removal or modification of which must be left to Providence. The sale of the Tourgee books; the change in the New York *Tribune;* the restoration to influence of Logan, Conkling, and Blaine, whose stock in trade has been composed exclusively of hatred of the South; the effect on Northern opinion of any man of the charge that he sympathizes with the South; the care taken by General Hancock's supporters to deny that he would if chosen President be under Southern influence, are all to him signs, and even proofs, that Northern dislike of the South is general and implacable. Now, we do not need to disclaim on the part of the *Nation* any sympathy with the attitude of the extreme or Stalwart Republicans towards the South. We have on this point expressed ourselves with sufficient explicitness during the past ten years. We believe the division between the North and South to be in large part due to the efforts of Republican politicians to maintain at the South a black party for the sake of the aid it would or might give them in Federal politics, and without the slightest regard to the mischief it might work in State politics. This policy has now, in our opinion, been pursued with more or less deliberation ever since 1865, and has, of course, had to be supported by vituperation of the Southern whites, and "stories," some true and some false, and some distorted and exaggerated, of their turbulence and cruelty. But after granting this, and granting too all the assertions made in our correspondent's letter, there remains for the South the exceedingly practical question: What is to be done about it? It is foolish to maintain, even if Northern hatred of the South exists, that it is universal and ineradicable. All that we said last week of the changeable character of political motives and conditions is just as true of the North as of the South. It is no more possible for the mass of the Northern people to maintain indefinitely towards the South the temper of 1861 or of 1870, than it is for the South to maintain its temper of those years towards the North. In fact, the North is a far more mobile and changeful society than the South; it has far less time for hatred, or revenge, or malice, or for brooding over wrongs of any description. The Northern air is too full of hope and enterprise to indulge in much reflection on the rascality of enemies in any part of the globe. So that while it is undoubtedly true that a large body of Northern voters, especially of the older generation which carried on the war, cherishes distrust of the South as a sort of pious duty, and approaches outrage stories with a reverence and credulity which might almost be called religious, it is also true that a large and increasing body, especially of the younger generation, is thoroughly sick of the Southern question in all its aspects, and sick of the base uses to which Republican politicians have put it. This was shown very distinctly by the overthrow of the Grant school of politicians in 1874 and 1876, by the declining influence of the "bloody shirt" in elections, and by the defeat of the third-term scheme, which rested largely on the assumption that the South was still a public enemy.

Now, the problem before the South of dealing with this Northern resentment and prejudice and of overcoming it, and of securing a fair share in the conduct of the Government, was a thoroughly practical one. It was made clear very soon after the war was over that the Democratic party at the North was too weak both in numbers, in intelligence, in the press and in wealth, to make it possible for the South to secure restoration through alliance with it. It, moreover, very soon became apparent —say as early as 1872—that the Democratic party was too much discredited by its connection with slavery and secession to make it possible for it even to "turn over a new leaf," by taking up with strange candidates and new-fangled doctrines. It has been shown again and again that when the North was fairly roused it would not submit to Democratic rule, and that the Southern alliance was not strong enough to enable the party to overcome this repugnance. Under these circumstances, putting all sentiment aside and looking at the situation with the eye of the practical politician who seeks place and power solely, it seems to us as if the course of the South was plain enough. It might have sought to profit by the dissensions which as early as 1870 began to show themselves in the Republican party. It ought to have held out to the younger generation of Republicans, who remembered little of the war and were every year taking a more active part in affairs, some inducement to break loose from the party yoke and attempt some new political combination. It ought to have actively furnished those Republicans who were tired of the "bloody shirt" with arguments in support of the position that the Southern men were occupied with better things than cheating negroes out of their votes, and that their co-operation would be valuable in the settlement of the economical and administrative questions which, since 1873, have had so much importance for the whole country. It ought to have held out a hand, in short, to the Republican civil-service reformers, tariff reformers, railroad reformers, and others who were seriously interested in questions affecting the entire nation rather than any one part of it. In this way it would have promoted the disintegration of the Republican party, and the formation of some new organization in which the South could take part without loss of self-respect, and find some relief from that contemplation of "old unhappy far-off things" into which men whose hopes have been crushed are so apt to fall, but which is sure ruin for any school of politicians.

Unhappily, the South did not see fit to follow this course or anything like it. It has been prominent and influential in Congress since 1876, and used its prominence and influence, with curious obtuseness, in helping the Democrats to engage in legislation intended, as every one knew, for the benefit of the South exclusively, which was sure to revive Northern irritability, and which dealt with grievances that nothing but Northern irritability kept alive. It offered no help or encouragement to those Republicans, like ourselves, who were trying to abate Northern prejudice and hopelessness about the South. Nothing came from any Southern politician calculated to quicken the pulses of the younger Republicans with any fresh or generous emotion, or any expectation of a better political day. When the time came, too, for the friends of civil and constitutional government at the North to make a fight against the coarse and shabby Cæsarism which was concealed under the third-term scheme, and against the permanent lodgment of military ideas and methods in American polity, there came from the South no word of encouragement or sympathy that we have ever heard of. On the contrary, as soon as the Republican Convention

had nominated a man who, whatever his faults, was an experienced civilian, the Southerners joined the Democrats in setting up for the highest office in the Government a mere soldier, who owed *all* his fame to his success in killing Southerners in a civil war. It must be admitted that this is a somewhat disheartening story. We can tell it with the better grace because we are among the number of those who believe in the reality of Southern grievances, and also in the reality of Southern progress. But there is certainly nothing in the course of the South in Federal politics since the war to remind us of the skill with which Southern politicians for so many years ruled the North in defence of slavery. They fear and hate the Republican party, but do not see that it is at any time in their power to convert the Republican party into something very different from what it is, and to compel the Logans, Blaines, and Conklings either to give up abuse of the South, or go into obscurity.

THE "OUTRAGES" IN THE IRISH TROUBLE.

THE present agitation in Ireland, horrible as some of its features are, has not been in vain. The Irish land question has in consequence of it received through the English press a more thorough discussion than ever before, and there are, apparently, few if any Liberals who deny now that it differs from the English land question, and that the ideas of the great bulk of the Irish people about land tenures are entitled to recognition in legislation, even if they seem strange and repulsive to the English mind. It seems to have been at last made clear to that (in Irish matters, at least) not very receptive organ that the fact that the English landlord makes all the improvements on a farm before letting it, and keeps the fences and buildings in repair, while the Irish landlord does nothing but furnish the land, constitutes a very marked difference between the land systems of the two countries. It has also been established by all but conclusive evidence that it is customary, or at all events very common, for Irish landlords to raise their rents on account of improvements made by the tenant, in a manner which amounts to confiscation of the tenant's property; also that in all those districts and on those estates in which the tenant's property in his improvements is recognized as a salable interest, under the name of "tenant right" or good-will, the utmost content and good feeling between landlord and tenant prevail, and there is now no disturbance. Also that the arbitrary government of estates by rules which aim at controlling the tenant's way of living, and keeping him in social subjection to the landlord or his agent, which has been in vogue over most of Ireland for two hundred years, no matter what justification, or seeming justification, may be found for it in the faults of the tenantry, is no longer possible in our time and must be given up. The isolation of Ireland from the rest of the world, which so long helped to maintain this system, has passed away. The influence of the Irish in this country on manners and ideas at home has become very great, and it is, of course, hostile in the highest degree to the social system which the existing land tenure supports. The opinion of the whole of Europe, too, may be said to be running strongly against the deduction from contract of any relation but a commercial one, and to make the maintenance of any feudal view of the landowner's function increasingly difficult. Lord Lymington has written an interesting article in the last number of the *Nineteenth Century*, giving an account of the system introduced by his grandfather, Lord Portsmouth, on estates in the county of Wexford sixty years ago, and still in force, in which the absolute independence of the tenant as long as he pays his rent is a leading feature. He may farm well or ill, just as he pleases, and live and labor in all respects according to his own ideas, and if he wishes to dispose of his interest in the farm, which is always a thirty-one years' lease, he is welcome to do so, to the highest bidder. The practical result of this system is that, on the whole, the tenants, feeling that they are working for themselves, farm well, even if not up to the landlord's standard. But he is abundantly repaid for the surrender of his right of interference by the peace, content, and prosperity which reign on his estates. An ejectment for non-payment of rent hardly ever occurs, and even when it does occur the tenant is allowed to sell his interest all the same, but what he receives of course goes to pay his debts, the arrears of rent among the number.

Undoubtedly this discussion will not be as useful to the Ministry in Parliament when they attempt to deal with the land question next year as it would have been if there had been no outrages; but, on the other hand, there is much reason to fear that without the outrages the discussion would not have been so thorough. One of the great difficulties with which England has had to contend of late years in the government of Ireland lies in the different rhetorical standards of the two countries. The Englishman of to-day distrusts everybody who uses extravagant language, and pays no attention to him. The Irishman, on the other hand, feels that high coloring is necessary to make any impression at all, but has had abundant experience of the failure of his eloquence to bring Englishmen to any adequate sense of his wrongs. The result is a constant temptation to supplement the speeches with crime, and unfortunately this does undoubtedly impress the English public. They are not moved by the hyperboles and picturesque similes in which Irish grievances are usually dressed up, but murder and arson they understand and are roused by. There was much melancholy truth in Mr. Gladstone's admission, which made so much uproar last year, that it was the attempt to blow up the Clerkenwell prison which led indirectly to the passage of the Land Act of 1870 and the disestablishment of the Irish Church.

It was a truth, too, of which there are several other illustrations. Catholic Emancipation was not accorded until the country was on the verge of civil war, and the same thing may be said of the abolition of the tithes. O'Connell sternly repressed "outrages" and denounced all violence during the Repeal agitation, but he accomplished nothing. It is not wonderful that with these examples before them the Parnellites should believe that the only way to obtain a settlement of the land question, which in one form or another has now been pending for nearly two hundred years, is to strike terror. Turbulence and violence have led to the righting of some Irish wrongs; nothing else has done so. Such is the lesson with which the history of his country for the last century has furnished the Irish peasant, and it is not surprising that he acts on it. Even in the days before the Catholics appeared on the scene at all, the Protestant colonists were obliged to seek their legislative independence by embodying a large armed force, and threatening the English Government when it had both a French and an American war on its hands. This unfortunate state of things has been aggravated by the prevailing English ignorance of Irish history. Irish history is by no means attractive reading. A more dismal, and in many ways repulsive, history no country of the western world has to show. It describes no contribution whatever to the stream of European progress. Whatever Irishmen have done for the world either in arts or arms has been done either through England or some other foreign country. The consequence is that the history of the country has had no place in any system of education or culture. As occasionally reproduced in a form to suit English tastes, by men like Mr. Froude, it has presented the Irish people in the guise of a vicious and turbulent tribe whom it was the mission of England to thrash into civilization—a view which, ever since the conquest of India made the "inferior races" so prominent in English politics, has been a peculiarly grateful view which even the most philanthropic and religious Englishmen only put away from them by a hard struggle. It came into play in Irish politics at a most unfortunate period, when the earlier Cromwellian theory, that the Irish were a parcel of Popish cut-throats, was fast dying out, and when they were just beginning to display in the freer air of the present century that remarkable political tenacity which now makes them so troublesome to the English legislator, and has raised the Irish question into the first rank of state problems. There is no more striking political phenomenon of our time than this tenacity. No race in Europe has been reduced by conquest to a lower stage of degradation and poverty than the Irish Celts. Nevertheless, they have not died out before the conquering people. On the contrary, they have multiplied enormously. Nor have they become merged with their conquerors or accepted their ideas. On the contrary, they have, generation after generation, opposed a fanatical resistance to every attempt to absorb them into the British Empire. They have emigrated by millions, and have carried with them everywhere an almost furious sentiment of nationality, although they have never formed a nation, and a singularly active interest in politics, such as has perhaps nowhere been witnessed

among people who have had so little political training, even such as local self-government gives, and whose reliance on leaders in politics has been so great. If this interest could be in any way made to inure to the benefit of the British Empire it cannot be denied that it would prove a new and valuable source of strength. Mr. Gladstone has done more towards this consummation than any other English statesman. If he can make it sure, it will be the greatest achievement of recent British history.

THE STATE OF PARTIES IN FRANCE.

PARIS, October 17, 1880.

THE parliamentary session will begin in a few days, and will be a particularly important one, for it is the last of the present Legislature, whose term expires next October at the latest, and very likely the general elections will take place before that time. Everything will give way to this great preoccupation, for it is impossible to conceal the influence which the future Chamber will have on the destiny of the Republic, and the formation of it gives much uneasiness. Permit me to undertake a slight sketch of the state of parties on the eve of the opening of Parliament, before the renewal of those ardent struggles which will not fail to break out in a few days.

Besides the great divisions between the Right and Left many secondary groups may be remarked, whose importance ought not to be judged by the noise they make, but by the echo they obtain in the country. Rather than characterize them in a general way I prefer to define their real influence at the present time. Concerning the Right we shall be brief, for that party has but little weight in the Chamber's deliberations. The first reason of this powerlessness is that for the time being, especially since the elections in August for the Councils-General, they have lost all consideration in the country. They have not recovered from the defeat of the attempt they made on the 16th of May, 1877. Besides this, the Right is greatly divided. The Legitimists, who have just celebrated the fête of their king by numerous banquets, at which the Government allowed them free scope, well knowing their insignificance, cannot pardon the Orleanists, who still sit in the Chamber of Deputies, for having refused to accept the white flag. Moreover, the monarchical party have just experienced a great annoyance: of the few generals who belong to them, one, General de Cissey, former president of the Cabinet Council and Minister of War in 1874, in the palmy days of moral order, has just been disgraced in the famous trial about the alleged information sent to Prussia respecting our plans of military reorganization. The accused was a young Republican officer, but he has been entirely exonerated, and it has been proved that General de Cissey took advantage of his position to gratify a shameful passion, not to betray France, but to heap iniquitous favors on a miserable woman who, we have every reason to suppose, was a paid spy. These revelations have produced considerable excitement, more particularly as the unfortunate general had rendered himself conspicuous by his devoutness. I need not revert to the incurable divisions of the Bonapartist faction; they are more and more evident every day. On Sunday, October 17, M. Paul de Cassagnac presided at a large meeting directed against Prince Napoleon. The Right have, however, one chance in their favor—the irritation produced in some parts of the country by those unlucky decrees which are thorns in the side of the Republic. They may also become dangerous in Parliament by voting for all the extreme motions of the radical Left, in order to put a spoke in the wheel of the Republican government. They do all they can to disturb the water in the hope of making a miraculous haul.

The Extreme Left will not be any stronger at the next session, for they have made no recruits in the partial elections during the vacation. They endeavor to compensate for their weakness by noise, and it may be taken for granted they will make more than ever. They do not speak in the Chamber, but appeal to the country, or rather to the radical masses of our large towns; their support is entirely in these. Unhappily, the Municipal Council of Paris belongs wholly to the Extreme Left, and if it evinces a certain aptitude in dealing with the pecuniary affairs of our large city, it is decidedly intemperate in politics and takes pleasure in the most extravagant things, especially in what concerns religion, which it pursues with hatred. It amuses itself by constantly changing the names of the Paris streets, striking out all those which recall old France and its glories or some religious reminiscence, and replacing them by names either obscure, ridiculous, or revolutionary, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants. It has just commenced another of these changes which upset all one's habits. The greatest injury to the Extreme Left comes from their outside allies, who push extravagance to its utmost limits. I have spoken enough about Rochefort. For the time being he is quite eclipsed by Félix Pyat, one of the proscribed brothers of the Commune, who files down and polishes his writings like an ornamental dagger. This comparison is inevitable, for he unceasingly preaches assassination in his journal, *La Commune*. He has opened a subscription to present a fancy dagger to Berezovski, now a convict, for having attempted to assassinate the Czar at the Universal Exhibition of 1867. The Government has decided to prosecute this shameless defender of regicide. While acknowledging that Félix Pyat far surpasses the party designated as the Extreme Left, we can but observe that the Extreme Left have too much affinity with the advanced radical parties, as seen by the excuses for the Commune published in their newspapers. The Left, properly speaking, is divided into Left Centre, Left "*sans phrases*," and the "Union Républicaine," the group long directed by M. Gambetta, who is the axis of the majority. The old Thiersists have united themselves with the Left, and are less remarked than the Republican Union, which is, upon the whole, moderate in everything concerning social questions, opposed to socialistic chimeras, but very ardent in the contest against clericalism. On this point it is not possible to effect a compromise with them. At the present time no influence equals M. Gambetta's with the Republican Union. One of the reasons, however, which prevent him from at once taking office is that this majority is not easy to discipline, and Gambetta does not think he should have sufficient support from them to be able to give a firm, well-prosecuted direction to politics. He attributes this instability or incoherence to the manner of recruiting the Chamber, which is elected by district ballot, thus making the deputies subject to local influences on which their fate depends. The important side in politics being often effaced by the petty preoccupations of class prejudices, Gambetta earnestly desires to have all the deputies of a department voted for on a general ticket in place of the district ballot. He hopes that a Chamber so constituted would better obey the inspirations of a leader and would conform more easily to a grand, united political programme. You know that a proposition of this kind has already been introduced in the Chamber.

The most serious discussions of the coming session will be on this subject. Gambetta has against him all the Extreme Left, who fear nothing so much as to see his influence increase, and they desire to ruin him by every possible means. He has against him the electoral interests of the present deputies, who would find it very convenient to preserve their districts. They have made their beds with great care and would like to lie down in them instead of being exposed to the risk of a larger election, which would make them lose the advantages of their local influence, maintained with so much labor. Gambetta will have to descend from the presidential chair and throw the weight of his eloquence into the scale. I do not doubt that he would be victorious, for he would employ all his tact, skill, and energy to win this great political game, on which, according to him, all his future depends. No doubt, if he succeeds, he will not hesitate to take office at the opening of the new Parliament, and then will be the time for him to show what he is as a statesman in power, whether he can contain factions at home and reassure Europe in his foreign policy. It would be very desirable for the present Ministry to remain in office until the next elections. It is favorably regarded in Europe. Its chief, M. Jules Ferry, is a clever, energetic, eloquent man. It cannot be denied, however, that this minister, like his predecessors, will be at the mercy of a defeat from the majority in a Chamber, both unstable and impassioned, where he is not recognized as the veritable leader. Let us hope he will avoid these dangers and be able to preside over the formation of a new Chamber. With respect to the Senate, we may be sure they will support the present Ministry. The attempt which was made to suppress it met with no response in the country. When you receive this letter the last session of the existing Chamber will be about to commence, and we shall soon learn whether my surmises will be realized. É.

THE "DEMONSTRATION" AGAINST TURKEY.

PARIS, October 14, 1880.

THE doors of the temple of Janus have been half opened, but they are suddenly shut again. The demonstration made against Dulcigno ended in a total failure. The Montenegrins were not willing to attack the little fortified town, defended as it was by the Albanians and by the regulars of Riza Pasha. The "Prince of the Mountain," as Prince Nicholas of Montenegro is called, had often said that every one of his mountaineers, that the children even, and the women, were ready to fight at all times against the Turk; but when the allied fleet was before Dulcigno the mountaineers showed as much prudence and discretion as if they had been born in the flattest plains. Prince Nicholas asked Admiral Seymour to land some troops and to give the signal of attack against Dulcigno. The signal was not given and could not be given. A landing of troops was not in the programme of the "demonstration." Meanwhile the weather became bad on the coast of the Adriatic, and the fleet had to return to the Bocche di Cattaro. Not a shot had been fired on the Albanian coast, and the demonstration had demonstrated nothing except the impotence of the allied Powers.

The Porte had sent a note to the great Powers, in which she explained that she would only give up Dulcigno if all idea of an armed demonstration was abandoned. She pronounced herself ready in that case to make propositions concerning the new Greek frontier and the reforms in Armenia, in the

course of time. This note was considered as insolent in the last degree, especially as the last Conference at Berlin had had no other object than the settlement of the Greek frontier. All the western diplomats, with the help of geographers and officers of the staff, had drawn a line to the north of Janina and Metsovo, and the Porte now quietly said that she could only adopt a line to the south of these two cities. In fact, this note of the Sultan's, in conjunction with the resistance of Dulcigno, seemed like a gauntlet flung boldly down to the western Powers. War became almost imminent, and the suddenness of the peril caused great consternation in all Europe. People began to ask themselves who could be the inspirer of the Sultan, for they could not believe that, left to himself, he would have been so imprudent as to defy all Europe. The advantage of a sudden crisis consists in dispelling in an instant the diplomatic fogs which at first surround every question. It soon became apparent that the common understanding, and the common action which had begun with the demonstration against Dulcigno, really covered two opinions, two policies—I might almost say two virtual alliances. On one side stood Prussia and Austria, on the other England, France, and Russia. By a strange combination of circumstances, England, who had always opposed the plans of Russia in the East, who had fought for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, was now in the front of the battle, more ardent than Russia against the Turks. She seemed to resent the insult of Dulcigno more than anybody else. An English admiral had commanded the allied fleet. Mr. Gladstone, who had taken the place of the Tories, was determined to execute the will of Europe, to give that shock to the glass of the Ottoman Empire which must bring about a fracture on the line which had been marked by the diplomatic diamond at Berlin.

There is not much doubt that at the outset England prepared herself for every emergency. Many measures were discussed which were of a very violent character; but could England enter alone upon the terrible future—"dans le sombre avenir," to use the words of an old poet? No, she was morally sure of the sympathies of Russia if once she began war against Turkey; she knew that the frontier between Bulgaria and Rumelia, which was of her own making, was merely artificial; she knew that the Russian armies would easily cross again the Danube and the Balkans. But she was more anxious to have French co-operation than Russian. The English Government, or at least some members of this Government, entertained the hope that France, after ten years of rest, with magnificent finances, with a large army, would like, perhaps, to try her growing strength, and to try it with a sufficient degree of safety, with the powerful alliance of England and Russia. The temptation was undoubtedly great for a French statesman; he would have been a bold prophet who should have predicted in 1870 that in 1880 France could again take the lead in Europe, and would have on her side the moral and material forces not only of England but of Russia. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Forster, Sir Charles Dilke, and others thought that if Napoleon III. had found it to his advantage to enter into a close alliance with England, the young French Republic would perhaps promise herself the benefits which the second French Empire reaped from this alliance. There have been undoubtedly some men in France in high places who, moved by the most patriotic motives, have hesitated, have thought that they had better not reject the forces which Providence placed at the disposal of France. The words of the Cherbourg speech had not been without an echo in many hearts, in the army and out of the army. But the general state of public opinion has not allowed the desires, the designs, the aspirations of the most active minds to be satisfied. France had been carefully taught by the press for ten years that she must "se recueillir," remain alone, shut up in a determined policy of peace and of non-intervention; she had been taught to mistrust *all* foreign powers; she had been told repeatedly that England and Russia and Italy had no pity for her misfortunes, that her blood was no longer to be shed "for an idea," that there was no "question" for her except the question of Alsace-Lorraine. The lessons had gone all the deeper into all hearts because the memories of the late war were still vivid, and because the sufferings of the invasion were remembered in every village, in every city, in every household. France did not much mind the congresses and conferences to which her ambassadors were sent, as it were, "en parade"; she did not believe that anything serious could come of it. As soon as Eastern affairs seemed to involve our responsibility there was a universal protest; the papers of all shades, of all opinions, became pacific "with a vengeance." There was but one important paper, the *République Française*—which is supposed to be inspired by the President of the Chamber of Deputies—that advocated the continuance of a common action with England; and even this paper dared not show distinctly whither this common action might lead the country. The English Government exercised a strong pressure upon those whom it supposed capable of affecting the public mind in France; the incense which was once burnt for Napoleon III., when he could lead with one word the armies of France, was all ready to burn for those who should help England strike a heavy blow in the East. England would not believe that it was not in the power of the President of the French Republic to declare war in the absence of the Chambers; the French diplomats in vain assured her that there was an Article 9 in one of our constitutional laws which said that the President can only declare war with the formal assent of the two Chambers. The English ministers wished to see the text of the Constitution; and, strangely enough, the English ambassador in Paris could not procure it. The fact is that it does not exist in the form of a book or a little pamphlet; there were a few copies of the constitutional laws printed for the National Assembly at Versailles in 1875, and they were only given to the deputies. Since that time no bookseller has had the idea of reprinting the collection of laws which form our Constitution, for the use of the public.

There were, only a few days ago, still two currents in the present Cabinet: a few of its members, who receive more directly the inspirations of the President of the Chamber of Deputies, would probably not have been unwilling to try a policy of intervention in the East; but the majority of the Council, drawing their inspiration from public opinion at large, took such a pacific attitude that it soon became evident that all idea of an active policy must be abandoned. The French ambassador in London informed Mr. Gladstone's Government last Saturday that France would join in no demonstration or occupation in the East, either at Smyrna or elsewhere. This step seemed almost natural, as the news had just arrived that the Sultan, having successfully resisted the armed menaces of Europe, was now willing to surrender Dulcigno to the Montenegrins. Whoever advised the Sultan in this circumstance gave him very good advice. By surrendering Dulcigno after the departure of the allied fleet the Sultan shows some deference for the will of Europe, and at a small price places himself in a position which will enable him to be much more free with regard to the pretensions of the Greeks. He unties the two Montenegrin and Greek questions; the first may be now considered as solved; and Europe has not cut such a good figure in her last "demonstration" that she will be very anxious to "demonstrate" again for the Greeks. Europe was brought face to face with the fearful dangers which were hidden under the "common action"; the goddess Bellona showed her profile only, and it was found that nobody was very willing to follow her. France will sink again into a policy of non-intervention, but she will be still more careful not to tie her hands even diplomatically. Russia will have learned that she has not much to expect from distant western allies, and she will fall back on the old policy which led to the partition of Poland. Germany, without moving, without effort, has been the real arbiter in the late events; she has taken the Sultan under her dangerous protection, she has obtained from him the surrender of Dulcigno, and she will probably be called upon to fix the new frontier of Greece, by a sort of arbitration which nobody in Europe will be willing or able to dispute.

Correspondence.

THE "RESTORATION" OF ST. MARK'S.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In response to the appeal in your columns for the St. Mark's Preservation Society, I should like to say that owing to the agitation made over the so-called demolition last winter I went to Venice and carefully examined with the architect the plans and the work done and to be done, and can assure your readers and the admirers of the great Basilica that they may save their money for better uses, as nothing has been done or is contemplated to be done at Venice which the ruinous state of the church does not make imperative, if the walls are not to fall into what most of the agitators seem to fancy to be the proper state of an old church—viz., a picturesque ruin. With one single modification, in which a return was made from a sixteenth-century vulgarism to the original plan, the original design has been carefully retained in every detail, and as far as possible the original stone put back into the original position, but in some cases the marble veneer has been absolutely dissolved away by the elements or decomposed into chalky rubbish. In every case where a stone, column or slab, cornice or casing could be returned to its place even by turning it, it has been done, and of carved work of any kind almost none has been lost. Some parts of the façade are now so decayed, and the brick-work underneath so split and disintegrated, that the facing is only kept in its place by timbers and iron bars, which disfigure the church more than the repairs, and unless the foundations are strengthened the west façade menaces splitting and falling apart. It may not be realized by the "preservers" of St. Mark's that the whole edifice is slowly sinking into the mud on which it is built, but sinking unequally, so that in one case a pier has gone down twenty-two centimetres, owing to the entirely inadequate foundation on which the church was built originally. One door-way is now, but for the struts and bars that keep it up, in utter ruin and must be taken down soon or it will fall of itself, and other parts will be taken down and reconstructed on new brick-work as soon as necessity arises, but no sooner. The whole body of the building is brick-work, and the brick very poor and soft, while in the laying of it *sticks* were put in to strengthen temporarily the work, but as these are now only ashes and dust they leave the masonry very weak, and it is the

brick-work that is failing, not merely the stone veneering which contains the artistic wealth of the church, though that in some cases is quite crumbling and falling off.

Your readers may be assured that everything which reverence and painstaking can do to keep the old work from destruction, and to maintain the edifice in its present state, will be done, but that it will not (to please painters who prefer painting old architecture, *the more decayed the better*, to restored) be allowed to acquire picturesqueness at the expense of its architectural keeping and preservation as a whole. The great outcry had its origin in total ignorance of what was proposed to be done, of what needed to be done, and what had already been done—a foolish scare by some one who had seen the mosaics crumbling to pieces, and, like Henny Penny, on whose tail the sky fell, went about alarming the world with cries that the cathedral was being demolished. A more senseless and gratuitous excitement was never got up by any one, and as long as the church is under the care of the present architect, Meduna, we need have no fear that harm will be done for want of reverence of it or wanton reconstruction.—Yours truly,

W. J. Stillman.

Florence, October 18.

MATTERS IN VIRGINIA.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The conflict in Virginia between the old "Conservative" party and the new party under General Mahone must be peculiarly interesting to a student of history. He sees a phase of affairs which has occurred many times in the past, and recognizes an epoch in the progress of ideas, limited though it may seem in comparison with some others. It is, however, far from insignificant, and means nothing less than that revolution which had to come in the South as fulfilment of the work done in the war. It means the downfall of leaders who have not entered into the spirit of modern advancements, and have supported them only in so far as they were compelled. It means new men and more liberal ideas. The true issue in this, as in all revolutions, is almost hidden in talk of temporary questions; but there are men who see it very clearly, and that the people have a feeling beyond taxes is shown in frequent county resolutions, and in the constant use of the term "Bourbonism." But a question so intangible as that implied in this word cannot move the masses, upon whom revolutions depend. The great leaders in the world have not accomplished their work by discussing with their followers inner questions involved which could not have been comprehended. Mass-leading requires something more definite; and the pity is that in Virginia, just at this time when the masses needed to be led, the requisite definiteness has presented itself in a form so unworthy as the forcible readjustment of the public debt. Many do not believe, however, that the creditors of Virginia will be really affected. This can hardly be hoped; but it is likely that in the State, with the liberal party in power (as will surely be the case whatever the result in the present national contest), there will be rapid improvement, material as well as intellectual, and that whatever readjusting may be done will not be to the extent that the leaders of the old party would have the world believe. Even these, though they cannot understand the real issue, feel that the debt question is not at the bottom. They generally attribute the whole movement to the selfishness of General Mahone, whom they hate as heartily as the Cavaliers did Cromwell. This hatred is more than political: it is the hatred of a party aristocratical in its notions, full of sentimental fogyism, and blind to liberality of thought and speech.

Said a Funder the other day to another who jokingly asserted himself a Readjuster: "You are too much of a *gentleman* for that." He did not underscore the word, but he could not have expressed more innocently and briefly the sentiment of his party and the true secret of the whole matter. This is an old war which is going on now in Virginia. D.

October 30, 1880.

DO THE NORTHERN PEOPLE HATE THE SOUTHERN?

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The last number of the *Nation* quotes an extract from Mr. Schurz's recent speech at the Cooper Union, and recommends it to the careful consideration of every Southern voter and politician. The whole force of his utterance depends upon the truth of the assumption that "the people of the North cherish no ill-will towards them"—*i.e.*, the Southern people. If the people of the North do cherish ill-will towards them, then Mr. Schurz does not call upon the South to lay aside all sense of grievance which springs from that fact. The people of the North, it is true, may cherish no ill-will towards the South, but I affirm, without fear of serious contradiction, that there are not one hundred Southern white men in each Southern State who believe this; and the number I select is not merely for the sake of the conventional comparison. These are a few of the causes which produce this belief:

The Republican party is a representative of Northern principles and interests, and owes its long lease of power to Northern support. In spite of the fact that a systematic disregard of Southern rights was one of its main features, and in spite of the fact that during eight years, at least, they managed the affairs of the Government so inefficiently and dishonestly as to cause these eight years to be a term of reproach in the *Nation's* vocabulary of political phrases, they finally lost control of power only by an almost impotent majority. In spite, also, of the disreputable procedure of the Republican returning boards and visiting statesmen during the Presidential contest of 1876, they are apparently on the eve of a more overwhelming victory than they have gained since the war. All of this might be attributed to the ordinary results of political forces when brought into play. Other points will not admit of this interpretation.

The two books of which more copies have been sold than any others ever known to American booksellers were both directed against the South. The effect of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' was but natural, coming as it did at a time when the evils it described were still in existence and still needed reform. The people of the South having finally been brought to a recognition of the horrors of slavery mainly through the agency of the Republican party, being also thankful that it no longer exists, look upon 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' as a legitimate factor in a beneficent movement. If the prejudice and positive ill-will entertained by the North towards the South had become extinct as the peculiar cause of its origin disappeared, the 'Fool's Errand' would have been read as we now read Longfellow's tragedy of 'Giles Corey,' and certainly not more widely. But the 'Fool's Errand' is a book written by an author of wonderful power, and teaching the old lesson of Southern pride, arrogance, brutality, cruelty to the negro, intolerance of free discussion, and hatred of the North in a manner more artful than it has ever been taught before. Northern dislike of the South, therefore, finds its most exquisite gratification and expression in the 'Fool's Errand,' and the 'Fool's Errand' was written fifteen years after the evils it described had passed away. It is to this fact that the South attributes the success of the 'Fool's Errand.'

Mr. Schurz says the demonstration of ill-will towards the South on the part of Northern politicians is merely stage-thunder. Now, newspapers do not depend for their subscriptions upon Republican politicians. Their popularity in the main is owing to the fact that they reflect the opinions and advocate the interests of their readers. The New York *Tribune* was at one time a paper liberal in its treatment of sectional questions. The New York *Tribune's* position towards the South to-day is too well known to need description. The intensity of its hostile feeling towards the South defies the characterization of the most powerfully descriptive adjectives. The Cincinnati *Gazette* is its Western reflection.

You say in one of your editorials that politicians like Senators Conkling and Blaine "manage conventions dextrously, but they do not manage a party so as to give it success at the polls." The four men who since the war have been most distinguished for their passionate abuse of the South have been all Senators—Morton, Chandler, Conkling, and Blaine. Two died in office and the other two are universally admitted to be the leaders of the Republican party. These men were elected, not by the people at the polls, amid the excitement and restless turmoil that ever attend a popular election, but by those from whom, if from any body of men, liberality of sentiment was most naturally to be expected. Their stage-thunder appears to the South to be more popular than the genuine lightning and rain. It cannot be answered that the election of these men was brought about by other causes. They are and were nothing if not vituperative.

The Northern press and Northern orators always speak of the advent of Southerners to office as a grandson of Noah might have alluded to another deluge. An insinuation by a political opponent that they are "playing into the hands of Southern rebels" is met with indignant denial. As an offset to your quotation from Mr. Schurz's speech, allow me to offer one from a speech by General Sherman, made a few months ago, in reply to an allegation that West Point was under Southern influence. "What nonsense!" he exclaimed, "nothing can be more absurd! Why, General Schofield, Colonel Lascelle, and the other heads of the Academy are all Northern men, thoroughly imbued with Northern sentiments, views, and ideas. This charge is like the rest, purely fictitious, and existing only in the fertile imagination of the newspaper writers." To a Southerner it does not appear that Southern influence at West Point would be a very lamentable national calamity.

The South either has or it has not an equal right to take part in the administration of Federal affairs. The North says it has not, and the South attributes this denial to the continued vitality of Northern hatred engendered by the war. We have expressly said we accept cheerfully and gladly the freedom of the negro. The right of secession has but one living advocate in the South, named Robert Toombs. Notwithstanding this, we are still rebels, and the most liberal mind in the North cannot contemplate without secret dismay the possibility of the administration of Federal affairs passing into Southern hands. Even those who know the absurdity of the usual charges against the South regard us as too illiterate to be able to carry on the Government in a respectable manner. Every Federal office in the South is occupied by a Republican, and in nearly every instance by a Northern Republican.

Judicial positions are invariably filled by Republicans. There is no reason why Democrats should be selected, but certainly none why Republicans as such should be, except that Northern sentiment demands and sustains it. The people of the North are sincere in their conviction that these are things with which the South has no legitimate concern.

You quote from the *Sun*, a Democratic paper, but less Democratic than Northern. It says—in your extract—that Hancock's Administration "will be as free from the rule of the rebels as from the rule of the Czar of all the Russias."

You congratulate the country on the fact that Southern outrages and the Solid South have been finally consigned to the lumber-room of worn-out political tools. There is surely ground for congratulation, but the satisfaction of the South is somewhat dampened by the reflection that the war closed in 1864, virtually, and that this is the year 1880. In addition to this we are not yet prepared to believe that the millennium of political tolerance has come. So sure are Southern Republicans of Northern readiness to believe ill of the South that their speeches are all directed to the one end of calling forth some expression of indignation, in order to become famous at the North as an additional martyr in the cause of Southern regeneration.

The manifestations of dissatisfaction which appeared throughout the North at the census reports of the increase of Southern population and prosperity were certainly neither noble nor magnanimous.

These are only a few of the points which suggest themselves as proof that the North does cherish ill-will towards the South. It would not be difficult for the South to find a philosophical explanation of this hatred—an explanation which would please Buckle himself. But the explanation would not lessen the reality of the fact that the North hates the South. The expression "hate" implies a great deal, but not too much when treating of Northern sentiment towards the South. Mr. Schurz's statement does very well, as such; but the object of the remark is only to influence Southern action, and Southern action can only be influenced by conclusive proof that his statement is true. If history proves anything, the history of the last fifteen years proves that the North wishes the negro to rule the South. The negro is the only element of Southern society which would act in unison with the North in those matters where Northern and Southern interests are antagonistic. There has been no period during the last nineteen years when Northern troops have not been in Southern States, when the Government has been in the hands of Republicans. This was natural during four years of that time; it was very unnatural for the following ten. As soon as the Democrats came into power the troops were withdrawn. Mr. Hayes withdrew them, but the Democratic party was the cause. They were not withdrawn until a belated Northern sentiment had been partially aroused to the iniquity of Republican misrule. Those who had been most disreputable of all in the States where they had been upheld by the troops immediately went North, and were lionized or were provided with comfortable salaries everywhere *except in the North*. The South has no assurance that a return of Republicans to power does not mean a return of Northern troops to some Southern States; at least the two ideas are associated in the mind of the South, in spite of the poohpoohs of those who send Mr. Hoar, Mr. Conkling, and Mr. Blaine to Washington as Senators. The grievances of the South may be imaginary but the unanimity of belief in the South that they are not imaginary is astounding. The Solid South is an evil, no doubt, as the South is most ready to admit, but the Solid South will end when there has ceased to be what Henry Watterson called the Stolid North. The South can only say to Mr. Schurz that, as much as the fact is to be regretted, his statement quoted above is an expression solely of his own generous liberality of mind, and is not an expression of Northern sentiment.

J—S P—N.

MEMPHIS, TENN., Oct. 23, 1880.

EXPLANATION OF *I HAD RATHER GO* AND SIMILAR IDIOMS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: At least five and twenty years have elapsed since I worked out, though with the help of much less evidence than I now possess, the historico-grammatical justification of the expressions referred to; and, in the meantime, I have looked about me diligently to see whether any one had forestalled me in what I have to say in their defence. As far as I am aware, no one has done so.

I have by me, and intend shortly to print, a brief essay on the phrases in question. From that essay I here give a few extracts, exclusively relating to the collocations "I had rather go," "they had rather be fined than punished," etc., or, more distinctly, collocations in which *rather* comes between *had* and an infinitive.

Besides *rather*, circumstanced as above, and so circumstanced by rights or otherwise, we find *liefer*, *liefest*, *as lief*, *as good*, *like*, *better*, *best*, *as well*, *as soon*.

Expressions such as "I have liefer go," "I had liefer go," are the oldest members of the group to which they belong. Their precursors were "me is liefer go," "me was liefer go," "me were liefer go." In all these cases, *liefer* is an adjective, meaning "preferable"; and *me*, where it occurs, is a dative.

Exactly parallel to "I had liefer go" is "I had rather go." An elucidation of the latter therefore dispenses me from dwelling on the former.

In certain constructions, ἔχειν (in post-classical use), *habere*, *avere*, *haber*, *avoir*, and *haben*, signify "deem," "rate," "hold," "regard," "consider," "account," or the like. In other words, these verbs, originally possessive, have come to be factitive. To them we are to add our *have*. Sir John Fastolf wrote, about 1449: "If the place that is beside Walsyngham stand cler, I *have* hit lever then [*i.e.*, I hold it to be more desirable than] the tother." *Paston Letters* (ed. 1872–1875), vol. i., p. 94. "To be *had* in reverence" and "*had* in honor" we are familiar with from the Bible; and such modes of speech, though slightly quaint, are by no means yet obsolete.

Had, as equivalent to "should have," "would have," emerged in our language as far back, at least, as the eleventh century.

Rather, the comparative of *rathe*, "speedy," "hasty," "early," etc., at first had the significations to be expected from those of its positive, or "speedier," "hastier," "earlier," "prior," "former," "older."

That this adjective must, at some time, have denoted "preferable," might almost certainly have been inferred from the adverb *rather*, in phraseology such as "I would have this *rather* than that," *i.e.*, "I would have this *preferably* to that." And it actually once was a synonym of *preferable*, notwithstanding the silence, on this point, of lexicographers and grammarians. Proofs are subjoined.

The first that I shall adduce occurs in an anonymous poem, supposed to date before 1430, found at pp. 86, 87, of *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, etc. (1867):

> "It is *rathir* to bileeve the wageringe wiinde
> Than the chaungeable world that makith men so blinde."

The second is from Bishop Pecock's *Repressor*, written about 1456: "And, certis, in such aventure, it were *rather* to truste to the conscience and discrecion of him which is in state of a reuler, than to the conscience of hem whiche ben in the state of hem that ben to be reulid." Vol. ii., p. 393.

The third is from Lord Berners's translation of Froissart, executed in the time of Henry VIII.: "For I had *rather* the welth [*i.e.*, welfare] of hym that hath maryed my doughter, than of hym that never dyd nothyng for me, though I have maryed his suster." Vol. i., p. 41 (ed. 1812).

In the anonymous *Thersytes*, which appeared a few years after Lord Berners's death in 1532, is the verse:

> "I thincke thou haddest *rather* alyve to be flayne."

Even in the days of James I., the consciousness that *rather* meant "preferable" lingered on. This signification of the word is pretty plainly recognized by Edward Brerewood (d. 1613), who writes: "Had the Apostles *rather* a man should perish of famine than be releived of his owne?" *A Second Treatise of the Sabbath* (1632), p. 17. *Had* is, with some probability, a strict preterite here; the sense then being: "Did the Apostles hold it to be better," etc.

"I had rather go," to be construed "I should deem going more eligible," is, therefore, simply a way that obtained, in older English, of expressing "I should think it better that I went," or "I somewhat prefer to go."

Your obedient servant,

FITZEDWARD HALL.

MARLESFORD, Sept. 1, 1880.

In my letter which you printed on the 10th of last June, I quoted, for the intransitive verb *claim*, a book published in 1648. But Bishop Pecock, nearly two hundred years earlier, wrote: "Certis, no man mai *cleyme* . . . *that* . . . this word . . . schulde needis bitokene a graved ymage," etc. *The Repressor*, vol. i., p. 140.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As a single one of many cheering signs that, notwithstanding the contempt with which both parties in the campaign have treated civil-service reform, the importance of the subject is being more and more recognized by earnest and thoughtful people of all classes, will you allow me to mention the fact that at the Michigan State Conference of Unitarian Churches, held in Detroit last week, a paper on civil-service reform was read by Rev. C. G. Howland, of Kalamazoo—long an earnest advocate of the subject—and in the subsequent discussion of the paper it came to light that every minister of the Conference was an active friend of the reform. Accordingly the Conference took action (1) to open the way for Mr. Howland to give the paper (which was regarded as a very able presentation of the subject) as a lecture in as many towns of the State as possible within the next few weeks, and then (2) to publish the same in large quantities for free general distribution as a "religious tract,"

believing that political corruption is an evil fatal alike to government, society, and religion, and that reform of the civil service is the most important moral as well as political issue now before the country. J. T. S.

ANN ARBOR, MICH., Oct. 27, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: We have watched with pleasure the agitation of the question of a Civil-Service Reform Publication Society in your columns, and are glad to see your announcement that the subject is taking tangible shape, and that a society will likely be organized soon after the Presidential election. Thus far all the proffers seem to be in cash subscriptions, for the formation of a Publishing Bureau. Believing that the enlistment in the good cause of as many as possible of the already-established newspapers and periodicals will be of advantage in reaching the masses, we modestly volunteer in the new army, and pledge ourselves to do all that a weekly newspaper with sixteen hundred subscribers can. In our own weak way we had already commenced the fight, but we know that under the guidance of a well-managed bureau our battling may be made more effective. We hope to see many other papers speedily fall into line, if such aid is considered acceptable.

Truly yours, W. W. SCOTT.

OFFICE OF THE "IRON VALLEY REPORTER," CANAL DOVER, OHIO, Oct. 22, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Some of your correspondents seem to be anxious as to the possible partisan bent of a Civil-Service Reform Publication Society. The anxiety seems to me to be easily removable. Let the Society systematically decline to "endorse" *any* candidate, of either party; but let it publish the names of candidates for any office—Congressional, Presidential, State, or local—who are personally pledged against appointments or removals for political reasons, and for complete civil-service reform; and let those who join the Society do so under a pledge not to vote for any candidate not so pledged. Nothing will be more apt to make the average politician "pledge" himself to anything than the imminent refusal of any large fraction of voters to "come out." J.

NORWALK, CONN., Oct. 28, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A good cause is sometimes endangered by the excessive zeal of imprudent friends. The cause of civil-service reform, it seems to me, is exposed to peril from this source. Its advocates quite generally appear to demand not merely that members of Congress shall not exercise a controlling influence in the selection of civil officers, appointed by the Executive, but that the President shall carefully abstain from holding any communication with members of Congress respecting the selection of such officers. Thus, the passage in General Garfield's letter accepting the nomination for the Presidency has been sharply criticised, because he says in it, with reference to executive appointments:

"To select wisely from our vast population those who are best fitted for the many offices to be filled requires an acquaintance far beyond the range of one man. The Executive should, therefore, seek and receive the information and assistance of those whose knowledge of the communities in which the duties are to be performed thus qualifies them to aid in making the wisest choice."

A writer in the *Nation* of the 30th of September last declares that this paragraph is equivalent to an assertion that "Congressmen should have a guiding and controlling influence in appointing the civil officers of their respective States and districts." This is not a fair construction of General Garfield's language. There are other persons besides members of Congress who, by their knowledge of the communities in which the duties of officers who may be appointed are to be performed, are qualified to aid the Executive with information and assistance in making a proper choice. General Garfield would have the Executive free to seek counsel of all such persons, whether members of Congress or not. But some of the friends of civil-service reform, irritated by the recollection of past abuses, would have members of Congress utterly excluded from giving information or counsel. In my judgment this is going to an unjustifiable extreme. After all, members of Congress are not so much worse than other men. I have known several who were quite intelligent, reasonably honest, and for whose opinions and judgment I had considerable respect. A discerning and upright President may be trusted to hear the recommendations even of members of Congress, and to give them their due weight. The great abuse in the matter of appointments to the civil service has been the demand, by members of Congress, not to give information and advice merely, but to designate absolutely the persons for appointment in their respective States or districts. There is no reason to believe that General Garfield approves of such dictation, or that, if elected, he would submit to it.

As a friend of civil-service reform I hope that General Garfield, if he is our next President, will treat members of Congress with courtesy; that, in regard to removals and appointments to office, he will consult with them, but not with them only, nor with the purpose of being controlled by their suggestions; and especially that he will make no removals except for cause. The fact that a man has been chosen to represent his State in the Senate, or his district in the House, should not be held to disqualify him for giving information and advice to the President respecting appointments among his constituents. The public are quick to complain if a President makes many appointments among his personal friends and intimate acquaintances. He cannot confine his selection within such narrow limits, and if he goes outside of it he must rely upon information from others. It will be difficult to persuade the people that in so doing he should wholly ignore the representatives they have chosen. In seeming to demand such a course the civil-service reformers are doing their own cause an injury. The leaders in any reform movement must lead, but they should avoid going so far in advance as to be beyond the reach of the sympathies of the rest of mankind. The voice crying in the wilderness should not begin too far away in the wilderness. Civil-service reform has already made some progress. It will continue to make progress if its advocates are reasonable, temperate, and persistent. But, now and then, they need to recall Talleyrand's maxim, *Pas trop de zèle.*

H. R.

MILWAUKEE, Oct. 25, 1880.

Notes.

A. D. F. RANDOLPH & CO. have in press 'Honolulu, 1828–61,' by the late Laura F. Judd.——Sidney Perley, Boxford, Mass., proposes to publish in January a new monthly, the *Essex County Historical and Genealogical Register*, thus supplementing the Essex Institute's Historical Collections and the less circumscribed *Historical and Genealogical Register* of Boston. It will be illustrated as far as practicable.——The *Platonist*, a monthly magazine of the philosophy implied in its name, is to be issued by Thomas M. Johnson, of Osceola, Mo.——The *American Architect* for October 23 contains a perspective view of the design for the new National Museum at Washington. The presumed necessity of conforming to the architecture of the Smithsonian Institution must be regarded as unfortunate. The building will be ready for occupancy by July next. The number for Oct. 30 is noticeable as being given up to a history and description of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, with heliotype and other excellent illustrations.——A partial bibliography of Parks and Landscape Gardening in the October *Bulletin* of the Boston Public Library should be useful to any one interested in the subject.——No. 11 of the Rhode Island Historical Tracts (Providence: Sidney S. Rider) contains sketches of the lives of two Rhode Island authoresses, Frances H. Whipple (Mrs. McDougall) and Catherine R. Arnold (Mrs. Williams), and of a well-known standard writer on law, Joseph K. Angell. It has some value as a contribution to the history of the Dorr rebellion, but is especially curious as recording Mr. Angell's endeavor to recover an English property without an heir—not the first or the last will-o'-the-wisp chase of the kind, but as well conducted and promising as any.——A revised edition of Prof. B. G. Wilder's pocket 'Health Notes for Students' has been issued by Andrus & Church, Ithaca, N. Y. It is commendable for general observance.——'Mary and I; or, Forty Years with the Sioux,' by Stephen R. Riggs, D.D. (Chicago: W. G. Homes), is a narrative of personal experiences in an arduous and often dangerous missionary field, and will have a certain degree of attraction for the religious world for its display of Christian faith and courage, especially on the part of the deceased Mary, the wife of the author. It does not give, or pretend to give, such a view of the special characteristics of the Indians, and of the considerations bearing on the question of their permanent civilization, as would make the book have any special significance in the discussion of the great Indian question.——'The Englishman and the Scandinavian,' by Frederick Metcalfe, M.A. (London: Trübner & Co.), is an attempt to give a lively and popular account of the customs, notions, language, and literature of the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians by picking out all the good things from the original books in both languages and weaving them together. If it were intended for scholars, fault might be found with it as not using the latest authorities on various matters; but it is sufficiently accurate and learned for its purpose, and may very well be a success. It is disfigured, however, by an unreasonable insistence on the superiority of the Scandinavians, and also by the use of polite slang by way of garnish, as we find it in the mouths of characters in English novels, not heretofore in the historical works of the fellows of Oxford.——Dr. A. Rambeau has printed in a separate pamphlet his paper in the *Englische Studien* on the relation of Chaucer's 'House of Fame' to Dante's 'Divina Commedia.' He has gathered all the parallel passages and expressions with true German thoroughness; but they do not amount to much, after all. However, Dr. Rambeau brings in much general exposition and criticism, and has made an interesting paper of it.——Dr. John Koch, in his 'Ausgewählte kleinere Dichtungen Chaucer's' (Leipzig: W. Friedrich, 1880), has selected for translation into German in the original metres ten of

Chaucer's minor poems, which he thinks are most interesting and suggestive in connection with the poet's character and life. The longest and liveliest is the "Parlament of Foules," of which Professor Lounsbury lately gave us an excellent edition. The translations are good. The notes are brief and few. The Introduction, however, contains some interesting attempts to fix the dates and other circumstances of the poems.——J. W. Bouton is agent for the new *Revue des Arts Décoratifs*, of which Quantin is the Paris publisher, in relations with the *Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts*. The opening numbers criticise and illustrate the recent exhibition of the works of the late Viollet-le-Duc, among other matters of much interest. The photogravures are admirably executed.——Musicians will be delighted to hear that Breitkopf & Härtel, of Leipzig, are preparing a complete edition of Franz Liszt's articles and letters on musical topics, hitherto scattered through various French and German periodicals. The first volume, comprising the monograph on Chopin, translated by "La Mara," has just appeared, and four others are to follow. ——Parts 21 and 22 of Oncken's 'Allgemeine Geschichte' (New York: Westermann) conclude the history of the Crusades, by Professor Kugler, and begin the history of the Roman Empire, by Professor Hertzberg. The illustrations relating to the siege of Rhodes by the Turks are quaint reproductions; those concerning the Roman Empire are fine wood-engravings of well-known scenes and masterpieces of art, introduced by two fragments from the sculptured gigantomachy of the Pergamus altar, showing Athena and Hecate respectively in combat with the giants.

—Long before the *Nation* reached its thirtieth volume, readers who had preserved the files of the paper urged us to make a comprehensive index to them. Editorial convenience powerfully seconded this appeal, but the task grew more and more formidable while we hesitated, and meantime the associated libraries which have undertaken the continuation of 'Poole's Index' had included the *Nation* up to the present year, giving subject-references to select editorial articles and book reviews, and occasionally to the other departments of the paper, and affixing, where known, the names of the writers. The probable date of completion of this international enterprise we cannot indicate, and we should further state that the *Nation* index will not stand by itself, but will be confounded topically with that of the several periodicals embraced in the scheme. We have been lately surprised and gratified by receiving advance-sheets of 'A General Index to the *Nation*—Vols. i.–xxx., July, 1865–Sept., 1880,' compiled entirely without our knowledge by one of our contributors, who we can only hope will find his account in it beyond the satisfaction which he takes in making our files accessible for those who value them as he does.

—This Index will fill about 40 pp. 8vo, in three columns, containing references not only to articles, but parts of articles, and having this general plan: "(1) To place under the name of each author the volume and page on which each of his books has been reviewed; (2) to place under each subject and subsubject the volume and page of articles, notes, or reviews relating to it." We cannot speak of the execution as a whole, having only seen a portion of the press-proofs, but there is clearly no attempt to reach the standard of the advanced index-making of the present day, and cross-references will often have to be imagined by the searcher. For example, under *Crédit-Mobilier*, the references are to the original scandal, and not to the revival of it during the past few months, for which *Garfield* will probably have to be consulted. Inconsistencies like *Aiskulos* and *Alexander*, *Athens* and *Crêtê* and *Cyprus*, occur in the treatment of Greek names. *Biografy*, *Elefants*, and *Filosofy* show the compiler's predilection for the new orthography, and *Chymistry* for the old. But these caprices are the "personal equation" which the user of the Index will soon get accustomed to and make allowance for, while divisions like *America—U. S.*, *Art*, *Bible*, *Boston*, *Catholic Church*, *China*, *Copyright*, *Dante*, *Education*, *Household*, *International Law*, *Politics*, *Political Economy*, *Social Subjects*, *Trade*, etc., reveal the real utility of the work. Without endorsing it, therefore, as the best that could have been done, we can heartily recommend it as worth far more than it costs, to say nothing of its being the only actual Index, with no great probability of ever having a rival. Our next issue will probably contain the compiler's advertisement.

—The 'Bibliography of the State of Ohio,' prepared and issued by Mr. Peter G. Thomson, of Cincinnati, is welcome not only in and for itself but as adding another American publisher to the list of American authors. Eastern examples of such a conjunction are, if not so numerous as might be desired, still not rare; and in Cincinnati Mr. Robert Clarke had already shown that scholarship and research and literary aptitude are compatible with success in the manufacture and sale of books. The Ohio Valley Historical Series, which he inspired and supported as long as he was able, is fitly supplemented by Mr. Thomson's Bibliography, an elegant royal octavo volume of 436 pp., printed on heavy paper, with broad margins and rubrics, in unexceptionable taste. It contains some 1,400 titles, from which the ordinary public documents have been excluded, but among which are recorded all the publications of the State geological surveys and the laws of the Northwestern Territories. It ranks ninth in the order of State bibliographies, for only Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maryland, Minnesota, and Wisconsin can point to similar undertakings; in all other respects it is perhaps second to none. Mr. Thomson has personally examined nearly every work on his list, and in the case of the rarer ones he indicates the libraries in which they may be found. He appends, wherever advisable, notes, both explanatory and critical, and not seldom gossipy, ending with an exhibit of the prices which the work in hand has brought at various sales. The Braddock literature, with Washington's Journal; Harrisoniana, which embraces no less than thirteen campaign lives (with Caleb Cushing and Richard Hildreth among the writers of them) and nine campaign song-books, besides endless sermons, eulogies, etc.; American, German, and French editions of Heckewelder's 'History, etc., of the Indian Nations'; the literature of "Symmes's theory" of the inner constitution of the globe, which enables Mr. Thomson in a note to describe the theory and sketch the life of its eccentric inventor; and the 'Book of Mormon,' of which the second edition was published in Cincinnati, are perhaps the salient features of the Bibliography. Classics like Burnet's and Doddridge's 'Notes,' Finley's 'Life among the Indians,' Christian Frederick Post's 'Second Journal,' and even Ashe's bogus 'Travels in America' and Josiah Priest's 'American Antiquities,' of course, are here, and among the eminent names not already cited we meet with J. Q. Adams, Lyman Beecher, T. Corwin, Michaux and Rafinesque, Paine and Volney; and, of an earlier generation, Governor Thomas Pownall. An appendix of omitted titles, a subject-index, and a list of sales conclude and complete this praiseworthy performance.

—We find in the London *Athenæum* of Oct. 16 a fuller statement than we were able to make a fortnight ago, from the Messrs. Harper's prospectus, concerning the English edition of their *Monthly*. It will be apparent from this how significant a step towards international copyright, without the intervention of any treaty, has been undertaken by this house:

"A European edition of *Harper's Magazine* is to be begun in December by Messrs. Sampson Low & Co. It has been through this well-known magazine, in the course of its sixty volumes, that many of the leading novels of Bulwer, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, and other English writers have been introduced to American readers, and the use of such copyright material has hitherto prevented its sale here. This difficulty it is proposed to obviate by securing the right of serial publication both for Europe and America, and Mr. Thomas Hardy is now engaged upon a novel which, with illustrations by Mr. Du Maurier, will appear exclusively in *Harper's*. It is noteworthy that while English newspapers greatly surpass American in average circulation, the American illustrated magazines have, on the contrary, larger sales, *Harper's* reaching about 140,000, and its younger rival, *Scribner's*, which has already gained a footing here, about 100,000 monthly. The great outlay on illustrations, reaching sometimes a hundred in a number, that these magazines incur, would evidently be impossible did they not attain a very large circulation. The European edition will be partly printed here, the American editorial departments being partially replaced by English."

—We have received a circular from the "Rochester Astronomical Society," with permission "to use in any way most desirable." Upon second thoughts, and upon seeing it appear expanded and with a cut in the reading columns of such papers as the *New England Journal of Education* and the *Illustrated Christian Weekly*, it has seemed that some brief notice would be such a use. It chronicles the facts, among others, that "the new Warner Observatory which is being erected at Rochester, N. Y., is attracting much attention in social and literary as well as scientific circles," and that it "has been heavily endowed by Mr. H. H. Warner, proprietor of the Safe Kidney and Liver Cure and other remedies." It is also to be "the finest private observatory in the world," and as it is to be "specially devoted to discoveries there are good reasons to expect very many scientific revelations in the near future." Professors Watson and Swift, the latter of whom is to have charge of it, have already "discovered three intra-mercurial planets," which, considering the endower's ownership of remedies that are safe, suggests a paronomasia that is execrable, to be sure, but how otherwise to account for the connection between astronomy and patent medicines it is difficult to see. Does the science of concocting kidney and liver cures depend in some occult way upon astrology, and is it possible that astrology can have been developed anew by the "discoveries" of Professor Swift? In any event, it is easy to perceive that Mr. Warner has hit upon an ingenious device in advertising his astronomical appliances instead of his chemical compounds. Notoriously the ordinary means of familiarizing the public with the virtues of safe kidney cures have grown stale and monotonous, and such a novelty as this cannot fail to be admired. Whether scientific societies and individuals who desire to make use of the discoveries about to occur will be obliged to reciprocate by taking packages of the patron's remedies for general distribution and personal consumption, does not appear. Possibly the general impression that a man who is unselfish enough to build the finest private observatory in the world in the interests of science cannot manufacture deleterious nostrums, is all that is sought. At any rate, the conjunction aforesaid is odd enough to make us think that educational and religious journals which parade it should either do so in their advertising columns or make more fuss about it in the interests of novelty.

—The recent meeting of the American Oriental Society in this city (Oct. 28) was made especially interesting by the presence of Dr. Martin, president of the college for instruction of Chinese young men in European languages and knowledge at Peking. Dr. Martin made two communications: one on the Chinese worship of ancestors, of which he took a much more favorable view than that of most missionaries, asserting that it had done much to save China from idolatry and hierarchical despotism, and that any objectionable element in it might be left to melt out under the influence of an accepted Christianity instead of being made by positive attack the strongest obstacle in the way of Christianity; and another on new forms of Buddhism in Japan and China, in which, especially in the former country, is seen a notable assimilation to Christian doctrine. Prof. S. Wells Williams, of Yale College, read an article on *Fu-sang*, held by many to be a western America known to the Chinese; he showed by the circumstances of the origin of its description, and by the surroundings of the latter, that the notion was destitute of any shade of plausibility. The veteran Egyptologist, Professor Seyffarth, discussed the origin and date of the obelisk now in process of erection on Central Park. He pointed out that its current connection with Cleopatra is purely fanciful, and regarded it as first set up by Thothmes III., nearly 1,900 years before Christ, and further inscribed by Rameses II., 200 years later. Interesting contributions to Biblical exegesis and Eastern ceremonial were made from the Syriac by Prof. Isaac H. Hall, of Philadelphia. Prof. Whitney, of New Haven, discussed the methods of transliteration of Sanskrit in use among scholars, with the design of contributing toward the unification of their present variety. Mr. Perry, of Columbia College, read extracts from an exhaustive discussion of the god Indra as he appears in the Rig-Veda. Further papers were offered by Drs. Ward and Hübsch, Professors Short and Whitney, Mr. Rockhill, and others.

—The institution over which Dr. Martin presides is called the Tungwen College. It issued last year its first printed calendar in Chinese and English. From this we learn that, founded in 1861, it now numbers over a hundred students, with eight European professors, of various nationalities, and one Chinese, besides an auxiliary corps of native instructors. The full course of instruction is eight years; three are devoted wholly to the acquisition of European languages, the remainder to scientific and general studies, followed through the medium of those languages, but chiefly of English, for which alone at present the course is completely organized. The successful students are placed in the line of official promotion and put to use as interpreters, translators, attachés to legations, and the like. They are supported by Government from the start, and begin soon to receive a monthly stipend, which is gradually increased according to progress made. There is a foreign library of 1,350 volumes, besides text-books and Chinese books, and a printing-office forms part of the establishment. A list is given of works turned into Chinese from western tongues for the use of the college, mostly by its instructors. The institution was founded and is maintained under the enlightened patronage of Prince Kung, uncle of the boy-emperor. It is, of course, impossible to tell to what it will lead; but it is likely to prove an important agency in helping to break down the thick wall of Chinese exclusiveness.

—Miss Clara Morris is, we believe, the only American actress who has ever attempted with any success the modern French emotional drama. After an interval of some years, she is now playing at the Park Theatre several of her best-known parts, including that of *Alixe*, a rôle in which she made some of her earliest successes. The play is one which presents opportunities for extraordinarily fine and also extraordinarily bad acting. *Alixe*, brought up in the household of the *Marquis de Césaranne*, a happy and amiable girl, knowing nothing about her origin except that she is the daughter of *Madame Valory*, is in reality the illegitimate child of that lady, who is really the wife of the *Count de Somerive*. The countess had deserted her husband for the father of *Alixe* years before, and the husband and wife have never met since. The daughter sees and loves *Henri de Kerdran*, who is unfortunately betrothed to *Lucienne*, the legitimate child of the count and countess. *Lucienne*, however, knows no more of the previous history of *Madame Valory* than does *Alixe*, and imagines her mother dead. The *Duc de Mirandol*, a rich man, gifted with a great deal of good feeling, but also afflicted with a considerable share of folly, is in love with *Alixe*. The *Marquis de Césaranne* and wife, married and happy, are figures in the background of the play, serving to lighten its general gloom and tragedy. In fact, and it is a curious fact, if these characters and the duke were omitted, as they easily might be, the play, thoroughly modern as it is in feeling, would be almost classical in form: the unities of time, place, and action are preserved throughout to an extent very rare in modern tragedy. It is obvious that with such materials as the characters and situation present, abundant opportunity for tragedy exists. First, we have the revelation of the mutual love of *Henri de Kerdran* and *Alixe*, followed closely by the discovery that he is engaged to be married to *Lucienne*. Upon the heels of this comes the unexpected appearance of the *Count de Somerive* and the discovery, gradual but certain, by *Alixe* of her real history. Meanwhile, to deepen the tragedy, *Kerdran* has finally determined to break off his engagement with *Lucienne* and marry *Alixe*, so that the discovery of her wretched position comes at what was apparently going to be a happy turn in the tide for her. At one stroke her whole life is ruined. She discovers that she is illegitimate, that her mother is a faithless wife, and that she is the sister of the woman whose lover she is taking from her. Such a play could have only one climax—the death of the victim; and as emotional drama is nothing if not heartrending, we are feasted in the fourth act with a sight of the corpse itself. She has drowned herself, and the play fittingly ends with the scene in which her body is brought into the house of the marquis. The range of emotion in the part of *Alixe* is, of course, very great, and Miss Morris is an actress of such marked natural powers that she brings out many of the strongest points in the play with striking effect. She is, however, to our mind, much better fitted for parts requiring stormy and passionate acting than for pathetic scenes. It is difficult to imagine anybody acting *Alixe* perfectly. Certainly no English or American actress could do so, for the whole conception of the character, and one at least of the situations, is pre-eminently Gallic. Miss Morris is at her best in the scene in which she discovers her mother's guilt. Her bewilderment and horror over this are a good example of her acting at its best. The acting of Mrs. J. J. Prior, who takes the part of *Madame Valory* also deserves notice. The part is one full of difficulties, which Mrs. Prior overcomes with marked ability. Indeed, she makes it almost the principal part of the play.

—The most interesting event of last week's Italian opera was the reproduction of "Rigoletto," with Madame Gerster in the cast, who, for the first time in this country, assumed the part of *Gilda*, one of the most interesting and effective characters on the Italian operatic stage. Never before has Madame Gerster so fully displayed her splendid dramatic qualities as she did on this occasion. Her girlish simplicity in the first act was charming, and the awaking of her love was beautifully rendered in the famous aria, "Caro nome," which she decorated with a wealth of florid ornamentation that was at times bewildering, while the broader passages were rendered with intense fervor and dramatic force. A delightful effect was produced by the artist as she slowly ascended the staircase to her bedroom; she ended her long scene with a high, sustained note of remarkable clearness and power, which faintly died away long after she was out of sight of the audience. In the great duo with the baritone in the second act she was equally effective; but she had reserved the full strength of her dramatic and vocal powers for the famous quartet in the third act, perhaps Verdi's best piece of work, which was the crowning point of the evening's performance. It is needless to speak of Galassi. *Rigoletto* is one of the most powerful parts of this admirable artist, and he infused it with all his habitual grace and skill. The new tenor, Ravelli, sang the part of the *Duke* with great brilliancy and animation, and Mlle. Belocca looked exceedingly pretty in her gipsy costume. "Favorita," with the same cast as last year, with Campanini and Miss Cary in the leading rôles, was given at the Saturday matinée.

—The 'Proceedings and Transactions of the Manchester Conference of the Library Association of the United Kingdom' has at last appeared, nearly a year after the meeting and just in time for the Edinburgh meeting. American librarians had received a foretaste of the contents through an abstract in the fourth volume of the *Library Journal*, prepared by Mr. Tedder, who seems to have a special gift in the art of *précis* writing. The volume is sumptuously printed, like its predecessors; but seems to us to be of less practical interest, a large part of the space being devoted to historical and descriptive sketches of the libraries of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire. Mr. Parr's paper on the card-ledger, in which he has re-invented an American device, Mr. Cotgreave's on his indicator, and Mr. Walford's on library-fires are worthy of attention. The paper on the employment of young women shows some advance in English opinion on this subject since the London conference. Mr. Wilson's "Classification (meaning classed catalogues) in Libraries" contains many just remarks. The gist of it is that a system of classification should be made to fit the books, and not the books crowded into a preconceived artificial classification. But the author does not notice that a scheme can be made out beforehand from the books now in the world, as ascertained by a careful study of the innumerable catalogues published, and then applied to any library. Such a scheme, if it contains within itself provision for modification as science progresses, will probably be not only more logical, but more consistent, and therefore more convenient, than one built up day by day, as the author recommends, by the addition of new subjects as new books come into the library.

—Additional announcements of forthcoming English works include the following books of travel: 'The Expiring Continent: a Narrative of Travel in Senegambia,' by A. W. Mitchinson; 'Seven Years in South Africa,' by Dr. Emil Holub; 'A Trip up the Niger and Benueh,' by A. Burdo; 'Incidents of a Journey Through Nubia to Darfur,' by Sidney Ensor, C.E.; 'Tent Work in Palestine,' by Lieut. C. R. Conder; 'Pathways of Palestine,' by the Rev. H. B. Tristram; 'A Pilgrimage to Nejd,' by Lady Anne Blunt;

'India in 1880,' by Sir R. Temple; 'The Irrigation Works of India and their Financial Results,' by R. B. Buckley; 'Sketches from Nipal, Historical and Descriptive'; 'Voyage of the *Vega*,' by A. E. Nordenskiöld; 'Siberia in Europe,' a naturalist's visit to the valley of the Petchora, by H. Seebohm; 'Ilios,' by Dr. H. Schliemann; 'The Gardens of the Sun'—the mountains, swamps, and forests of Borneo and the Sulu Archipelago, by F. W. Burbidge; 'New Guinea,' by L. M. d'Albertis; 'Across Patagonia,' by Lady Florence Dixie; 'A Lady's Tour in Corsica,' by Gertrude Forde; 'Unknown Hungary,' by Victor Tissot; 'Holland,' by Edmondo de Amicis; 'Round about Norway,' by C. W. Wood; and 'Rambles among the Hills in the Peak of Derbyshire,' by L. J. Jennings. Kindred works to the foregoing are 'Coral Lands of the Pacific,' by H. Stonehewer Cooper; 'In Zululand with the British, throughout the War of 1879,' by C. L. Norris-Newman; 'With the Kurrum Valley Force in the Cabul Campaign of 1878–79,' by Maj. J. A. S. Colquhoun; 'Colonel Gordon in Central Africa, 1874–79,' with a portrait and maps, edited by G. B. Hill; and 'Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen'—selections from Hakluyt by E. J. Payne.

—In biography we observe 'A Diary Kept while in Office, 1828–30,' by Edward Law, Earl of Ellenborough; 'Life and Letters of Lord Chancellor Campbell,' edited by his daughter, Mrs. Hardcastle; 'The Personal Life of David Livingstone, from his Unpublished Journals and Correspondence,' by W. G. Blaikie; 'Letters of the late Dr. Thirlwall,' edited by Deans Stanley and Perowne; 'Memoirs of the Duke of Saldanha'; 'Mme. de Staël,' by A. Stevens; 'Jane Austen and her Works,' by Sarah Tytler; 'Samuel Pepys and the World he Lived in,' by Henry B. Wheatley; 'Life of Sir Rowland Hill,' with a portrait by Paul Rajon; 'Life and Letters of John T. Delane, late editor of the *Times*,' by Sir G. W. Dasent; and 'Life of Sir Anthony Panizzi,' by Louis Fagan. Histories are not numerous: the third and last volume of Col. G. B. Malleson's admirable 'History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857–59,' for which, by the way, an analytical index, embracing also Sir J. Kaye's 'History of the Sepoy War,' has been prepared by F. Pincott; a 'History of Penny Postage,' by the late Sir R. Hill and his nephew, G. B. Hill; and an 'Enquiry into the Origin, Character, and Reform of the English Land System,' by Sir George C. Brodrick. In connection with this last should be mentioned a treatise, by Prof. Richey of the University of Dublin, on the existing legal relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland and the peculiar Irish legislation concerning them; and the concluding volumes of the 'Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652,' which include hitherto unpublished letters of Oliver Cromwell.

—We conclude with some miscellaneous titles: 'Studies in English Art,' a second series, by F. Wedmore; the third edition of Chatto & Jackson's 'Treatise on Wood Engraving, Historical and Practical'; 'Japanese Arts,' by C. Dresser.——'Horace's Odes,' select English translations, edited by W. F. Cooper; 'Studies in Song,' by A. C. Swinburne; 'Songs and Poems from 1819 to 1879,' by J. R. Planché, edited by his daughter, Mrs. Mackarness; a 'Selection of English Sonnets by Living Writers,' edited by S. Waddington; a translation of the 'Lusiads' of Camoëns, by Capt. Richard Burton; 'The Lyrical Drama,' by H. S. Edwards.——'The Power of Movement in Plants,' by Charles Darwin, assisted by Francis Darwin; 'Prehistoric Europe,' by James Geikie; a 'Dictionary of Ethnological and Philological Geography,' by R. G. Latham; 'Factors of the Unsound Mind, with special reference to the Plea of Insanity in Criminal Cases and the Amendment of the Law,' by W. A. Guy.——'Our Old Country Towns,' by A. Rimmer, illustrated; 'Edinburgh in the Olden Time,' 63 original drawings, 1796–1828, collected by the Rev. John Sime.——'The Letter H, Past, Present, and Future,' by Alfred Leach.

—Curious as the estimate of American literary work by English writers often is, it must yet be admitted that in this respect the palm is rather due the Germans, with whom it is a common notion that the only living American author of note and originality is Bret Harte. His works are in all libraries, more than fifteen volumes of Reclam's cheap edition of German and foreign books being devoted to translations of his sketches and novels, while enterprising newspapers, such as the Berlin *Tageblatt*, make great efforts to secure a new sketch from his pen, which is then announced weeks ahead in large type. Even the great Johannes Scherr, in the brief chapter on American writers appended to his admirable 'Geschichte der Englischen Literatur,' follows the taste of the crowd in so far as to devote almost a page of praise to Cooper, while Hawthorne is no more than mentioned by name, in connection with Neal, Kennedy, Willis, and Bird. As Germany has never produced any novelists that compare with the greatest French and English, it can hardly be expected that the average German should show better taste in matters of fiction than the average Englishman does, say, in musical matters. But it is somewhat surprising to see the attitude assumed by Spielhagen, who is by many regarded as the leading German novelist, in the October number of *Westermann's Monatshefte*, of which he is an editor, or at least a regular contributor. Under the heading "Ein lustiges Buch" he gives a very favorable review of Mark Twain's 'Tramp Abroad,' with a translation of the episode of the bluejay. It characterizes Spielhagen's sense of humor that he should give the first place among Mark Twain's works to this, his latest, production, which has certainly contributed little to his fame in this country, and of which the second volume is simply wretched, or at least silly. Spielhagen says that, with the best intentions, he cannot modify his views of American literature as expressed ten years ago in the preface to one of his works. An American drama is still a thing of the future; the lyric poets, Longfellow, Bryant, Stoddard, Taylor, etc., paint after European models, and the specific American elements—a tendency to moralize and indulge in descriptions—are, according to German æsthetic notions, a defect rather than a poetic merit. In our novels all is imitation excepting a few touches of local color. Of first-rate authors in this line, who might be placed by the side of the first German, English, and French, there is not one. Hawthorne is very much overestimated. He is all imitation and mannerism, and style is altogether out of the question in his case. Poe, as a writer of fiction, of course fares no better. The only green branch on the tree of American fiction—and that only of the short, sketchy sort—bears the names of Mark Twain and Bret Harte. Of Howells, Aldrich, and Warner Spielhagen appears never to have heard, and Henry James, jr., he probably takes for an Englishman. All this is certainly very discouraging to hopeful Americans. Apropos of Spielhagen, we may add that his admirers will find a portrait and sketch of him in *Nord und Süd* for October. The manuscript of the sketch got lost on the way and had to be replaced by another, which shows that even the well-organized German postal system has its shortcomings.

FURNESS'S 'KING LEAR.'*

WE have now an admirable hand-book for the thorough study of "King Lear." Mr. Furness gives us the substance of a hundred volumes in one. It contains a critical text, with all the various readings and interpretations and explanatory notes from the beginning to the present time, with the criticisms and comments of all kinds, lexical, grammatical, æsthetical, and the rest. Mr. Furness works with more ease and expresses his own opinions more freely than in his former volumes, and this is a gain. In an appendix there are discussions of the date of composition, the sources of the plot, the actors, the costume; extended passages of English, German, and French criticism; a good bibliography, and an index. In all there are 503 close-packed pages, and it is a piece of work which Mr. Furness and his collaborators may well be glad to have done. There is no book to be compared with it; it is indispensable to every student of Shakspere.

An examination of it shows that this, sometimes reckoned the greatest of Shakspere's works, is still imperfectly comprehended. After all the study of it a great many difficulties remain unsolved both in the text and the interpretation. In "Hamlet" the verbal difficulties seldom or never extend to the throwing of doubt on the meaning of a sentence; the coherence and familiarity of the matter enable us to follow the sense with confidence. But in the broken and exalted utterances of this play the sense of whole clauses is often doubtful. Mr. Furness's greatest labor must have been with his text. The printed originals are abridgments, and they are so different as to suggest that the copy from which the folio was abridged had been rewritten after the quarto was abridged. Mr. Furness follows the folio, but with many corrections; perhaps too many. It would be simpler and more satisfactory to most students to have the folio always, if it makes sense and metre, even though some other reading seems to be more perspicuous, or poetical, or Shaksperian. Shakspere is not always at his best, nor are we; we may see the dark passage in a new light to-morrow. Thus in I. i. 226, when *France* suggests that *Cordelia* must have done something monstrous and unnatural to make her father so curse her, she beseeches him to make known that

> "It is no vicious blot, murder, or foulness."

For this Mr. Furness reads:

> "It is no vicious blot or other foulness."

It must be admitted that the new reading is at best rather an improvement than a necessity. Indeed, if "murder" is something too monstrous for *Cordelia*, the other is too tame for *Lear's* curses and charges. Mr. Furness might have taken warning from Mr. Richard Grant White, who at first accepted the new reading, but at last rejects it. The example may stand for one class of objectionable corrections; reading *burdocks* for *hardokes* (IV. iv. 4), because the botanists cannot identify *hardokes*, is an example of another class.

Mr. Furness is more and more disposed to adhere to the exact forms of words used by Shakspere. "Why should Shakespeare's text be modernized?" he says; "we do not so treat Spenser. Is Shakespeare's text less sacred?" So he has retained *it* for *its*, *moe* for *more*, *vilde* for *vile*, and the like; and he regrets that he has not printed the "then" of the folio for

* 'A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare. Edited by Horace Howard Furness, Ph.D., LL.D., Honorary Member of the "Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft" of Weimar.' Vol. V., King Lear. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.

"than." On this hint Mr. Furnivall is about to publish a cheap reprint in the old spelling throughout, and it will be a useful book. It is perhaps better in an edition like this to take the mean between a literal reprint and the usual modernized page. Mr. Furness might, however, carry his adhesion to the folio much farther than he does in the direction of significant and reasonable spelling. In the first scene we find that he has changed *weigh'd, craz'd, lov'd*, and the like to *weighed, crazed, loved; banisht, voucht*, and the like to *banished, vouched; interest* to *interess'd; honor, honor'd* to *honour, honour'd*. It would be a little quaint but not offensive to have retained *bountie, libertie, shadowie, dutie;* the good old ending *-ie* should not have yielded to the penman's fondness for final *y*. So *bin* for *been* might well stand to testify for our American pronunciation. And why should such a truthful word as *horson* have its etymology and pronunciation disguised by heading and padding it with *w* and *e*?

Mr. Furness has noticed that particles sometimes wholly disappear through absorption into adjacent words, and he keeps a sharp lookout for them, and indicates them by an apostrophe. Thus, in I. i. 275 he reads

"Prescribe not' us our duty,"

because he thinks a *to* has been absorbed by the *t* of *not;* and in II. ii. 116 he reads

"Such a deal of man
That' worthied him,"

because an *it* is absorbed in *That*. But in neither passage is there any such absorption as he supposes.

In the critical study of "Lear" a great difficulty arises from the point of view. We easily accept the view in "Romeo and Juliet," where everything appears as it does to the eye of youth; *Juliet*, thirteen years old, is old enough. In "Hamlet," too, we see the world as it appears to one just entering the battle of life. The father of our *Ophelia* is still a superfluous old *Polonius*. But, as Shakspere grows older, he passes beyond the experience of great numbers of his readers. In "Macbeth" and "Othello" the point of view is that of middle age, and in "King Lear" the world is seen as it appears to an infirm old man. We must take the truthfulness of the presentment with a large measure of faith. We never have been old men; we do not know how they feel; we never have had thankless daughters; we never have been insane; we do not even know by observation how the insane act and talk. The difficulty of bringing us to this point of view is increased by the story, which turns upon the doings of the young married couples who have to entertain in their families the old king and his hundred knights. It is very easy to take the point of view of the young folks when they say:

"——your all-licensed fool,
And other of your insolent retinue,
Do hourly carp and quarrel;
Our court grows like a riotous inn.
Fifty of these followers are surely enough."

Change the sex of *Lear*. Literature has hardly a point of view more familiar or more easily taken than the married man's view of the worrying mother-in-law. Shakspere does not disguise the facts. He shows us the king in his unreason, his passion, his worrying, his domineering. How, then, does he bring us to accept his point of view?

The most obvious source of this power is the perfect utterancy of the king, the ease and copiousness with which he gives intense expression to his feelings. He is regal withal, every inch a king; and in the first scene, as we hear him dispensing kingdoms and curses so grandly and so strangely, we give the reins to imagination and bid farewell to the regions of common sense, as though we were listening to the heroes or gods of Æschylus. The difficulty of keeping us in sympathy with the old king afterwards is partly met by showing the young folk committing crimes against each other abhorrent to human nature, so that no one thinks of questioning the justice of their father's reproaches and curses. At the crisis of the play, at the tempest, the whirlwind of his passion, when conversation with other men must needs be pitiful or laughable, the powers of nature—night, and storm, and darkness—fill the stage; rain, wind, thunder become the old king's interlocutors in place of thankless daughters. We see the heavens taking part against us, and the gods killing men for sport as wanton boys kill flies. It is a matter of course that he who could carry us with the king to such heights of frantic passion at the wounds offered to his imagination and kingly pride, should be able to keep us with him in his truly human woe at the death of the daughter he loves. The tears shed over *Cordelia* need no explanation. But *Lear's* perfect utterancy in gentleness is as noticeable as that in passion.

Perhaps no other character in fiction or history has been set forth with such minuteness and eloquent elaboration, on the hint of so few recorded traits, as *Cordelia*. But the commentators treat her mainly as she appears in the final scenes. With her tears and smiles for her poor father, and her immortal voice—ever soft, gentle, and low—she seems the incarnation of filial piety. When her father appeals to her in the first scene to say how much she loves him, she might be expected, if she could not speak, at least to look her love, and tenderly deplore her want of utterancy. But she defends herself sharply in her silence, and commends her want as a virtue. She also roundly declares that she expects to love her husband, if she shall have one, and that she will not pretend to be wholly devoted to her father. Some of the critics expound these passages as showing that *Cordelia* had a spice of her father's temper. It does not seem to have occurred to any that she has already looked with love on one of her suitors; but that would explain much on better grounds than temper.

LUCA SIGNORELLI AND THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE.*

HERR VISCHER seems to foresee in his preface that few readers who are not unusually gifted with patience and perseverance will follow him through the maze of his historical, topographical, and biographical rambles. He does not, however, warn us that he means to dissect and discuss all themes, including such as the nature of the Deity, the Antichrist, and the Evil One; that he will touch on different philosophical systems of thought, including those of Hegel, Schopenhauer, and many others; nor that he means to quote largely from the book on æsthetics of Herr Fr. Vischer, whose flights of fancy are truly bewildering. He promises to spare us details on Rome, Florence, Lorenzo the Magnificent, and the popes, making sure that we are well informed on these subjects, and this generous consideration on his part gives rise to speculation as to how much more tedious the book might have been had he not given us credit for some previous knowledge and dwelt at length on these themes also. We have under our author's guidance the opportunity of considering Luca Signorelli, his work, and his relation to the Italian Renaissance from every point of view. To use his own words: "We will open the secret door into his studio, we will understand him at his work, we will listen to his monologue, we will look into his very heart; we will not spare ourselves any form of psychological or philosophical research"; and though the data of Signorelli's life are too slight and leave too many gaps for any very detailed biography, Herr Vischer has, by a close study of the work of this great master, done all that patient investigation and a warm sympathy for the personality of Luca Signorelli can do towards giving us the story of his life and work. Our author has spared himself no trouble in this labor of love. He made three journeys to Italy in order to see and study afresh Signorelli's frescoes; other journeys he made to the art galleries of Altenburg, Dresden, and Berlin. One cannot but be impressed by the earnestness and conscientiousness of the biographer, though one may deplore his not having given his work a more readable form.

The first part of the book is taken up with local history—*i.e.*, detailed accounts of the history and government of Cortona, Signorelli's birthplace; of Arezzo, Florence, Loreto, Perugia, Rome, Città di Castello, Urbino, Siena, and Orvieto during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the master having executed works in all these towns. Then comes the biography of Signorelli's teachers and predecessors in art; for example, Lazzaro Vasari, who took him as a boy and introduced him to Piero della Francesca of Borgo San Sepolcro, whose assistant and disciple Luca remained for many years. A chapter is devoted to Verrocchio and Pollaiuolo, Herr Vischer having come to the conclusion that Signorelli during his stay at Florence came directly under their influence as a pupil, on account of a certain similarity in the type of some bearded saints to the works of both those masters; he also recognizes Verrocchio's mannered style of bending up the little finger in hands in movement, in Signorelli's drawings after his acquaintance and apprenticeship in the Florentine school, of which Verrocchio and Pollaiuolo are regarded as the Realists. Another chapter is devoted to the Idealists and Romanticists. Of these, Fra Filippo Lippi, Sandro Botticelli, Luca della Robbia, Ghirlandaio, and Benedetto da Maiano are most important, not forgetting Benozzo Gozzoli, who, according to Herr Vischer, is the only one of his countrymen gifted with gladsomeness. The great Leonardo is placed midway between the Romantics and the Realists, taking the highest place in either camp. Perugino's "angels of upturned looks and pious glances" seem to have influenced Signorelli, as also Pinturicchio, whose style is similar.

After this long preamble follows the life of Luca Signorelli, taken chiefly from Vasari and Manni. The former is a warm admirer of the master's work and speaks of him in these terms:

"Although there is great blame to those who, through the mere desire and pride of surpassing others rather than from a wish of usefulness or beneficence, do good work, this reproach cannot be given to Luca of Cortona, who always loved his art and was always kindly to whoever desired to learn, and wherever he could be of use to his profession. And the goodness of his nature was such that he never stooped to anything that was not just and holy, for which reason heaven, recognizing him as a truly good man, was very generous in the blessings showered on him. Luca Signorelli was an excellent painter, and his works were in such great esteem that none were more so at any time."

The name of Signorelli appears in the books of communal deliberations

* 'Luca Signorelli und die Italienische Renaissance. Eine Kunsthistorische Monographie von Robert Vischer.' Leipzig. 1879.

at Cortona as "Luca d'Egidio di maestro Ventura de' Signorelli." He is frequently mentioned in the archives of his native town, as his family was one of the most important, and he was elected nine times to the post of supreme magistrate of the "Signori Priori." At the age of ten he went to Arezzo to study with Lazzaro Vasari (1451), who, dying the following year, left him a pupil of Piero della Francesca (degli Franceschi). The usual term of apprenticeship was then thirteen years, according to Cennini (in his 'Libro dell' Arte' of 1437); but this term was in some cases curtailed to seven, and Herr Vischer concludes this must have been the case with Signorelli, though he may afterwards have remained with Piero as an assistant in his work at Borgo San Sepolcro and other places where he painted. What became of Signorelli after his years of apprenticeship remains a question. Herr Vischer is convinced that he then studied in Florence, and sees every evidence of this in his work bearing so much more affinity to that of Verrocchio and the Pollaiuoli than to that of his master Piero della Francesca. This evidence is scarcely convincing, for there are many cases in which the natural bent of the artist carries him quite in a different track from the one followed by his master.

The first work of Signorelli is the chapel of Sta. Barbara in St. Lorenzo at Arezzo. In 1474 we hear of his painting a colossal Madonna with St. Hieronymus and St. Paul in Città di Castello; this work has been destroyed. Then ensues a gap of four years, during which time he is supposed to have been at Florence, where he was recognized as a great master in his knowledge of the human form, for Vasari tells how Lorenzo the Magnificent asked him for a sample of his art, and how "he painted for him some naked gods which brought him much fame." From the year 1479 up to that of his death at the age of eighty-two we have very exact information as to his work and very few details of his family life. There is one episode showing how on his return to Cortona he found a beloved son killed by some sudden death, and how without tears he drew his figure most carefully. Vasari also relates that he lived splendidly, was always attired in silk, and was held in high esteem by all the great personages of his time. We further hear of his being at Rome in 1513 when Giovanni Medici became Pope under the title of Leo X. The most imposing ceremonies took place on this occasion in honor of the Medicean Pope. Signorelli seems to have made a long and unprofitable stay there, for a letter from Michael Angelo to the "Capitano" of Cortona describes how Messer Luca had come to him to borrow money in order to return to his native place and had never thought to repay it. Herr Vischer is much exercised by this letter, and cannot believe it possible that so honorable a man as Signorelli should have behaved so discreditably; he cannot reconcile himself to the thought of this standing against Signorelli's character for ever, and entreats us to believe some mistake must have occurred in returning the money. Greater familiarity with the artistic temperament might go far to persuade Herr Vischer that the occurrence is possible and quite probable.

After the comparatively short sketch of his life comes a chapter on the art and fantasy of Signorelli with relation to the Italian Renaissance. In this Herr Vischer seeks to show us the influences which went so far to form the art of this master—the literature of his time; the circumstance of his being an Umbrian; the wild and continually disturbed state of the country around; the orders he received from religious bodies for church decorations, on which, by the way, he seems to have bestowed less serious work than on the commissions from noble Florentine houses; the study and revival of ancient Greek art, which led to the more frequent use of the human form in pictures, and a thorough knowledge of anatomy, derived from the Florentine school. The tranquil life of Signorelli seems in contradiction to his art, which derived its color from the troublous times in which he lived, and suggested continual struggle and active movement. We have next a description of Signorelli's greatest work, the frescoes in the chapel of the Madonna di San Brizio, at Orvieto, representing the history of the Antichrist, the Resurrection, and the Last Judgment, which is supposed to have impressed Michael Angelo so deeply that it did much to inspire him with his own design of the Last Judgment. The subjects in themselves leave every margin for a vivid imagination to have full play. In the forms of his demons, so varied and full of invention, in the beauty of the figures of the seraphim, Signorelli shows an unrivalled power of expression. There is also a series of subjects from classical history, beneath which are medallion portraits of the great Italian poets, scenes from the 'Divina Commedia,' and mythological subjects. At Monte Oliveto, near Siena, is another series of frescoes, representing episodes from the life of St. Benedict, also very powerful, though less impressive than the great epic at Orvieto. A term of Vasari's, used in different senses, furnishes the text of a very long and needlessly discursive chapter. Vasari speaks often of work as "terrible," meaning sometimes awe-inspiring and sometimes merely lifelike and striking; whereupon Herr Vischer is very eloquent, and takes the *terribilità* as one of the striking qualities of the quattrocentist painters, and especially of Luca Signorelli, and here it is impossible for us not to lose the thread of his argument. He tries to explain what seems very simple and at once understood, therefore not needing much explanation, or else something that is inexplicable.

The second part of the book contains a complete list of Signorelli's paintings, with their dates and histories, explaining through what hands they have passed; also a second description of the work at Orvieto, with diagrams of the chapel. This will make the book a valuable work of reference. Subjoined is a list of painters who have all been directly or indirectly influenced by Signorelli's work: Michael Angelo, Raphael, and even Albert Dürer are among these, and Herr Vischer explains his reasons for each name on his list, though his grounds for extending it to such a length seem to us frequently insufficient. The portrait of Signorelli is a fac-simile reproduction of a drawing by Charles Fairfax Murray from Luca's portrait of himself in one of the frescoes at Orvieto.

Fourth Report of the Record Commissioners. (Boston. 1880.)—This volume embraces "all the records contained in the first volume of the Records of the Town of Dorchester," now incorporated with Boston. The earliest entry is in 1632, the last if not the latest in the book (which follows the jumble of the original) is in 1691. In 1636, "It is ordered that Mr. Duncan shall haue 10*s* payd him by the Towne for to transcribe all these orders into a new booke in a fayre legible hand." For the present and probably final transcript the Boston authorities appropriated $1,000.

The stern physiognomy of this Puritan community relaxes, under the genial influence of Time, almost into a broad grin. The "Tenn men" appointed in 1634 "to order all the affayres of the Plantation, to continue for one yeere, & to meete monethly," and who afterwards gave way to "the 7 men," were bound by the agreement that "whosoever is chosen in to any office for the good of the Plantation, he shall abide by it, or submit to a fine as the company shall thinke meete to impose." Moreover, "If any of these shall be absent without good cause, allowed by the rest, [he] shall pay for his so fayleing 5 shillings, any that shall come after the hour of 8 of the clock to pay 12 pence, and after 9 to pay 2 shillings," etc. By 1642 "our general towne meetinge" had become very disorderly, "by reason that men haue used their libertye to p'pound theere matters to the Plantation without any fore knoledge of the seauen men, and theere matters haue been so followed that diuerse things haue beene spoken of and fewe matters haue beene issued by reason that new matters haue beene vpsterted whyles a former hath beene in heeringe and so much tyme spent and lytle work done"; wherefore it is ordered that the seven men have "fore knoledge" of anything "to be agitated." The rules for "the Schoole of Dorchester" confirmed in 1644 enjoined the schoolmaster that

"4ly eũery second day in the weeke he shall call his schollers togeither betweene 12 and one of the Clock to examin them what they haue learned on the saboath day p^ceding at which tyme also he shall take notice of any misdemeanor or disorder that any of his skollers shall haue Committed on the saboath to the end that at somme convenient tyme due Admonition, and Correction may bee admistred by him according as the nature, and qualitie of the offence shall require. . . .

"5ly hee shall equally and impartially receiue, and instruct such as shalbe sent and Comitted to him for that end whither their parents bee poore or rich not refusing any who haue Right and Interest in the Schoole."

"9ly And because the Rodd of Correction is an ordinance of God necessary sometymes to bee dispensed vnto children but such as may easily be abused by oũmuch seũitie and rigour on the one hand, or by oũ much indulgence and lenitye on the other. It is therefore ordered and agreed that the schoolemaster for the tyme beeing shall haue full power to minister Correction to all or any of his schollers without respect of p'sons," etc.

The standing terror of the Puritan polity was the stranger who might become a burden upon the town. In 1658,

"It is ordered therefore by the select men of this towne that if any maner of p'son ore p'sons in this towne shall intertaine any soiornour ore inmate into his or ther house ore habitation aboue one weeke without lisence from the selectmen ore the maior parte of them first had and obtained, shall forfeit fiue shillings, and for every weekes continuance three shillings foure pence."

Hence in 1671 Francis Bale was taken to task "for Entertaining his Brother in law phillip Searle and his famely in his house without licence"; and Richard Butt for entertaining his father-in-law Stephen Hoppen, "whos answer was that he did not entertaine him, . . . but for to turne him out of doares, he could not Considering the relation that is between them, but he would willingly be ridd of him if he could"; and "the wife of Henery Merrifield" "for entertaining of their daughter Funnell, Contrary to towne order, whose answer was, that she was their daughter and Could not turne her out of doars this winter time but she would willingly returne to her husband as soone as a passadg p^sents." So, too, in 1679, John Jackson had to file his bond "to secur the towne from damedg" by reason of the further entertainment of "Op'tunitie Lane his daughter in law Contrary to towne order"; and the year before, the luckless "John Brown appeared and thought that he might Come into town to be inhabetant becaus born in the town and that he might be an help to his father and mother, the Select men did Respit the full determination at that time to know the towns mind therein and in the meane time his warning out of town to continue in force." But perhaps the most stubborn case here recorded is the following (1672):

"The Select men haueing sent for John plum and his daughter Mercy, and finding that his said daughter being marryed to Thomas Chub of Beuer lee, and being alsoe neere the time of her deliuery is not p'vided for by her said husband, nor taken home to him, but continues heer with her father, contrary to good order, and to the hazarding of a charge vpon the towne, doe therfore order and requier that the said Mercy Chub doe spedily within Six or eight days leaue this towne, and betake herself to her said husband. And doe also warne and order the said John Plum that he noe longer entertaine his said daughter, but hasten her to her husband as aforesaid," etc.

Instead of this the husband rather hastened to his wife (1673), bringing his father-in-law into fresh trouble, and in 1674 the worthy Plum was for the third time summoned to "Cleer the towne of them." For a final glimpse of the interference with domestic relations let us notice that Francis Bale reappears in 1679 to answer the selectmen's enquiries "Concerning his outward Estate," of which he seems to have had none too much, for they "aduised him to dispose of two of his Children, his answer was that his wife was not willing the Select men p'swaded him to p'swad his wife to it."

Our space warns us to pass over other marked passages of equal humor with the foregoing. We cannot forbear remarking that the Record Commissioners had proposed to reprint only the land records of this volume, but that a protest having been raised by very respectable citizens of Dorchester, a committee of the Common Council reported in favor of a complete reproduction, on historical and patriotic grounds. One looks for a Puritan signature to such a report, and it is an agreeable surprise to find it signed "Hugh O'Brien, Chairman."

The Worst Boy in Town. By the author of 'Helen's Babies.' (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1880.)—This book belongs to the new dispensation of books about boys; we were about to say of Sunday-schools books, but possibly we have yet to wait for Sunday-schools sufficiently advanced to have reasonable hopes of catching up with it. It is written in the now familiar and perhaps hackneyed vein of protest against the old order of pietistic juvenile literature, and is a defiant departure from former classic models in the direction of "naturalism." The author is felt to be a kind of Baudelaire, except for the fact that he is a little tardy with his "Fleurs du Mal," and as wroth with the false and affected academic notions of Miss Edgeworth and the Misses Warner as the early romanticists were with canons of adult literature then prevailing. He must be charged, however, with ignoring an important element in the construction of "naturalist" moral tales. They must be manufactured with a deft touch to be entirely acceptable. The author of 'The New Sanford and Merton,' and more recently Mark Twain, understood this better, and accordingly their works of this sort have a distinctly humorous quality, or at least a comic flavor, whereas, though it would be unjust to say that 'The Worst Boy in Town' can be read without a smile, it is perfectly true that the proportion of depression to mirth that it contains is dejectingly preponderant. Few things of the kind are more laughable, for instance, than the description of the strategy with which Master Tom Sawyer contrived to get his task of whitewashing a fence performed; it may be remembered that Tom was averse to labor but a thorough child of this world, and when given this distasteful job as a punishment compassed it by representing to a comrade that it was a very delicate æsthetic performance, and declining for a brief time on that ground to allow him to touch the brush. The author of 'The Worst Boy in Town' lays violent hands on this incident, and devotes a chapter to an account of how his boy got his comrades to chop the wood he had himself been set to chop for misconduct; and we are bound to confess we have rarely read twelve more dreary pages, and this not because chopping wood is naturally less humorous than whitewashing, nor wholly because the humorous possibilities of the situation had already been exhausted by Mark Twain, but because of what housewives call the "heavy-handedness" that the author betrays. Again, nothing is more requisite than a light and tricksy treatment when one is describing the absurdities of prayer-meetings, and the rollicking fun which boys who are not milksops may have by sticking pins into, throwing "spit-balls" at, and peppering with torpedoes the enthusiasts who take part in them. This sort of style will never do:

"Under the single slat which formed the back of the bench and directly in front of him Jack beheld the broad and well-patched trousers-seat of Nuderkopf Trinkelspiel, and Satan, who long ago became noted for putting in an appearance when the sons of God were in council (see Job, chap. i.), suggested to Jack that through such a mass of patches a bent pin might work its way for quite a distance without doing any serious damage to the wearer. Jack broke an anticipatory laugh square in two and closed his eyes in prayer to be delivered from temptation, but," etc., etc.

This must be described as irrelevantly labored, and before we get to the event we lose our interest in seeing the meeting break up in disorder. We must add that another fatal defect of the book is its lack of verisimilitude, and the danger it thus illustrates of falling into the opposite extreme to that of the old order of moral tales. "The worst boy in town" transformed into a mere puppet can have no more influence for good than impossible "Little Episcopalians." It is to be feared that the writer not only fails to treat his subject flippantly enough, but fails to conceive it seriously enough; and the latter, we need not point out, is as grave a defect under the circumstances as the other, and one we never expected to find in the author of 'Helen's Babies.'

Der moderne musikalische Zopf. Eine Studie von Emil Naumann, Prof. Dr. ü. Koenigl. Hofkirchen-Musikdirector. (Berlin: Robert Oppenheim.)—Emil Naumann's musical study gives us an insight into the present musical condition of Germany. We see how intense is the party spirit, how bitter the feeling among the worshippers of Wagner and Brahms towards the disciples of the classical school. The author is one of the neutrals whose number is very limited in Germany, and who, standing on a higher plane than the contending parties, should be able to give an impartial criticism. He is pained to see how many musicians have not the slightest perception of organic unity in the laws which govern music, and are wholly ignorant of the history of music. When the representatives of the classical school are in their most generous mood they assert that with Beethoven the history of music ends; while, on the other hand, the modern Romanticists regard Beethoven as only the beginning of the higher development, and some of them are willing to concede even this honor only to the Beethoven of the Ninth Symphony and the later string quartettes. Naumann, though he is ready enough to make concessions to living masters, is not of the opinion that any one has the right to make changes in the scores of the great composers of former times. The fact that Beethoven omits a repetition of the first part of the allegro in his Ninth Symphony, at once emboldens the newest of our new musicians to do away with all tradition and omit the da capo in symphonies and sonatas. Beethoven's last sonata for the piano in C minor, Op. 111, and his string quartette in B major, Op. 130—both works belonging to the same period as the Ninth Symphony—have an express direction for the da capo, and prove clearly that Beethoven himself could not have understood an omission of it in the light of a reform. Naumann thinks it equally unjustifiable when famous quartette-players spoil Haydn's lovely music, in itself so grand and simple, by an amount of false sentimentality and a number of pianissimos, fortissimos, crescendos, diminuendos, and sforzandos, that would make poor papa Haydn turn in his grave should he hear them. Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, he thinks, certainly stand in no need of having their taste corrected by these modern apostles. "Away with these dusty traditions!" they cry, "which impede your flight, and you will soar sunward like eagles." Therefore, especially, "away with the sonata! that most threadbare of the antiquated garments of the past." Jean Jacques Rousseau's "Que me veux-tu, Sonate?" might be excused on the ground that the best of them with which he was acquainted were the compositions of Samartini (1700–1775) and Sacchini (1735–1786). Had he been so fortunate as to hear Haydn's, Mozart's, and Beethoven's symphonies and sonatas he would have changed his mind as readily as, after becoming acquainted with Gluck, he retracted what he had said in his 'Dictionnaire de Musique' about the superiority of the Italian opera. With Gluck and Mozart the musical drama reaches its climax. Gluck pre-eminently is the master who in his own productions designates the exact boundary between music as an independent art and music as the mere reinforcement of diction. He who aspires to go beyond the great master in this direction can produce at best but a musical mongrel, which is neither genuine poetry nor genuine music. The so-called leading-motive (*Leitmotiv*) is not original with the musicians of "the future"; only the immense abuse of it is the special property of this party. The *Leitmotiv* existed two hundred years ago, but not as the mere mannerism which it has now become. When the theme in the introduction of the overture to Mozart's "Don Giovanni" resounds again in the mouth of the *Commendatore* at the finale of the opera, or when the trumpet-signal in Beethoven's great overture to "Leonora" is heard again later on in the prison scene, the two themes, considered as musical prologues, are like an awful foreboding, and intensely powerful in their effect.

The last chapter of the little volume is mainly devoted to Wagner. After a brief sketch of the renaissance in Italy, and of the condition of music in Germany in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we are told that the epoch of German musical genius begins with Johann Sebastian Bach and ends with Beethoven. Between this great beginning and this great end come in chronological order Haendel, Gluck, Haydn, and Mozart, equally great in their several ways. Composers of the later period like Franz Schubert, Weber, Spohr, Marschner, Berlioz, Chopin, Schumann, Mendelssohn, and contemporaries like Wagner, Liszt, and Brahms are characterized as men of great *talent*. All of them except Mendelssohn (and the exception is made only in favor of his oratorios, psalms, and church music) represent in greater or less degree the new Romantic school.

"The predominating tendency of Wagner's dramas," we are told, "manifests itself in the portrayal of the Germano-Christian world of the middle ages, in the idealization of woman (originating in mediæval Mariolatry) into the redeeming angel of man, who is lost in a world of diabolism and sin, such as she appears in *Senta* in the 'Flying Dutchman,' and in *Elizabeth* in 'Tannhäuser'; or again in an attempted glorification of free love, in the spirit of mediæval chivalry, as a mysterious celestial power which overrides all

conventional restraints, as in 'Tristan und Isolde'; or, finally, in a revival of the 'Minne' and 'Meister' songs of the mediæval and succeeding periods, as exhibited in the 'Meistersinger.'"

In his love for themes from German mythology Wagner shows himself a true disciple of the Romantic school, though his Nibelungen dramas are somewhat of a departure from his general tendency; yet in the last of them, the "Götterdämmerung," he hints clearly enough at a speedy return, for the fall of *Wotan* and Walhalla would seem to indicate that the old Teutonic gods had not brought the fulfilment of things, and that something higher must be expected. In "Parcival" we have, as he himself says, the keystone of all his creations. In this drama he emphasizes even more intensely and passionately the Germano-Christian tendency with which he started, and which is the basis of his earliest musical productions. Naumann remarks that modes of thought which were perfectly natural, healthy, and justified in Dante's or Wolfram von Eschenbach's time, or in the time of the Crusades, are to-day morbid and affected, because there is nothing in contemporary history to furnish a background for them.

Franz Liszt, the second eminent "talent" in the new school, shows a close resemblance to Wagner in his symphonic poems "Tasso," "Dante," "Hamlet," in his oratorio of "Christus," and in some of his songs and legends. The events of his life more even than his works are proofs of this similarity. The great virtuoso, celebrated and applauded by the world, the artist who had spent more than half of a long life in brilliant gaieties and excitements, after a fantastic existence makes a pilgrimage to Rome, like a knight of the middle ages, there exchanges the coat of the layman for the priestly robe, retires to the Dominican convent on Monte Mario and soon becomes the favorite of Pio Nono, who calls him his faithful son, his "Palestrina." Another great "talent," though not so closely related to Wagner, is Johannes Brahms. Robert Schumann stood godfather to his first productions, and before he died gave Brahms a kind of prophetic blessing. Yet Wagner's influence upon him and his productions is easily traceable, no matter how much his disciples may try to deny it. They are, as a party, even more one-sided and conceited than the Wagnerites, and form as great a mutual admiration society as these. Who was it that announced the first symphonic work of Brahms as the "Tenth Symphony"? Not the worshippers of Wagner, but Brahminical idolaters. The essentially lyrical talent of Brahms ought never to have been compared with Beethoven, to whose unapproachable greatness Wagner comes at any rate somewhat nearer than Brahms, who is by nature tender and delicately strung, whilst the former puts the stamp of his powerful personality upon all his productions. Naumann closes his volume with the hope that by his frank and impartial criticism he has earned the approval and sympathy of all those who share his opinions in silence without daring to express them openly. The future will show how far he is right.

The Poetry of the Talmud. By S. Sekles. (New York. 1880.)—To one of the component elements of the Talmud the author of this book has furnished an introduction which is not lacking in interest and in merit. Such introductions are indispensable aids to any student of the vast Talmudic literature. They have been felt to be a necessity since Samuel ibn Nagdilah, in the eleventh century, wrote his 'Introduction to the Talmud,' and large is the number of such keys and guides which have appeared since then. For the Talmudic literature treats of the most diversified subjects, is almost all-embracing, and reflects all the various aspects of the mental life of the Jews during the seven centuries following the Maccabean war of independence, in the second century before Christ. The rich contents of the Talmud, embarrassing *per se*, become still more perplexing and appear still more entangled and chaotic in consequence of the lack of order and systematic treatment. Even the specialist who devotes all his time to the study of the Talmud will find it difficult, without the help of good and reliable guides, not to become lost in this pathless labyrinth. The one great element of the Talmud, known under the name Halakhah, and treating of the legal life of Judaism, has been systematized, codified, commented upon by numberless post-Talmudical scholars. Another large part of the Talmudic literature—and, in the wider sense of the word, the Midrashim, etc., are also included in this term—is called the Agadah, and comprises the didactic, narrative, and poetically fanciful utterances of the Rabbis in the period indicated above. The Agadah, too, has been the subject of a considerable number of books of diverse value. There exist Agadic chrestomathies and anthologies, more or less complete; there exist learned writings on the nature, and contents, and origin, and meaning of these peculiar products of Eastern fancy. A few modern writers on this subject may be characterized as being unbiassed and truly scholarly, while others still pursue the old apologetic and unscientific tendencies, and, by applying a totally unhistoric method, still allegorize even the grossest superstitions prevalent in those ancient times, and the grossest Münchhausenisms of a Rabbi Bar bar 'Hanah and others. By such perverted hermeneutics they succeed in finding in the Agadahs a premeditated symbolic and parabolic teaching of most sublime doctrines, of which the first originators of those portions of the Talmud had not the remotest idea. But is this allegorical method of explaining the Talmudical Agadah any better than the method of the Mohammedan clergy in Persia, who symbolize the lyric outbursts of Hafiz, the singer of Shiraz, and who find, for instance, in the wine whose praise is sung by him a symbol of faith; in intoxication caused by wine-drinking, a symbol of the religious ecstasy of the soul; in the beloved maiden, the personification of the community of the faithful; in the friend with whom the poet spends his happy and joyous hours, a mystic representation of the Deity? This method, however, is by no means restricted to the scholars of Persia and to the commentators of the Talmud. The theological literature of other denominations, too, offers parallels without number.

Admitting that the Talmud, like every other contemporaneous literature, contains elements which no artificial apology can elevate into absolute and eternal wisdom, it must also be conceded that it is exceedingly rich in true poetry, lofty and sublime, and in sayings breathing the purest ethics. As to Mr. Sekles's work, we have to say that, in the absence of any similar book in the English language more thorough and exhaustive and scholarly, it is to be recommended as one which gives to the general reader a fair idea of the Agadah. In special chapters it speaks of compositions for liturgical purposes, of wedding celebrations, funeral orations, fables, proverbs, riddles, and so forth, and the examples and illustrations the author gives will undoubtedly appear to many to be interesting. In making his selections from the abundant materials the author must have had considerable difficulty. Very annoying is the slovenly and uneven manner in which the Hebrew words are transliterated. Sometimes the Dagesh forte is indicated by doubling the consonant, but in innumerable cases this has not been done. And thus we find the unorthographic spellings: Shamai, Kama, Vidui, Nida, Tefila, Tana, etc. Nissim (instead of *nesi-'im*, p. 7), sholom (instead of *shalom*, p. 12), sufdanim (instead of *sappedanim*, p. 12), bechoroth (instead of *biccurim*, p. 19), and similar other grammatical and orthographical monstrosities greatly disfigure the book. A little more scholarly exactness, a little more quickening of the philological conscience, a little less carelessness in these things are greatly to be desired, not only in our author, but in very many others who appear before the public as writers on Jewish and Hebrew topics.

The Progress of the World in Arts, Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, Instruction, Railways, and Public Wealth since the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century. By Michael G. Mulhall, F.S.S. (London: Edward Stanford. 1880. 12mo, pp. viii.–569.)—Mr. Mulhall's book, though not announced as an annual publication, is best described by comparing it with Martin's well-known 'Statesman's Year-Book.' The latter is intended to show, primarily, how the world is governed, Mr. Mulhall's work how it is growing. The two works present a nearly equal amount of information about the leading states of the civilized world, and some part of the data are similar in the two, as, for instance, the statistics of population, area, and traffic. But the space that Mr. Martin gives to reigning families and sovereigns is taken up in Mr. Mulhall's book with statistical accounts of the vital and industrial development of the different peoples. In the first part are grouped, in such a way that comparison may be made at a glance between the different nations, the statistics of capital, income, accumulations, commerce, landed property, manufactures, instruction, charities, etc. These are given mostly in round numbers; they form a more serviceable conspectus of the Western world's economic condition than we have elsewhere seen within the same compass. Part II. gives in fuller detail the leading statistics of the British Empire, and Part III. more briefly those of foreign countries, the latest sources of information being used. Mr. Mulhall has done his work with great care and intelligence, and he has found room for a number of the curiosities of statistics, vital and other. The book is well indexed.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

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Wheildon (W. W.), Boston—1630–1880	(Lee & Shepard)	1 00
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1880.

The Week.

AS if to give the finishing touch to the absurdity of their late canvass, the Democrats in this city are now busy in hunting up evidence of Republican fraud, which they hope to get in sufficient quantity to do away with the Republican majority and induce Congress to throw out the State vote, or else accept that of the Hancock electors. When we remember that the party has been fighting tooth and nail in Congress for the last four years in defence of the theory that all elections are State elections, not to be either supervised or investigated by any Federal authority except when Congress passes on the qualifications of its own members, this attempt to convert Congress into a general Returning Board must be set down as of a piece with the party advocacy of "a tariff for revenue only." There seems to be so little judgment, or even common sense, left in the party management that we cannot, in justice to the large number of really intelligent men who vote its ticket, help looking for some immediate effort to break the concern up and try a new organization. We do not know exactly how a party "disbands," but it is plain that the hour for disbanding has arrived for our Democratic brethren. Neither man nor party ought to live after the brains are gone.

One of the stories they have got up as the basis for their proposed "protests" against Garfield's election is that twenty thousand illegal votes were cast in New York City. These voters, of course, were persons who came into the city for that purpose; but in answer to the request to produce some of them Kelly declares that they all went away the next day. Whence they came and whither they went he does not explain. The railroad traffic contains no trace of them, and there were no signs of them in the hotels and lodging-houses the night before election. They must, therefore, be hidden in the woods around the city and are trying to depart in twos and threes without exciting attention. It would not be a bad idea for Mr. Kelly and Mr. Dorsheimer to go out in search of them. It would furnish a good healthy day's tramp to two gentlemen who are doubtless suffering for want of exercise. If they are in the woods the farmers will know of it through the disappearance of their chickens, and if even one or two of them can be captured it will make the Democratic chiefs look a little less ridiculous than they do now. It really seems likely that some of these will pass the winter getting ready for an attempt to count General Garfield out. But if they do, fancy how the country will feel about them by March next, and what a hold they will have secured on the industrial and commercial world, which already distrusts them, and what a fine place their party will be for the young men who are looking to the future!

The comments of the Southern press on the election have been moderate and in the main sensible and hopeful. They frankly deplore the stupidity of the Northern Democracy and the low tone given to the canvass by the party managers; and the error of taking up Hancock in preference to Bayard is also confessed. The weightier journals almost serve a notice of dissolution of partnership on their late allies. The Augusta *Chronicle* says the South "has for the last time been led lamb-like to the slaughter," but that where she will next go depends upon the solution of "the tremendous problem now confronting the two parties and all sections: Will the Administration of Mr. Garfield be, in case of a control of Congress, modelled upon that of Hayes, or dictated by Grant and Conkling, with Zachariah Chandler's spirit as the inspiring goblin?" The Charleston *News* says that if the apprehension can be removed that "the National Government will furnish the means for squeezing the South dry, as South Carolina was squeezed from 1868 to 1876," the Southern people will range themselves in accordance with their several agricultural and commercial needs and opportunities; and it proceeds to show that "New England is nearer to the South Atlantic States, in matters relating to finance and the tariff, than Mississippi and Texas are." It thinks, if the new Administration shows a friendly face to the South, that "one of the first questions that the Southern whites will have to ask themselves is, Whether the welfare of the South has been and is likely to be hindered or advanced by the alliance with the Democrats of the North?" and that they will "make themselves heard on this subject before the winter is past." The Memphis *Avalanche* says that the consequences of the election will be "the dissolution of the two solid sections that are now arrayed against each other," thus justifying the Republicans who voted with such a hope. Mr. Watterson, in the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, regards the late campaign and the issue as a sad failure, but begs his readers to let him "pass on"—"for God's sake, let us pass on!" This we take to be a renunciation of Bourbonism, though it sounds like a remonstrance addressed to a policeman. Perhaps as pleasing a symptom as any is the readiness shown by the Nashville *American* to treat the new Republican governor of Tennessee with respect and fairness. It admits his ability, and hopes to be able to act with him for the good of the State.

The newspapers are busily at work making up General Garfield's Cabinet for him. Foremost among them, and with a certain air of authority, is the Cincinnati *Commercial*. It gives Mr. Blaine the filling of the Navy Department, for the comical reason that "there is a great depressed shipbuilding interest in Maine"; to Mr. Conkling the Post-office for his friend Platt; to Mr. Cameron the War Department; and to General Logan the Department of the Interior. No Cabinet could be made to contain more of such elements of corruption as exist in American politics, and the suggestion has therefore a bouffe sound which makes it a possible joke. The same prophet declares that General Grant will probably have the English mission, "owing to the flattering estimation in which he is held by the English people," and to the fact that "his daughter is the wife of an English gentleman." The scandals of his Administration, too, against which the *Commercial* used to bellow so lustily, are, it appears, all forgotten and forgiven in consideration of his "admirable conduct since the Chicago Convention."

There is a certain seriousness given to all this by a Washington letter in a Stalwart paper, the Boston *Advertiser*, which declares approvingly that the Southern Republicans are looking to President Garfield for "a prompt and thorough reorganization of the Republican party throughout the South, by setting the officeholders once more to 'work' at politics—President Hayes's Executive Order No. 1 having destroyed the machinery of the party at the South." But with the officeholders once more enjoying their freedom, Republicanism, the writer thinks, "will again have a powerful organization at the South." Evidently the "old set" think that their day is again near, and that General Garfield will supply them with abundance of the old victuals. It is denied, on the other hand, with increasing positiveness that he has made any bargain whatever with the "Grant crowd." Nevertheless, it will be well for all independent organizations to keep together and strengthen themselves, with the view of passing an effective judgment on the new Cabinet and its doings at the first Congressional election under the new Administration.

The events of the week in Wall Street show that, so far as prices are concerned, the effect upon them of the election of General Garfield and a continuance for four years of the present financial policy of the Government had been mostly "discounted." On the Wednesday morning following the election an effort was made to create a "boom," but it was unsuccessful, and, although there has been no serious decline in prices during the week, it has required good speculative management and large foreign orders for stocks to keep prices up. These latter orders have been remarkable, and they are justly to be attributed to the increased confidence which foreigners have in the business enterprises of this country now that it is known that the Republican party are to continue in power. Securities and shares to the

amount of fully $5,000,000 have been bought here for English account within a week, the bills drawn against the shipment of which have again driven the rates for foreign exchange down to the gold-importing point, so that the arrivals of foreign gold, which of late have fallen to a small sum, promise to become larger again within two weeks. It is fortunate that there is this prospect, for the New York banks, which are lending credits to the amount of $325,000,000, are, in their reserve, within $1,750,000 of the legal limit, and they have little aid to expect from the Treasury, which has stopped general bond-purchases to make preparations for the redemption of $13,500,000 six per cent. bonds, which mature on December 31. The Secretary has agreed to take any of these bonds in advance at a fair price, but they do not seem to be in the hands of persons who care to sell. There is considerable talk about measures to improve the currency. It is said that Secretary Sherman will recommend legislation to deprive U. S. notes of their legal-tender quality; and it has been suggested that these notes be paid off, so far as the coin in the Treasury will serve, and the remainder funded into 3 per cent. bonds, thus giving the whole business of issuing credit currency to the banks, to which it properly belongs.

The Virginia Funders had a narrow margin to spare, and their exultation over the Readjusters is tempered by the unexpected revelation of their danger from the Republicans, who came within a few thousand of carrying the State and elected two Congressmen by large majorities. The Mahone faction has undoubtedly lost a good deal of prestige by the poor showing its electoral ticket made, and General Mahone himself is properly mad. He says that next year when the State officers are elected his party will recover itself, and prove its claim of outnumbering the Bourbons. This may be true, but it should be remembered that the Readjusters ran a separate electoral ticket for the sole purpose of keeping their organization intact and demonstrating their numerical superiority with a view to the State election next year. In this they have failed conspicuously, and it remains to be seen whether they have not thus lost their hold over the uncertain voters. Mahone explains his defeat as due in part to desertions from his ranks of whites who became alarmed for the fate of Hancock, on hearing of a Bourbon plan to count the State for Garfield if the Readjusters were successful, rather than acknowledge their defeat by the latter (which is, of course, nonsense), and in part to the desertion of "the deluded blacks." He is as bitter against the blacks as his political shrewdness will permit, but, while reproaching them for treachery to the party which had "suffered and done so much" for them, he still looks to see them speedily back again. They are already beginning to see, he thinks, that they have been put to a "selfish use" (which is a neat saying in the mouth of Mahone) by the Bourbons, who are anxious to have the color-line reestablished. He alleges positively a Bourbon-Republican conspiracy by which the former were to be relieved of the odious association of the blacks, and the latter to get them away from "their best friends," the Readjusters.

This seems imaginative at first sight, as it compels us to believe that the Bourbons paid the negroes' poll-taxes in order that they might vote for Garfield, but something dark and mysterious is needed to explain the phenomenon of their having voted *en masse*, voted as they chose, and got their votes counted. Some time ago the *Times's* "staff correspondent" deprecated the proposal to have this poll-tax paid by Northern Republicans, on the ground that since the Bourbons would have the counting to do and were desperate men Republican votes would be valueless, and the money might just as well be thrown into the street. We dislike to discover an error of this kind in this correspondent's information, for it indicates that he has not made the thorough examination of the condition of the South that he appears to have done, and throws discredit on a mass of most vivacious correspondence. He ought to have ascertained from Mahone the existence of the aforesaid conspiracy. There is, in fact, evidence of its existence elsewhere in the South, especially in the Southwest. In South Carolina, of course, and in certain Alabama Congressional districts, the antiquated expedient either of tissue-ballots or of bald counting out is said to have been again resorted to this year; but we hear of no intimidation and no outrages. The Republican committee claims three Congressmen in Arkansas, the Missouri delegation is badly broken, and in Tennessee the Republicans have been allowed to do just what they pleased.

The time does not appear to be propitious for local "Bosses." If Mr. Kelly barely escaped defeat with his municipal ticket, his Philadelphia counterpart, Mr. McManes, fared even worse. The local battle there was waged upon the comptrollership, in which important office the Independent Republicans desired to keep the Democratic incumbent, who had been put there three years ago by the reform voters co-operating with the Democracy. The evidences of impending disaster were so strong that three days before the election the "Boss" and his friends caused the regularly-nominated Republican candidate to resign, and appointed another whom they thought to be stronger; but, in spite of this strategy, the Democrat had a majority of 13,466 in the face of a Republican Presidential majority of 20,762—thus showing that more than 17,000 Republicans cast their votes against the "Boss" and his choice. This is emphasized by the Democratic majority of over 1,750 in a senatorial district, hitherto Republican, in which the "Boss" had defeated the sitting senator and caused a new candidate to be nominated. There are those, however, who are inclined to see in all this not so much an uprising of the independent voter as the revenge of the State "Boss," Senator Cameron, for the revolt of the local "Boss" at Chicago, a revolt which did much to defeat the third term. Even should such be the case, the symptom is not an unhealthy one, and the situation is full of promise for the friends of good municipal government at the local election of next February, when there will be no national questions to distract the attention of the voter.

The Pope has again disappointed the expectations at first entertained as to his moderation, and this time more openly than ever before, by an address to the six hundred old functionaries of the temporal power whom he still keeps in his pay, and who recently called on him in a body at the Vatican to pay their respects. He exposed several fallacies set afloat by his enemies—such as that he was not imprisoned because he was not subject to visible coercion; and that his speech was free, because he said what he pleased; and that his apostolic authority was reverenced and respected at Rome, and that nothing interferes with his doing all that is required for the government of the Church. On the contrary, he *is* imprisoned, because he is not independent; his freedom of speech is such as many of his predecessors have exercised in the midst of the torments of persecutors; his authority is not reverenced or respected, because in the city of Rome insults are levelled at him, at religion, and at the Church, and have even been carried to the point of celebrating under his eyes the anniversary of the occupation of Rome by the Italians. He cannot carry on the government of the Church properly because he has been deprived of the aid of the convents, and his appointments of bishops are interfered with, and many of his churches in Rome have been closed to worship and converted to public uses. The impunity accorded to heretics is also an offence to him, and he complains bitterly that in starting schools to counteract the influence of those set up by the Protestants he has had to do so under the common law like any private person. He winds up the enumeration of his grievances by declaring, with an energy worthy of Pius IX., that "he will never acquiesce in the present condition of things," and "will never cease to call for the restitution of all which, by fraud and deceit, has been taken from the Apostolic See."

It must be said that the Pope by no means confines himself to vain lamentations over his losses. He is meeting the enemy manfully with such weapons as come to hand. To counteract the evil influence of the state and Protestant schools he has set up at Rome fifty-two well-equipped schools, which have complied with all the provisions of the Italian law. In the number are included normal schools, technical and professional schools, and gymnasia, besides the primary schools, and he devotes sixty thousand dollars a year to their maintenance. The bishops, too, all over the kingdom have been instructed to open similar schools in their dioceses, and to use their influence to procure the elec-

tion in the various cities of municipal counsellors pledged to substitute clerical for lay teachers in the schools of the municipality. The faithful are everywhere admonished from the pulpit, as in Belgium, not to send their children to the state schools where the others are accessible. It is estimated that there are over sixteen thousand priests and expelled monks and nuns now engaged as teachers in the Papal schools. This is, however, legitimate warfare, and is likely to be much more effective than the barren cursing in which Pius IX. indulged so freely.

The Turks have been guilty during the last three or four years of a great many pieces of audacity, but the last which they have perpetrated on their English creditors is probably the worst of all, and has drawn from the London *Times* a burst of bitter scorn. Their unfortunate bondholders, except those who are secured by the pledge of the Egyptian tribute, have not, as is well known, received a cent of interest for several years, and there is not the least likelihood they will ever receive any. All sources of income which the Porte possesses and which could be diverted to the use of creditors, are pledged to creditors who were wiser than the bondholders. Nevertheless the Ottoman Government has just published in London a pompous circular, inviting the bondholders to send delegates to Constantinople for the purpose of "settling an equitable and practical solution for resuming the payment of the interest and the sinking fund of the debt." As soon as the Porte comes to an understanding with them the bondholders are "to name a bank" to administer the revenues, the Government having, however, "general control," and "the bank" will then have the privilege of taking what it can get, and handing over to the bondholders what remains after the "general control" has had its share. The cream of the joke lies in the last paragraph, which says that "the question of the floating debt, with that of the Russian war indemnity, will be taken into consideration at the time of making this new arrangement." As nobody knows what the amount of the floating debt is, and as that of the Russian war indemnity is enormous, the suggestion that the bondholders should take these two liabilities "into consideration" is very humorous. The probabilities are that if the bondholders ever receive anything it will be through such an arrangement as has been made in Egypt, by which the Government will be deprived of all control over the finances, which will be handed over to European administrators, and the court provided with a fixed and moderate allowance.

A batch of the leading agitators of the Irish Land League have been arrested and are to be prosecuted for conspiracy on much the same legal lines as Daniel O'Connell was. That a conviction can be obtained if the jury is properly packed there is little doubt. O'Connell's conviction was obtained in that way; but then the House of Lords quashed the conviction on the ground that the jury *was* packed, and Lord Cottenham said that if that sort of thing were allowed "trial by jury in Ireland would become a mockery, a delusion, and a snare." How the Crown lawyers are going to get over the difficulty now it is hard to see. They have begun, it is said, by retaining most of the leading men of the Irish bar, leaving the Land Leaguers only the second-rate, but we believe some of the defendants are going to defend themselves, and if they cannot secure an acquittal they will at least make the "coort ring," which is what an Irishman once asked his lawyer to do when told he had no case and that he had better keep his money. Curiously enough the address of the Land League since the arrests seems to have been written by an American. It would never have occurred to an Irishman to talk of the landlords as "antagonizing our people." There is still very strong pressure being brought to bear on the Government in favor of a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, which was certainly very effective the last time it was tried—if we remember rightly, in 1871. Only five persons were arrested under it, but all the agitators and promoters of agitation who were at all known to the police disappeared like magic as soon as it was passed. Few of them care to spend even a week in prison, and if it seems sure, and there is no chance of evading it by a jury trial, they abandon the cause of the oppressed and "make tracks" for happier countries with shameful alacrity.

The Catholic clergy of the diocese of Cork have held a conference at which they adopted some resolutions which probably contain as fair and temperate a statement of the tenants' side of the Irish land question as has yet appeared. They declare the rents to be exorbitant as a rule, and give for this a very good reason in the fact that, farming being the only calling open to an Irish peasant above that of the day-laborer, the competition for farms is very great and any rent asked is freely promised. As a remedy for this the resolutions propose the basing of rents on a valuation made by a "competent, independent, impartial, and lawfully constituted authority." Insecurity of tenure they also pronounce to be one of the great evils of the Irish farmers' condition, and ask for fixity as long as the rent is paid, and the legal prohibition of any contract in evasion of this fixity. They call, also, for the tenant's right of selling his interest to any solvent person in case he wishes for any reason to surrender the farm; for increased facilities for the sale and transfer of land; and for the legal requirement from farmers and landlords of the provision of decent dwellings for laborers. They urge on the Government as "useful and feasible" the reclamation of waste lands. The resolutions close with a solemn denunciation of all "doctrines destructive of the rights of property," and of all persons who "by violence of language seem to suggest to our excitable people that crime may help towards the advancement of the tenant farmers."

The last annual 'Agricultural Returns' issued by the British Board of Trade throws some instructive light on the effect of the foreign competition on the British farmer. That a very large number of farms are standing idle for want of tenants is a fact familiar enough to the readers of English newspapers, but what is going on on the farms still under cultivation is not so well known. The area of the grain crop in Great Britain has decreased one per cent. since last year, and seven per cent. since 1870. Fallow land, mostly left in a very foul condition, has increased within the year from 721,000 acres to 812,000. There has, however, been a considerable increase in the area of permanent pasture and in orchards and market gardens. The number of agricultural horses has declined; horned cattle have slightly increased, but sheep and lambs have decreased heavily. Pigs have also diminished seriously in number—by 483,000 since 1878. The importations of all the British farmer's products have been increasing with (for him) alarming rapidity. They indicate, the *Times* says, "something little short of an economic revolution," and it adds that "the question involved is not so much one of the national supply of food as of the existing organization of society." In other words, it is raising the question whether England will be able to afford much longer the maintenance of the rent-receiving class. It is useful, it is ornamental, and it has had a splendid history; but it is apparently fast becoming a luxury beyond the national reach.

News has been received, it is said, by Mr. Maynard, the Postmaster-General, from Constantinople, that the three men who murdered Mr. Parsons, the American missionary, had been convicted and sentenced, one to death and the other two to fifteen years' imprisonment with hard labor. The letter contains also a considerable amount of what the boys call "taffy" about the Turkish authorities "affording every facility," etc., and "refraining from interposing certain technicalities which might have saved the criminals," with the usual rider about the intense hatred of the Porte for the Powers of Europe, but its "strong feeling of respect and consideration for Americans." We trust the State Department will not be thrown off its guard by this stuff. Mussulmans guilty of crimes against Christians in Turkey, when the prosecution is pressed by any Western Power, are always convicted with a beautiful and touching facility. The trouble is that the sentence against them is not executed. There was no difficulty in convicting the murderer of Colonel Comondouroff, but he has not been hanged to this day. It is very certain that the love of the Porte for Americans will not lead to the execution of Mr. Parsons's murderer without vigorous pushing, and for the simple reason that the killing of a believer for killing a giaour fills all good Mussulmans with horror. The probabilities are that during the coming year the Turkish affection for the United States will grow steadily, and so will the reluctance of the Porte to hang the young Circassian whom "the Ottoman Central Criminal Court" has just sentenced to death.

REFORM, THE NEAREST DUTY.

PERHAPS the most hopeful feature of the late canvass, for reformers, was the almost complete effacement, by Mr. Hayes's orderly and unpretentious Administration, of the scandals of the previous régime. We do not mean effacement from public memory—though Mr. Hayes has undoubtedly furnished his own party with an excuse for forgetting them—but neutralization of them as cherished Democratic ammunition. Mr. English, speaking bluntly for the body of office-seekers who nominated him, had declared twenty years to be long enough for any party to remain in power, without regard to merit, and *à fortiori* if this lease had been misapplied in corrupt practices. Ordinarily, therefore, a searching review of the whole period would have been legitimate; yet, as a matter of fact, it was felt by the Democrats themselves to be an anachronism to offer any argument older than four years for a change in the party government of the country. Accordingly their bulky 'Campaign Book,' which made such havoc in the Tilden campaign, proved little better than rubbish for the one just closed, and we saw McDonald's revival of the shameful story of the Whiskey Ring fall perfectly flat, not because sensibilities had become blunted, or because this adventurer failed to implicate Grant in the conspiracy, but because the reminiscence was irrelevant.

This ought to show us, it ought to show General Garfield, how easy it is to establish and maintain the traditions of good government. But there is another side to the picture: had General Grant or a product or apostle of Grantism been the Chicago nominee, the savor of the Administration now drawing to a close would have been wholly lost, a new edition of the 'Campaign Book' would have been issued and used most destructively, and McDonald's revelations would have had the same sort of cumulative effect in convicting General Grant of sharing in the public plunder that Oakes Ames's memorandum had in 1873 in making Mr. Garfield seem guilty of corruption. Now, if we go further and enquire what actually saved us from this contingency, we shall have to admit that the fear of the 'Campaign Book' was much more potent than any change in the party standard of morality wrought by Mr. Hayes and his advisers. We said last November of their Administration: "It is even doubtful whether we shall owe it the retention of the civil-service reform plank in the next Republican platform"—and in fact the plank was contemptuously ignored until it had to be ungraciously replaced; "and whether even what we do owe it—the purified atmosphere of the White House, an honest and generally efficient and business-like conduct of the departments without scandal or jobbery, and a very hopeful beginning of Custom-house competitive examinations—will save us from the return of the Silent, Strong Man to Washington"—and everybody knows how narrow was the miss at least of his nomination. But as early as June, 1876, immediately after Mr. Hayes's nomination, we wrote what follows:

"Let us not be misunderstood. We have no doubt he will surround himself with a respectable Cabinet; that his secretaries of state will never be chance acquaintances made in the railroad cars or at dinner-parties; that his associates will be men of honor and education; that he will be in good relations with the intellectual and moral as well as the material interests of the country; that he will not tolerate thieves or theft in his immediate view and presence; and that he will be the enemy of all kinds of jobbery. But this he might be and do for four or eight years without permanently or even sensibly reforming the Government or removing one of its Oriental features."

We shall illustrate the truth of this forecast by reference to the undisguised and unchecked assessments upon Federal office-holders made by the managers of General Garfield's canvass. Public opinion is now sufficiently enlightened to have pronounced this scandalous if Mr. Hayes had been seeking a re-election. It will, however, be too generally overlooked that this was precisely one of the abuses which Mr. Hayes fancied he could correct by setting the example of a voluntary renunciation of a second term. To quote the language of his letter of acceptance:

"The reform should be thorough, radical, and complete. We should return to the principles and practices of the founders of the Government—supplying by legislation, when needed, that which was formerly the established custom. They neither expected nor desired from the public officers any partisan service. They meant that public officers should give their whole service to the Government and to the people. They meant that the officer should be secure in his tenure as long as his personal character remained untarnished and the performance of his duties satisfactory. If elected, I shall conduct the administration of the Government upon these principles, and all constitutional powers vested in the Executive will be employed to establish the reform. The declaration of principles by the Cincinnati Convention makes no announcement in favor of the single Presidential term. I do not assume to add to that declaration; but believing that the restoration of the civil service to the system established by Washington and followed by the early presidents can be best accomplished by an Executive who is under no temptation to use the patronage of his office to promote his own re-election, I desire to perform what I regard as a duty in stating now my inflexible purpose, if elected, not to be a candidate for election to a second term."

It appears, then, that there is no necessary connection between a one-term Presidency and the exemption of public officials from forced contributions to a partisan fund, so that there need be no discouragement on account of General Garfield's neglect to adopt the logic and follow the precedent of Mr. Hayes. At the same time it is clear that no advance has been made during the past four years towards relieving a host of salaried officials from mortal anxiety about the issue of party contests, which is what makes the payment of campaign assessments compulsory, even when the President will not, and Mr. Jewell cannot, threaten the officeholder with removal in case he fails to respond to the call. In other words, there will be no permanent reform in this particular so long as the instinct of self-preservation makes a public servant the natural accomplice of the party in power. Mr. Garfield's Administration may be in all respects the equal of Mr. Hayes's, without, on the eve of the next election, preventing eighty thousand officers and their families from retiring at night with much the same feelings as the inhabitants of a besieged city who know that in the morning their homes may be given up to pillage if the defence should not hold out. Such a quadrennial terror we have called an Oriental barbarism, and no humane man will contend that it ought to be perpetuated, or that Republican or Democratic Executive Committees should be allowed to play on it, on the twofold pretence, first, that the party is the country, and second, that the civil service is an appanage of party.

All the existing political conditions, as well as our late experience, point to the necessity of a *speedy* embodiment in legislation of the principles of an unpartisan service with fixity of tenure. Only a constitutional amendment would place the reform beyond revocation, and the statutes which will probably precede such an amendment ought to have the longest possible time to run before a repeal can be attempted. If we could assume that General Garfield still has the reform at heart, we might expect him to select for his Cabinet men known to favor it, or who had voluntarily put it in practice, or who would pledge themselves to do so; to foreshadow clearly his policy in regard to it in his inaugural address; and in his first message to exhort Congress to consider without delay a measure for taking the civil service out of politics. One of the strongest arguments for such a course—and one which a patriotic President should not be afraid to employ openly—is the probability that the Republican party will by the end of his term have shared the general dissolution of parties consequent upon the rise of real, and the disappearance of sham issues. They will, therefore, sacrifice little or nothing by resigning their hold upon the offices, while they may (if they take a less gloomy view of their future) use the reform as a means of retaining on their side the moral elements of the country. Besides, if there is anything to gain from it it will be much more valuable to them if enacted in the very beginning of the new Administration: in the making up of fresh "records" the earlier virtues will be justly entitled to more weight than the later.

But is Mr. Hayes quite *functus officio* as regards civil-service reform? Long have we waited in vain for a promised message on the subject, with practical recommendations. What better legacy could he leave than such a message now? Heretofore there was no reception for it either among Republicans or Democrats, among Stalwarts or Bourbons. In December he will address neither the same Republicans nor the same Democrats that he parted with in June. A change has already begun in them—how marked, they themselves are unconscious, and will be until brought face to face with an issue which has no party bearings. Is it certain that Southern Congressmen would not improve

the very first opportunity of showing that they have no further use for Democratic caucuses; that they have taken to heart the lesson of the November elections, and that they are ready to unite with any progressive and unselfish combination having in view the general good? Is it certain that their late Northern allies would shrink from following them even if led by President Hayes, when the civil-service plank of the St. Louis platform furnishes a handy justification? Is it certain, finally, that the Stalwarts would stand aloof, or oppose a threatened union of the elements just enumerated? Let the country have the benefit of the doubt. Let President Hayes's last word to the nation be, like his first, an assertion of the "paramount necessity" of a return to the practices of the fathers. He has now nothing to fear from Congress, and still something to earn in the gratitude of his countrymen. If he cannot point to one permanent result of his original dedication of himself to reform, let his latest utterance at least show that he retracts nothing of the principles so well laid down in his letter of acceptance; that the same high sense of duty animates him to "obey the voice at eve obeyed at prime."

SOME THINGS THAT KELLY MIGHT SAY FOR HIMSELF.

THE recent performances of the present Boss of this city have elicited more than the usual amount of reflection on the social conditions which produce Bosses and give them such a command of votes as Kelly has displayed. Ordinarily the discussion of these things is confined to Republicans, who are apt to be sore over the disappointments they occasionally meet with at State elections, when they "come down to the Harlem River" with what seems to be an overwhelming majority, and find the Boss waiting for them on the farther bank with a city vote which swallows it up and gives the State to the Democrats. At the last two elections, however, the Boss has played false to his own party. He withheld so many votes from Governor Robinson that the Republicans were enabled to cut him to pieces on the Harlem River, and take the Governorship for themselves. Now again Kelly has "traded" with the pure-minded men who manage the Republican party in order to get his friend Grace into the Mayoralty; that is, he has, it would appear, sacrificed General Hancock as he sacrificed Governor Robinson. He "left the city" with so small a majority that when the Republicans "came down to the Harlem River" he was able to offer no resistance. This last default on his part has been made all the more provoking by the fact, which has just come to light, that the Democrats were after all not dependent on Indiana for the Presidency, and that New York would have given them all they needed. They are consequently considering the social condition of the city, and the nature and origin of the political phenomenon called Kelly, with a gravity and solemnity they have not for a long time bestowed on any city affairs. There is an indignation felt towards Kelly in his own party which that eminent man evidently finds hard to bear, and against which he has been feebly defending himself in the character of a champion of religious liberty. This is not bad ground for him to take, for it would certainly look as if much of the odium visited on him was due to his being an Irish Catholic who has been instrumental in imposing on the city for the first time an Irish-Catholic mayor. It is certainly nothing new for the city to have a Boss. Kelly is, in fact, the third Boss who has ruled us. Fernando Wood was the first, and was when he became Boss generally recognized as thoroughly disreputable and depraved, although, we believe, a Protestant church-goer. Tweed was the second, and was generally believed guilty of stealing the public money long before he was found out, and was well known to be a libertine and sceptic, and his government was much harsher and more exacting than Kelly's. Kelly, on the other hand, is very abstemious, and possesses a most robust religious faith, and is not suspected of peculation of any description. His rule, too, has been very mild and indulgent, and he is the nephew-in-law of the Cardinal and owns a newspaper. He has, it is true, made bargains with the Republicans, but all the Bosses have done so. Liberty to do so is one of a Boss's prerogatives. He could not maintain his place without it. Kelly has published scandalous and filthy stories about a brother editor, but this is a disagreeable and yet solemn duty which the proprietor of a newspaper is occasionally called on to perform. Crises do arise every now and then when it is absolutely necessary to save the public from the foolish arguments of a rival by revealing one or two little facts of his personal history which he is trying to conceal. In fact, after a rigid examination of Kelly's case we are unable to detect anything in his career as a Boss which will account for the extraordinary detestation with which he is now regarded. He does, it is true, exercise powers which have hitherto been reserved by the unwritten law of the Republic for native Protestants. He "controls" forty thousand votes or thereabouts, it is estimated, in this city, and has grown, as General Grant says of Senator Conkling, to "great proportions," although he had no father to "teach him to reason" in his childhood and "correct his errors." According to most of the traditions and rules of politics he is certainly a provoking and unwarrantable person.

Nevertheless, there is much more to be said for him, and, though we make no secret of our dislike for him and his system, we feel bound, now that everybody is abusing him, to say it for him. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that he is practising successfully a strictly American art—that of controlling votes by machinery and the distribution of offices without discussion or legislation. He does, in other words, on a small scale in this city what Messrs. Conkling, Blaine, Logan, and Cameron do on a large scale in their respective States. He is said to be very ignorant, but we see nothing in his public career to convince us that he is any more ignorant than any of the gentlemen we have named. They may know more than Kelly, and perhaps some of them do, but they do not reveal it as politicians. We feel very confident that he is a man of more culture than Logan, and has a far keener intellect. In a competitive examination in geography or arithmetic, for instance, we are sure he could give Logan forty-nine marks out of one hundred and beat him. Logan, too, has only given a fortnight to the study of finance, while Kelly must have given at least a month. As a distributer of "spoils" and as a collector of "assessments" not one of these gentlemen can, to use the popular figure, hold a candle to him. He is really a very respectable financial officer, while a city of which Logan was Comptroller would speedily swarm with "readjusters" and persons in favor of "scaling" the debt. Whether he is as powerful a reasoner as Mr. Conkling is something on which we cannot pronounce positively, because we have never heard Kelly reason when he was in good dialectical condition and his mind was working at full power. He makes a very respectable speech, and it contains about the same sort of stuff as the "great efforts" of the gentlemen above mentioned. Mr. Cameron, according to the best accounts, cannot make a speech at all. Kelly is said to be autocratic and overbearing in his manner to his followers, but so is Mr. Conkling. Neither of them leads his public by persuasion or by any open instrumentality. The art by which Kelly has risen is the art by which Mr. Conkling has risen. He sees that his men go to the primary meetings and the conventions, and that when there they act under his orders, and he thus obtains control of the nominations, and takes care that nobody gets them but persons who will distribute the subordinate city offices in such manner as he directs. In short, he has his machine, as Mr. Conkling has his. But it is said he uses it for his personal advantage. Perhaps so; but do not Mr. Cameron and Mr. Conkling and Mr. Logan do the same thing? We feel quite sure that Kelly has some belief in himself. He is not, in his own eyes, wholly a trickster. He doubtless believes that he can govern the city better than anybody else, and he feels that he uses his power in some degree for great ends, such as the glory of the true Church and the political advancement of men of his own ways of thinking. What more can any leading statesman of the day claim for himself? The truth is that New York City is governed as all other communities in the country, whether city or State, are governed which live under Bosses. The advantage Kelly has over the other Bosses, and it is one which we have no doubt they envy him, is that his followers are more obedient and reliable. Nothing can be more illiberal or un-American than to try to confine the practice of Boss arts to natives and Protestants. These arts are open, like everything else in the country, to all who can successfully cultivate them, no matter of what race or creed. Kelly renders a service to *his* race and his creed in showing that in this field Irish Catholics can hold their own with the smartest and trickiest and most unscrupulous of any race or creed in the world.

One of the most curious attempts to depreciate Kelly and his system

has emanated from Mr. Richard Grant White, who has been comparing the 'New York Directory' of 1830 with that of 1880. In the former he found that the *Macs* and *O's* occupied only fourteen pages and there were hardly any signs of Germans at all. The *Macs* and *O's*, Mr. White rightly concludes, were mostly Irishmen. An unseemly attempt has been made by one of our esteemed contemporaries to maintain that the *Macs* were in part Scotchmen, but this inference is much weakened by the ancient distich:

> "Per *Mac* atque *O*, tu veros cognoscis Hibernos;
> His duobus demptis nullus Hibernus adest."

In 1880 Mr. White finds that the *Macs* and *O's* fill sixty double-columned pages, and the German *Sch's* fill thirty-eight double-columned pages, to say nothing of German names which begin without the *Sch*. From these facts he draws the conclusion that the Irish have driven the Americans out of politics, and that the Germans are driving them out of different branches of business, and that as "one consequence of this change" "social life, properly speaking, has passed away." "In New York," he mournfully says, "society as a refining, cultivating, humanizing influence has ceased to exist." What he means by "society properly speaking," we are not sure that we know exactly. But we presume that he wishes to convey the idea that civilization in New York in 1880 is much lower than it was in New York in 1830. It is due to Kelly to say that there is no better proof of this than the change of names in the directory. New York of 1880 is vastly richer in everything that constitutes civilization and refinement than the New York of 1830. That of 1830 was a small colonial town, with little or no communication with the rest of the world. It had no libraries, no pictures, no music, no authors or artists of any note; no restaurants, no parks, no museums, no great public buildings; few men who had seen any country or who spoke any language but their own, no famous scholars, few great fortunes, and not a very large commerce. It had, for its opportunities, perhaps as good a society as can exist out of a great capital, but no society which can be called "a refining, cultivating, humanizing influence."

The proof of this latter proposition is easy enough. The City had a mob which, considering the smallness of the population (about 175,000 in 1830), was apparently, though containing so few *Macs* or *O's*, more turbulent and ferocious than any that musters under Kelly's banner. At the election in April, 1834, the mob fought all day in the streets, plundered the gun-shops, and were near capturing the Arsenal. Three months later in the same year a few Abolitionists were holding meetings in the city. The mob, incited by some of the newspapers, broke up the meetings, attacked the store of Arthur Tappan, wrecked the house of his brother Lewis, stoned the militia, assailed the house of Dr. Cox, an obnoxious clergyman, erected barricades in the streets which had to be carried by storm, and wrecked one of the churches, throwing the furniture and pews into the streets. In the August following, the stone-masons rose against the cutting of marble by convicts, and attacked the houses of several prominent citizens, and the troops had to be kept under arms for four days and nights. Mr. Stone, in his History, tells us that at this time a prominent citizen wrote to a friend in a neighboring city: "Buy me a quiet place in the suburbs, and, if necessary to complete the sale, draw on me for the amount. I cannot live here longer, for my property is not safe." And yet these were the halcyon days of Mr. White's imagination. Early the following year (1835) the mob, escaping from the "refining, cultivating, humanizing influence" of "society properly speaking," determined to attack a small body of wicked Irishmen who had formed a militia company, called the "O'Connell Guards," and began their operations on Sunday by three great fights, which lasted most of the day, and in the course of which a physician in large practice was killed. On Monday they fell to once more and "gutted" a public-house and dangerously wounded several prominent citizens. On Tuesday they would have continued the fray if the O'Connell Guards had not agreed to disband. In February, 1837, flour being high owing to a bad harvest, the mob broke loose again, mustered in front of the City Hall, six thousand strong, and thence marched to attack a large flour-store. They routed the police, broke into the store, emptied the flour-barrels into the street, stoned the Mayor, wrecked another flour-store, and, in fact, had their own way all day. They were supposed to have destroyed over six hundred barrels of flour and one thousand bushels of wheat by way of lowering the price.

The fact is, that New York has gained enormously within fifty years in everything that constitutes the glory and attractiveness of a great city—in arts, in literature, and in the security and commodity of life as well as in wealth and commerce and population. But this, instead of making the rule of the Bosses more tolerable or less discreditable, renders it the more shameful. Every man who knows what civilization means, and who believes that the end of government is to make life easier, more graceful, and more hopeful for the industrious and peaceable, may fairly cry out against it. But this right we must deny to the native politicians of either party. The Irish Bosses of this city are the legitimate results of the government by "Machine," which is as much a product of native ingenuity as the sewing-machine or the reaper.

Correspondence.

THAT CERTAIN SMALL USE OF MONEY AND SERVICES OF OFFICE-HOLDERS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Being one who is watching the civil service and the question of reform, I can add some facts to show how far the use of money and of Government clerks' time has entered into the campaign.

1. Money.—As soon as the campaign had been organized a call was made for two per cent. of all salaries. It was called a "contribution," but was made upon all. I know an orphan boy of 15, who has $25 per month, who was included. The "Stalwart" clerks, whom I estimate at 25 per cent. of all, at once paid and kept up an incessant talk about the meanness of those who did not pay. Quite a widespread impression was made by these men that if this money was not "contributed" the party could not succeed, and every Republican would be turned out upon the incoming of the Democrats. These men made it pretty odious for the delinquents. Later, the Congressional Committee employed collecting agents and sent them to see the delinquents. These agents received a liberal commission on what they collected. Neither the agents nor the committee-men have made threats, but the Stalwart clerks have been free in remarking that the delinquents "are spotted." After the October elections there was a general coming up of the delinquents, and, although a call was made for an additional one per cent., the indications are that from 85 to 90 per cent. of the assessments have been paid. These remarks apply to the departmental clerks here in Washington. At the custom-houses of the North I am able to judge from having visited a good many of them. Heavier per cents. were levied, and 100 per cent. of the levies collected. This was especially true in Maine, where there was a general belief that tenure was dependent on payment. The contributions called for by Mr. Blaine's committee were nothing short of direct taxation.

2. Services.—Many of the clerks in the departments went home to vote in the October elections and stayed till after the national election. This was especially true of the clerks from Ohio and Indiana. Many of them worked harder that month, at home, than they have done in a year in Washington. I know a clerk who acts as private secretary for one of the Stalwart leaders, and I honestly believe he has not done an average of four hours' work daily for the Government since the Chicago Convention. In addition to the time taken directly for campaign work, the Government has lost enormously in time spent in reading and discussing the political situation in business hours.

If this was necessary to keep the Government in the hands of the Republican party, it can be endured; but how long shall it be necessary?

E. H.

Washington, D. C., November 5, 1880.

NORTHERN DISTRUST OF THE SOUTH.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have a considerable and somewhat intimate acquaintance in several and widely separate parts of the North, and from my knowledge through these obtained believe that what your Memphis correspondent, in your issue of 4th inst., terms "hate" should be entitled "distrust."

The solid political front of the South; its readiness to accept without demur *any* candidate and any platform from the Northern Democracy; its apparent indifference to any question of public policy other than its own restoration to power, not unnaturally excite and maintain this distrust. I am certain that a large proportion of those who now act with the Republican party would hail with delight any action of any part of the South which would give evidence that they hold the right determining of some one of the ques-

tions of national reform above their local or sectional issues, and would be as willing to act with them as with Canada's nearest neighbors.—Respectfully,

T. E. C.

BALTIMORE, Nov. 6, 1880.

THE INDEPENDENT VOTE IN PHILADELPHIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Permit me to refer briefly to several letters which have lately appeared in your columns. Mr. E. P. Wheeler looks upon societies for the furtherance of civil-service reform as mere "side shows" for the benefit of the Republican party, and says: "In other words, the Republicans in them are very glad to get Democratic assistance when the action of such a society will help the Republican party, but refuse their aid when its action will help the Democrats." In support of this opinion Mr. Wheeler cites three instances, none of which, I must be allowed to say, are in the least to the point. Neither Mr. Hayes, the Democratic members of the Senate, nor even the Chicago Convention are members of a civil-service society, or entitled in any way to be considered as exponents of the feeling that calls for the formation of such societies. It is rather to counteract their tendencies in some cases, in others to make up for their shortcomings, that such societies are needed. And to cite the action of the Republican party in reference to the tariff as an indication of what Independents would do in reference to reforming the civil service seems almost ludicrous. Such reasoning and such objections should not for a moment discourage independent men in carrying on a great reform movement.

The recent election furnishes at least one most conspicuous proof of the fallacy of Mr. Wheeler's views. In Philadelphia the City Comptroller, Mr. Pattison, a Democrat, had proved himself during three years' service a most excellent officer. The Republican politicians considered it most important to capture this office, and selected as their candidate Mr. Joel Cook, a man of ability and character. It was discovered just before the election that some actions of Mr. Cook, though not affecting his character or ability, diminished his availability; he was therefore forced to retire, and Mr. Jeffries, a man combining ability, character, and availability, was put in his place. The result showed that whilst the Republicans on the general ticket had a majority of over 20,000, Mr. Pattison, the Democratic candidate, was elected by a majority of over 13,000. The exact figures are:

Garfield, plurality	20,727
Green (Judge S. C.), R.	22,243
Graham (Dist. Att'y), R.	20,419
Pattison, D.	13,517

To elect a candidate in the face of a majority for the other party of over 20,000 would seem almost an impossibility, yet it was done. The above figures show that *over seventeen thousand* Republicans voted for a political opponent, *not* because their own man was objectionable, but simply because they believed that a man who had done his duty well ought not to be removed by reason of political opinions; and this is the very essence of the civil-service reform doctrine, which evidently has 17,000 disciples at least in Philadelphia. In the face of such action how idle it is to talk about "side shows" for party benefit!

It is to be remembered, also, that this was accomplished against the active exertions of the local Republican newspapers, which labored zealously for the party candidate, affirming that he was every jot as good a man as the Democrat. Moreover, it was done in the face of the almost overmastering interest that connects itself with such a Presidential canvass as we have just gone through. A more decisive proof of the thorough sincerity of the Republican Independents could not be desired or imagined. Before Mr. Wheeler inveighs against it, it would be well for him to point out some similar instance on the other side. None such has come to my knowledge.

Your correspondent, writing from Memphis over the signature of "P—n," insists on the "Northern hatred" felt towards Southerners. I think it may be said that amongst the intelligent Independents of both parties, who now hold the balance of power, and who, as admitted by many partisan Republican journals, elected Mr. Garfield, there is no such thing. But there is a strong feeling of disapproval of certain characteristics which are only too evident, and this disapproval is perhaps felt as even more annoying than hatred. The characteristics I refer to are: the narrowly sectional character of Southern politics and utter absence of interest in national issues; the absence of freedom of speech, as understood at the North. That Mr. Atkinson should have friendly attention from an audience that knew exactly the sort of speech that he would deliver, does not countervail this.

Again, Northerners entirely disapprove of the modes by which Southern elections are carried, the wholesale intimidation, tissue ballots, and false counting. They believe that the entire character of the recent result has been influenced by such means; that these means are dangerous in the South and contaminating in their effect on the North, naturally suggesting, for example, Mr. Barnum's present attempt to upset the recent election and throw the whole country into confusion.

Your correspondent "H. R." does not, like Mr. Wheeler, think the civil-service reformers insincere, but, on the contrary, over-zealous, and quotes Talleyrand to them as saying "*Pas trop de zèle.*" Talleyrand said nothing so pointless. The story is, that after giving his instructions to a new set of subordinates, he turned as he was leaving the room, and added "*Surtout, Messieurs! point de zèle!*" And in his view he was, of course, right. He wanted intelligent machines, which the civil-service reformers do not propose to be.

M. CAREY LEA.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 6, 1880.

[From the above it clearly appears that, in accordance with the terms of his letter a fortnight ago, Mr. Wheeler is now under obligations to join the Civil-Service Reform Publication Society at once. Due notice will be given him of the proper destination of his subscription.—ED. NATION.]

SOUTHERN ALLIANCE WITH THE DEMOCRACY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: From your reflections upon the division of the Democratic party in Virginia (No. 800, Oct. 28) I beg leave to quote the following:

"'Read that honest confession, ye deluded people of Virginia who have innocently followed what you supposed was a Democratic leader,' the Richmond *Dispatch* exclaims in triumph; and there are numberless other untimely indications that fidelity to 'Democracy' is regarded by even those Virginia Democrats who object to the title 'Bourbon' as the first of political duties, in no matter what exigency.

"This is what renders it doubtful, at least to people who have no intimate interest in the honor of Virginia, whether Mahone is not performing a public service in exploding the nonsense and antiquity of Bourbon notions, even at the expense of cheating the creditors of the State."

Permit a subscriber who believes that the public has an "intimate" and direct "interest" in preserving a distinction between right and wrong, to take exception to even the appearance of immoral teaching in a journal of acknowledged ability and influence. I am sure that you will disclaim the advocacy of unsound views upon an obviously moral question, and cease to be doubtful whether a "public service" is ever rendered "at the expense of cheating the creditors of a State." The "political machine" against which you have so repeatedly and successfully waged war battens upon such sophistry and such fables as "the end justifies the means" and "anything to win," and imperils the permanence of the institutions of our country. Your well-known views upon the proper methods of conducting a canvass must force you to disclaim even the appearance of sanction to "cheating creditors," though the gain be the loss of the South to "Democracy."

Your zeal, too, apparently outstrips your usually temperate judgment, and you inveigh against the South for its "fidelity to Democracy." Your journal, with others of like influence in the North, denies to the people of the South an equal degree of culture, civilization, and toleration; and you base your hopes of our improvement upon contact with our countrymen of the North and the gradual and ameliorating influences of time. Is it not a little inconsistent, then, to expect the South, in the brief period of restored equality which she has enjoyed (only since President Hayes's inauguration), to cut loose from "fidelity to Democracy" and swell the ranks of a party which still grants ovations to, and crowds the places of public assembly to hear, a Conkling, a Blaine, a Cameron, or a Logan? It is true the "bloody shirt" is in some disrepute, that it is worn threadbare; but as long as such men are permitted to retain power and prominence so long will it continue a convenient and potent scarecrow to move the masses. Is it too great a guarantee to ask of the North that these men should be permitted to serve the country in some private capacity? Their utter and complete unfitness for the places they occupy has been demonstrated time and time again in your valuable columns; and their complete and voluntary isolation from all apparent interest in the momentous questions submitted to this generation for solution warrants the prediction that the nation may avoid chaos in the absence of their counsel.

Such fidelity as many of us of the South bear to "Democracy" is the natural sequence to the ordeal of "reconstruction" through which we have passed. The political history of our country will demonstrate the fact that the party in opposition to the existing Government has always been "strict constructionist," as opposed to the "loose constructionist" views of the dominant party. It is the history of all parties of all countries. Is it not natural, therefore, that we of the South, in passing through the phases of "reconstruction," defeat, humiliation, military government, frequent inroads of troops during elections (the last occurring in Virginia just prior to President Hayes's election), should throw our political weight with the party in favor of strict construction of the organic law of the nation—the party in opposition—the "Democracy"? We desire the disruption of the "Solid South," of "fidelity to Democracy," and a division of the country into parties based not upon sectional or territorial questions, but upon those affecting the permanent advance-

ment and improvement of our common heritage. When the "Solid North" shall offer to the "Solid South" the complete retirement of "machine" and "bloody-shirt" politicians, and a return to questions affecting the vital interests of the whole country, then will "fidelity to Democracy" and a "Solid South" pass as quickly and irrecoverably away as the dreams of a night.—I am, very respectfully, VIRGINIUS NEWTON.

RICHMOND, VA., Nov. 1, 1880.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As I believe that civil-service reform is at present the one great question underlying all others in our politics I shall be most happy to subscribe to the Publication Society. The proposed plan of publishing and distributing documents for the purpose of opening the eyes of the more intelligent voters to the actual facts in regard to our civil-service system and its results, seems to me a most sensible one. I believe that it is the only way in which civil-service reformers can secure substantial and permanent success.

If the Publication Society is properly started on a non-partisan basis, and vigorously conducted, it ought to be able to effect a good deal before the next Presidential election. I am confident that there are to-day in this country enough voters who would be glad to see Government offices no longer the spoils of politicians to hold the balance of power between the two parties. There should be several times as many in a few years if the Society does its work well. Organize these voters, even in a rough way, and the politicians will compete for their support. I voted for Garfield, in spite of the fact that he has thrown overboard civil-service reform; at the next election I hope to be able to vote for one of the candidates because he favors civil-service reform, and can afford to say so.

If a meeting of those interested in the proposed society could be held during the Christmas holidays I think that many would attend it who could not be in New York at any other time.—Yours respectfully, J. Q., JR.

QUINCY, MASS., October 31, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The reasons given by your correspondent, Mr. Everett P. Wheeler, for thinking the organization of the proposed Civil-Service Reform Publication Society premature, appear to me, on the contrary, to tend strongly to the conclusion that such a society is urgently needed and ought to receive the support of every sympathizer in the cause of good government. When we shall have arrived at the state of affairs suggested by Mr. Wheeler as a condition precedent to his joining the Society, one of the most important objects it contemplates will have been gained.

Civil-service reform is, I believe, the most vital question before this country to-day, entering directly or indirectly into every other political problem under discussion. In the hope that it may be possible gradually to shape and direct so strong an expression of public opinion as shall force the subject into the prominence that it deserves, I and nine of my friends will gladly join such a society as is outlined in your issue of October 21. I write while the election is still undecided, in order to emphasize the fact that in our opinion the society, to accomplish any good, must be quite independent of either of the existing political parties.—Your obedient servant, J. M. L.

BALTIMORE, November 2, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There are ten of us here who wish to contribute our mite of $5 a year each in aid of the proposed Civil-Service Reform Publication Society, and to express through your columns our deep interest in, and sympathy for, the objects of that society. Our numbers can very easily be considerably increased. As it is, we may be regarded as a nucleus for a branch of any non-partisan central organization that may hereafter be inaugurated.

I may go on to say that the lively interest which is being developed on all sides in the condition of our civil service is a most welcome sign, and quite encouraging to that class of citizens who have not been able for some time to feel much interest in the contentions that have composed the web and woof of the politics of the country. It indicates, among other things, that now perhaps the time is close at hand when they too will feel drawn to take a part in politics, and may reasonably hope to exert a share of influence on that public opinion which chooses representatives, and dictates the measures and objects which they shall consider and enact. Once let our politics become interesting, and there will be no lack of attention to them on the part of those who are called the best people. For many years this class has kept itself greatly aloof from politics because of the lamentable absence from the political arena of any fresh and open issues, and the sore indifference of parties and the general public to suggestions and projects of a reformative tendency. But now at last the time seems to have arrived when the public mind is ready to attend to such suggestions, and if this be so we shall not have long to wait until the air is full of earnest, intelligent, and thorough discussion of most useful and interesting political questions; and among these questions the condition of our civil service, in point of present importance, no doubt occupies the chief place.

The general public is beginning to be aware that there is something "rotten in Denmark." It has not escaped notice that politics—national, State, and municipal—are too exclusively concerned with the spoils of office, and that the character, aims, and morals of public men do not keep pace in improvement with the progress of the country in wealth, population, and general welfare. Best of all, it is beginning to be seen that the peculiarities and faults of our civil-service system are the chief causes of our bad political ways, and the inferiority of our public functionaries. If this be the correct view of the situation then it is indeed plain that our proposed organization is as opportune as the need for it is urgent. After the pending election is over, the field will be perfectly clear of engrossing subjects. There is not likely to be any contest over the tariff; the currency question has been discussed to a definite conclusion; and there is no life left in the watchword of a "Solid South." But notwithstanding everything seems settled, still we do not feel at ease. The country is sensible of a grievous ailing somewhere, and great multitudes have placed their finger on the civil-service system, and the saying is heard in all parts of the land that the centre of the disease is here.

A. R. COOPER.

LOUISVILLE, KY., October 23, 1880.

Notes.

JANSEN, McCLURG & CO., Chicago, will shortly publish 'Club Essays,' by Prof. David Swing.——By authority of the State of Wisconsin, Messrs. H. A. Tenney and David Atwood, reporters respectively of the constitutional conventions of 1846 and 1847–8, have compiled and published a 'Memorial Record of the Fathers of Wisconsin'—*i.e.*, of the delegates to those conventions (Madison: David Atwood). Besides alphabetically arranged memoirs of upwards of two hundred persons (some, like Alexander W. Randall, James Duane Doty, and Rufus King, having a more than local reputation), this volume contains a rapid sketch of the formation of the Territory of Wisconsin, by the editors, and again by another hand, census tables by counties from 1836 to 1880, and the text of the rejected and adopted constitutions. The genealogical value of the work is apparent, and the general reader will find in it some anecdotes of pioneer life, and an instructive exhibition of the way in which States have been formed.——The second volume of Mr. Henry J. Morgan's 'Dominion Annual Register and Review,' for 1879 (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co.), marks the progress of a very useful work, needing further improvement chiefly in the direction of literary finish and typographical clearness. For example, the chapters on the political history of 1879 would be much more readable and available if furnished with topical headings. Something may be learned on this side of the line even from discussions of the right of the Speaker of the House to make administrative appointments during the interval between two parliaments; the right of lieutenant-governors to appoint Queen's counsel; the right of a member of the House to take his seat on a telegram announcing his election, while the certificate is delayed by storms (allowed, but not as a precedent); the duty of stopping the postal service on Sunday (principle affirmed, but application left to the Government's discretion!); the wiping out of the insolvency statutes (unsuccessful in Senate); the Letellier case, etc. The proposed abolition of the Supreme Court, the establishment of the N. P. (as our neighbors call their new high-tariff policy), the appearance in Parliament of fiat-money *alias* "national-currency" apostles, the Chinese question arising in British Columbia, the Government's cogitation over civil-service reform, its delicate relations with the Indians of the Northwest, etc., are other matters of interest to the people of the United States, let alone such cases of actual contact and collision as the right of Canadian barges to navigate our canals, the Fortune Bay row, and the Alaskan boundary. A full history of the national policy as to public lands and railways forms an important feature of the work.——From the review of Canadian literature in the foregoing volume we take the following titles of recent works: Joseph Tassé's 'Les Canadiens de l'Ouest'; the Rev. Dr. Ryerson's sturdily patriotic 'History of the Loyalists of America and their Times,' in 3 vols.; Judge Marshall's 'Brief History of Public Proceedings, etc., in Nova Scotia,' during the earliest years of the present century; and James Hannay's meritorious 'History of Acadia.' It is announced that the chief topographer of the Geological Survey is re-engraving, for a new edition, his steel-plate map of Canada of 1868, of which the scale is 25 miles to the inch.——Prof. A. N. Prentiss's articles on the "Destruction of Obnoxious Insects by means of Fungoid Growths" in the August and September numbers of the *American Naturalist* have been reprinted separately. They reach a conclusion adverse to Prof. Hagen's expectations of the utility of the yeast fungus, but do not discourage further experiments of a similar nature.——From recent numbers of the *Français* we learn that the so-called *atelier de photographie* of the National Library is about being opened to the public—a sort of

exhibition room in which access will be given to fac-simile reproductions of the rare MSS. and engravings too precious for vulgar handling. Also, that the famous sculptor, Chapu, has set the good example of embellishing his native town with plaster-casts of some of his principal works, including his lovely statue of Jeanne d'Arc and the Schneider memorial at Creusot.

—Miss Kate Greenaway's artistic gift is confirmed in all its scope and originality by the pretty little 'Birthday Book for Children' which succeeds her 'Under the Window' of last year (New York: Routledge); and Mrs. Sale Barker, who this time furnishes the verses, is evidently a kindred spirit, and acquits herself well of her difficult task of matching every day in the year and its corresponding picture with a childish rhyme. Perhaps it is on account of the diminished scale that one feels that the "epoch-making" quality inheres rather in the earlier than in the later performance. Miss Greenaway does not lack the flattery of imitation. 'Ups and Downs,' for example, by M. J. Tilsey (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.), follows the two nursery-books just named, at a considerable distance, it is true, but undisguisedly. The author is far from being Miss Greenaway's equal in design, or draughtsmanship, or color, yet now and again makes a good picture, and verses like "When Sunday comes" and "There are two boys we saw abroad" are clever enough. In 'Pretty Peggy, and Other Ballads' (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.) Miss Rosina Emmet's designs recall R. Caldecott's more than those of any other predecessor, but for the most part have a physiognomy of their own. The coloring is very good, the drawing generally so, with an occasional surprise that it is not better. The graceful little group on the dedication page is distinctly American and not English—a fact which should give the book a transatlantic interest. The ballads are old, and the music accompanies them. Crude lithographic work distinguishes Eleanor W. Talbot's 'Wonder-Eyes and What-For' (New York: Cassell, Petter & Galpin), nor is much to be said of the rhymes; but in the longer metres there is humor for the elders, if not for the little folks.

—In the October number of the *Bulletin* of the Nuttall Ornithological Club (Cambridge) Dr. Elliott Coues is able to substantiate his recent assertion in his Bibliography that Audubon was indebted to MacGillivray for the scientific portion of his descriptions of species. Among valuable ornithological MSS. in the possession of Mr. Joseph M. Wade, of Rockville, Conn., he found and was allowed to copy and print in the *Bulletin* a letter from the Scotch naturalist to the Franco-American, under date of May 28, 1834, in which MacGillivray writes: "You say you have accumulated a mass of materials which you are desirous of seeing in print, and propose that I should revise it as before. I shall be glad to do so, if you please, and willing that you should confer the benefit on another, if you find it expedient. As to the terms, let them be such as you please with respect to money," etc. This shows that the service was a customary one, and was on a business footing. Dr. Coues also prints punctiliously an inedited letter of Audubon's, equally enjoyable for its hearty spirit and for its disregard of the rules of correct composition; and a sly foot-note praises Dr. T. M. Brewer's editing of the Audubon letters in the October *Harper's*. Over Wilson, whose literary and artistic remains enrich the same collection, Dr. Coues warms with sympathy and admiration, except in the case of his poetry, of which he gives a lovelorn specimen. He remarks upon "the decided superiority of the originals [of Wilson's bird drawings] in comparison with the published engravings" by Lawson.

—The *International Review* for November is rather heavy, but a paper on "State Debts and Repudiation," by Robert P. Porter, makes it valuable. Mr. Porter has apparently devoted a good deal of patient industry to the investigation of his subject, with the result of a useful compendium of statistics and collateral exposition. He shows the financial condition of the various States in 1840 and at present; gives tables illustrating the increase of the different debts, the market value of the bonds in different years, and so on; and recounts the circumstances of the several repudiations. The last is pitiful reading, of course, and Mr. Porter lets it convey its own moral in the main, though he is moved to conclude in terms of which no Southern reader of his article will controvert the justice, while some, indeed, may be benefited by the reflection that they are just. "The wholesale repudiation," says Mr. Porter, "in that section of the country during the past decade has been one of the most mistaken, injurious, and inexcusable policies which criminally unwise legislation supported by a false public opinion ever inflicted upon a people; and the South is to-day suffering, and will for generations to come suffer, for the folly of those who were lured from duty and honesty by party passion and false theories." He is equally severe on Minnesota, it is needless to add. E. de Pressensé writes in a sound rather than a sprightly fashion about "The French Republic and the Jesuits"; George L. Andrews, in "West Point and the Colored Cadet," makes an exhaustive review of the Whittaker case, before it is too late, we presume; T. C. Felton's "The Muster 'Vorstellungen' at Munich" is elaborate, instructive, and long; so is Charles S. Baker's "The State and the Railroads," which, he argues, should have intimate relations; and J. T. Morse, jr., one of the editors, does his best to leaven the entire lump by lightly written and agreeable talk about "Boston Lawyers in the Old Days," in the course of which he tells several amusing anecdotes, and draws outline sketches of early practitioners at the Massachusetts bar. Stories about lawyers make the best variety of gossip of this order, and Mr. Morse knows how to stop before he has given us too much.

—A recent number of the *Southern Historical Society Papers* contains an important contribution to the history of the late war, in the form of an article upon "General Hardee and the Military Operations around Atlanta," by Col. T. B. Roy, late of Gen. Hardee's staff. It is intended as an answer to the strictures of General Hood upon the conduct of Hardee on the 20th and 22d of July, 1864, and in the affair at Jonesboro six weeks later. Colonel Roy has collected with care the testimony of living witnesses of the events, and it is only fair to say that he seems to have refuted pretty thoroughly the criticisms on General Hardee which are contained in General Hood's 'Advance and Retreat.' We pointed out in our former review of General Hood's book (Nos. 769, 770 of the *Nation*) that, whether Hardee had fully accomplished all his commander had a right to require or not, Hood's own account of the campaign shows that the responsibility for its results cannot be shifted to the subordinate. The new facts brought out by Colonel Roy strongly support the general view of the campaign which we took, though they also tend to show an *animus* on the part of Hood toward Hardee more ungenerous than we should willingly attribute to him. It appears that, in the engagement at Peach-Tree Creek, the delay of which Hood accuses Hardee was beyond the control of the latter, and that Hood himself directed one of Hardee's divisions to be sent to the support of Cheatham on the extreme right, thus stopping the attack which Hardee had ordered. Instead of being responsible for the failure of the attack on the 22d of July (the battle of Atlanta), Hardee seems to have done all that an energetic commander could do, as we have already shown in our articles above referred to. As evidence that Gen. Hood's depreciation of Hardee was of later growth than his book intimates, Col. Roy refers with a good deal of force to the fact that on the 28th of July Hood sent Hardee from his own command to take charge of the movements of the other two corps of the army, when they had become involved in their ill-fated assault on the Union lines on the Lick-Skillet road. This certainly would seem to prove that Hardee was under no cloud in the opinion of his commander at that time. New light is also thrown upon the affair at Jonesboro, after Sherman had swung to the south of Atlanta, and Col. Roy brings strong evidence to sustain the assertion that Hardee was then showing great abilities as a corps commander, and doing all that could be done to correct the strategic error of Hood, who remained long and strangely blind to the fact that Sherman was in earnest in placing his army upon the Confederate lines of communication.

—A brilliant and positive etching, almost without *retroussage*, and remarkable for its broad treatment of light, is selected from Méryon's works for the October *Portfolio*, and presented in the skilful fac-simile process of Amand Durand. It represents a house with a turret in Paris, demolished in 1851. For works of this bold character the copying method of M. Durand is particularly competent; but it would be a mistake to suppose that the reproduction is an entirely chemical and scientific, as opposed to an artistic and finishing, process. M. Durand is an engraver of experience, and he practises his retouching so openly that he meets his visitors burin and magnifier in hand, fresh from the labor of mending and re-cutting the lines on whose accuracy his fac-simile depends. It will be interesting to see whether the reproductions by Delangle, in the new Rembrandt issued by Quantin, declared by Charles Blanc to be perfection, and to be without retouching, will excel these surprisingly clever imitations. In original etchings the *Portfolio* has latterly given particular attention to architectural views and landscapes. The "Senate House, Cambridge," in the October number, "St. John's College, Cambridge," in that for August, and some wood-carvings by Grinling Gibbons, in the September part, are crisp and picturesque studies, by Brunet-Debaines, Toussaint, and Greux respectively, which sustain, if they do not advance, the standard of Mr. Hamerton as champion of an art which it is important to keep undegraded. A subject by Colin Hunter, "Mending the Nets," in the last number, is the effort of an amateur, and looks so. We fancy a decreasing evidence of personal attention in Mr. Hamerton's journal, so far as the text goes. In the matter of printing the coppers, while we do not suspect a lack of editorial ambition, there are signs of change of style, as if the press-work were henceforth to be committed to British hands, and a national school of skilled plate-printers to be formed, in opposition to the French workmen who formerly had charge of his etchings.

—Dr. Ross, of Cambridge, Mass., to whose essay on "Village Communities" we recently called attention, has published a paper, read at the August meeting of the American Association, on "Primitive Democracy in the Alps," in which he examines one of the pet theories of Mr. Freeman in the same unsympathizing spirit with which he had previously treated Sir Henry Maine. It may have occurred to other readers than Dr. Ross that the eloquent pas-

sage with which Mr. Freeman introduced his lectures on the English Constitution was rather too oratorical to stimulate confidence in its strict accuracy, and his present critic makes out what is at least a plausible case against the English historian and his school. "Among the dales and mountain-sides of Switzerland," says Mr. Freeman, "one is in a land where the oldest institutions of our race, institutions which may be traced up to the earliest times of which history or legend gives us any glimmering, still live on in their primeval freshness." Between Tacitus's observations and the earliest mediæval record there is a gap of eight and a half centuries, yet Mr. Freeman assumes not merely that the institutions of the two periods are the same, but that they existed in unbroken continuity. But Dr. Ross's essay has the merit of being constructive as well as critical, and is valuable at least for its suggestiveness with respect to the constitution of early Teutonic society. His theory is, in substance, that democracy is an idea peculiar to an advanced civilization—which is not, of course, particularly original. This presentation of the case against previous commentators (for which we must refer the reader to the pamphlet) is excellent, however, the point of it lying in the alleged mistranslation and misconstruction of an important passage in Tacitus.

—We take pleasure in announcing the formation and readiness for active work of the Society for Political Education, whose headquarters are at No. 79 Fourth Avenue in this city. This organization, "non-partisan in its character and, in the best sense, national in its scope," is managed by an Executive Committee of twenty-five members, consisting at present of Prof. W. G. Sumner, of Yale; David A. Wells, of Norwich, Conn.; Charles Francis Adams, jr., of Boston; Horace White, George S. Coe, Geo. Haven Putnam, E. M. Shepard, and R. L. Dugdale, of New York; Franklin MacVeagh and M. L. Scudder, jr., of Chicago; Gen. Bradley T. Johnson, of Richmond; John H. Ames, of Lincoln, Nebraska; A. Sydney Biddle, of Philadelphia; A. Mitchell, of New Orleans; George Mason, of Galveston; and Peter Hamilton, of Mobile. Its support is found in an active membership paying an annual fee of fifty cents, on condition of reading the annual course prescribed by the Society; and a co-operative membership, which, on payment of not less than five dollars annually, will be entitled to receive from time to time the tracts published by the Society. For active members a cheap edition, in a uniform set, of Nordhoff's 'Politics for Young Americans,' Perry's 'Introduction to Political Economy,' Johnson's 'History of American Politics,' and McAdam's 'Alphabet in Finance'—the first year's course—has been provided, and for three dollars may be had of G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, or Jansen, McClurg & Co., Chicago, the publishing agents of the Society. For further particulars as to the nature of the tracts contemplated, and as to advisory lists of works that may be studied apart from the course, we must refer those interested to Mr. R. L. Dugdale, Secretary for the East and Acting Treasurer, at the above address. In time the society, if well conducted, will go far to remove the reproach of our political system, that it does not provide for making suffrage intelligent as well as universal.

—The regular season at Steinway Hall was opened on Saturday by the first concert of the New York Symphony Society. Dr. Damrosch has reorganized his orchestra, and there were many strange faces among the musicians. This partly accounts for the fact that the ensemble-playing was by no means as finished as is generally the case with this leader's performances. The opening number was Beethoven's dramatic overture to Goethe's "Egmont," and the symphony of the evening Brahms's No. 1 in C minor. It seems almost impossible to acquire an interest in this long and elaborate composition. All that a thorough knowledge of the theoretical part of music and conscientious study and work can supply is here produced, but what genius alone can give—warmth and strength and fulness of ideas—is altogether wanting. The five long movements—three of which are slow, which seems a serious mistake in form—drag wearily, with scarcely one refreshing thought, with rarely a fine orchestral effect. The symphony was first introduced here three years ago, when everybody tried to like it, and very few succeeded. It fell so cold upon the audience last Saturday that it is not likely to be produced again for some time. The event of the concert was the first appearance in this country of Mr. George Henschel, a baritone who brings a European reputation with him, and who is, in fact, a concert-singer of the first rank. His voice has a rich and sympathetic quality, is of unusual compass—he went through nearly two octaves, from the lower G to the high F sharp—and is remarkably even in every register. But Mr. Henschel is more than a singer, he is an accomplished artist. His pronunciation of his own language, at least, is admirably distinct. He sang a highly dramatic song from Handel's "Alexander's Feast" with great fire, but appeared to greatest advantage in a beautiful lyric scene from Weber's "Euryanthe," and in some delightful songs by Rubinstein and Schumann, which he gave as encores. A spirited but rather rough performance of Liszt's "Mazeppa" concluded the performance.

—Mr. Mapleson brought out nothing new last week. The most interesting feature was the reproduction of Verdi's "Ballo in Maschera," which has not been heard here for some years. Mme. Montesini, a dramatic prima donna, was introduced on this occasion. She seems capable of assuming great operatic characters, but her first performance was very much injured either by nervousness or indisposition. She sang frequently out of tune, and throughout the part with a most painful tremolo. Miss Cary was excellent as *Ulrica*, and Mme. Swift filled the insignificant part of *Oscar* very satisfactorily. The new tenor, Ravelli, gains upon acquaintance, and was very effective in several scenes; but the triumph of the evening fell again to the lot of Signor Galassi, who took the part of *Renato*. His rendering of the famous "Eri tu" was one of the best efforts of this admirable singer. "Aïda," with the same principal artists in the cast, was produced for the first time this fall, and Madame Gerster as *Traviata* drew on Monday, in spite of the sensation at Booth's Theatre the same evening, one of the largest houses of the season.

—In the *Rundschau* for October Dr. Friedrich Kapp publishes a long and highly interesting article on the (personal) relations of Germany and this country, in the course of which he comes to speak of the writings of Charles Sealsfield, of whose adventurous life we spoke some time since (vol. xxx., p. 215). German literary critics—for example, H. Ethé—have long held up Sealsfield as a first-rate genius; and we now find that Dr. Kapp, though looking at him from a different standpoint, concurs in this view. "With what extraordinary success," he writes, "did Sealsfield study and observe this people. Even now Americans can learn certain features of their character better from him than from the best of their own writers." His works form so many chapters "of the history of civilization, which he paints in truly seductive colors. But their greatest attraction is due to the fact that this modern history is typical for the development of humanity at large, and suggests many weighty points with respect to its oldest history." In Germany these works "were literally devoured, and were a regular topic of students' conversation, both among themselves and with ladies." In the United States, "on the most favorable reckoning, he can have had only a few hundred readers, and they forgot his books as soon as read." At present he is here known "not even by name." In the Boston Public Library Dr. Kapp could find only one of his works, and "no American literary history even mentions his name." This is hardly a fair statement, for Allibone gives him fitting notice, and refers to Griswold, though the list of his works, compared with Dr. Kapp's, is defective. If deemed unworthy of more permanent form, it might yet be worth the while of one of our "library" publishers to give us a reprint of the works of this singular author.

—No. 348 of Virchow and Von Holtzendorff's 'Sammlung,' by Dr. F. Hoffmann, of Gera, is entitled "Of the History of Civilization in Europe (Plants and Domestic Animals)," and attempts to give the history of the introduction into Europe of the most important cultivated plants and domestic animals, and of their influence on the Continent's development. The lecture is based on Viktor Hehn's "Cultivated Plants and Domestic Animals, and their transition from Asia to Greece and Italy, as well as the rest of Europe," which appeared in a second edition in 1874. The proof of the statements made rests, as is well known, on history and philology, but especially philology, in its obscurer investigations, and consequently lacks the demonstrative nature of the testimony of contemporaries of the events conjectured. Still, the account here given, whether exact or not, includes so many interesting details that we should think the essay would repay translating, a remark that might be made of many other essays in this series, and also of the "Zeit- und Streit-Fragen." We may call attention here to another essay on a linguistic subject in the latter series, No. 106, which, though published in 1878, has a permanent value for the student in general and the German citizen: "Foreign Words in German," by Th. Heinze. The author does not look upon foreign words with favor, although he is obliged to confess the vast number of them in even the most domestic relations of life, and wants his countrymen to return to the native force and resource of the German and develop them. He gives copious instances with comments. He notices with pleasure that legal legislation has lately discarded century-old technical terms and replaced them by native or newly-invented ones; and that the military authorities, from their extensive practice in German composition, have produced a much better history of the French war of 1870 than of the Austrian war of 1866. He would not go so far, however, in relying upon native idiom as Philipp von Zesen two hundred years ago, one of whose inventions was *Löschhorn* for *Nase*, also *Schauburg* for *Theater*, *Zeugemutter* for *Natur*, etc. Fortunately, the men of his day laughed at him.

—No man in Germany is more versed in Scandinavian literature, history, laws, and politics than Konrad Maurer. In Icelandic matters there is no greater authority living. When, in the year 1834, Denmark received her new constitution, strenuous efforts began to be made by the Icelanders to reorganize their old Althing (Parliament) and secure more independence in the administration of the island. After a prolonged struggle with the Danish Government, they finally in 1874, the year in which the thousandth anniversary of the colonization of Iceland was celebrated, received a new constitution, which, though it might have been far more liberal, marks a new era in the

history of Iceland, and can hardly fail to advance materially the prosperity of her people. The two men to whom Iceland is most indebted for the privileges granted by the new constitution are unquestionably the patriot Jón Sigurdsson, who died last year, and Konrad Maurer, of Munich. The latter made a thorough study of the whole history of Iceland, its relations to Norway from 1264 to 1381, and its relations to Denmark from the latter date down to the present. In leading German periodicals from time to time he set forth the claims and rights of the Icelanders and the abuses of them by Denmark. The struggle and final victory of the Icelanders is now historic, and Konrad Maurer has very wisely gathered all his articles on the subject into a volume of 318 pages ('Zür politischen Geschichte Islands. Gesammelte Aufsätze.' Leipzig: Bernhard Schlicke. 1880). The reader will find it an exhaustive account of the political history of Iceland from 1834 to 1880, with many glimpses of previous epochs. It is doubtless true that it must be considered as the work of a partisan, but, on the other hand, it is equally true that Herr Maurer is very nearly if not quite free from rancorous party spirit. Having spent some time in Iceland and in Copenhagen, and having examined all accessible documents, he speaks on all topics within the scope of his work with the authority and without the national prejudice of a native. The sixth and last article in the volume is a sketch of the life and services of his friend Jón Sigurdsson.

CRAWFURD'S PORTUGAL.*

WHEN the 'Travels in Portugal, by John Latouche,' appeared, a few years ago, no one acquainted with the accomplished British consul at Oporto needed to puzzle himself long with the pseudonym behind which the author chose to hide. In the volume before us Mr. Crawfurd supplements his former work with a series of studies of Portuguese history, and literature, and social life which, though at first glance they may seem a little disconnected, will be found on examination to be by far the most accurate and discriminating picture that has been given by any English writer of this interesting people. No portion of Europe, if we take into account its historical significance and the service it has rendered modern civilization, has received such scant appreciation as the little kingdom that divides with Spain the Iberian peninsula. Cut off by its more powerful neighbor from contact with the Continent, and only slightly affected by the turmoil of European political agitation, it has been left to pursue the even tenor of its way, and has almost been forgotten in the great onward movements of modern times. Until a recent period only easily accessible to the traveller by a sea voyage, it has been far less visited than other portions of Southern Europe, and the majority of those who have sailed up the superb bay of Lisbon, contenting themselves with hurried trips to Cintra and Mafra, have agreed in the disparaging verdict that Portugal was a country a hundred and fifty years behind the rest of the world. Mr. Crawfurd's book is an indignant protest against a judgment which he stigmatizes as foolish and ignorant. It is a generous plea for a country and a people that he has learned to know intimately by long years of residence, and respecting whose character and social life he writes with the authority of one who has prepared himself for the task by long and close study at first hand. The evident enthusiasm with which he writes only lends his chapters an additional charm.

The author modestly describes his book as a medley of history, of criticism, and of description. But it is throughout an original study, and of the kind of information that writers who undertake to describe foreign countries so copiously derive from Murray we have absolutely nothing. It is the work of one familiar with those aspects of Portuguese life which do not come under the notice of the ordinary tourist; of one who is evidently a ripe scholar, a close observer, a zealous student of antiquities, and a lover of nature in all her forms. Added to this there is a keen sense of humor that gives a delightful zest to the sketches of social life. He likens his volume to a well-known dish which the traveller meets with in the more uncivilized parts of Portugal —a dish in which meat and game and fowl of every kind are seethed together with an equal variety of vegetables and herbs and spices. We do not remember to have tasted the dish, but if it resembles this charming volume we can think of none more tempting to the most dainty palate. It is a medley, but a medley that only a most skilful artist could compound.

For what Mr. Crawfurd terms the more solid ingredients we have an admirable introductory sketch of the rise of Portugal, and of the romantic career of the warrior king, about whom so many legends cluster, the heroic Affonso Henriquez. The scanty historical remains that supply us with genuine material for illustrating the reign of this founder of Portuguese monarchy have nowhere been so clearly and intelligently discussed as in the chapter which the author devotes to this part of his subject. It is an interesting fact that a large English contingent co-operated with Affonso in the capture of Lisbon from the Moors, so that centuries before the campaigns of Wellington had made Vimeira and Torres-Vedras familiar as household words the long connection of Portugal with England had begun. Mr. Crawfurd has taken pains to make a personal inspection of every locality that he describes, and the skill with which he has narrated this earliest chapter of Portuguese annals can but awaken an earnest desire on the part of his readers that he should go on with the story, and enrich our historical literature with a complete history of Portugal. It is safe to say that there is no one living who possesses better qualifications for such a task. The diligent researches of Hercolano have prepared the way, and a subject so attractive, with the artistic treatment that Mr. Crawfurd could not fail to give it, would be sure of a cordial welcome from readers on both sides the Atlantic.

The distinctive charm of this volume will be found, however, not so much in its contribution to Portuguese history, or in its discriminating criticism of early Portuguese literature, as in its graphic pictures of the life of Portugal at the present day. Here the writer's admirable descriptive power and his keen observation are at their best. While he stoutly defends the Portuguese from the aspersions so freely heaped upon them, his eye is quick to discern the ludicrous or absurd aspects of Portuguese society; and his portrait of the Portuguese country gentleman, and of the mode in which he indulges in field sports, is dashed with an irresistible sense of the humorous which his evidently cordial regard for the people with whom he has lived so long cannot suppress. Mr. Crawfurd, who is himself a practical farmer, does not hesitate to say that even England may learn some lessons in agriculture from Portugal; and while freely conceding that the Portuguese are lamentably deficient in zeal for all higher intellectual interests, he asserts that in what goes to make up the substantial good of social life—in religious equality, in freedom from commercial restrictions, in equality before the law—they are not a whit behind most European countries. In a country where the higher literary and scientific culture is almost wholly lacking, where the press has no influence, and where public opinion hardly exists, such a result as this cannot fail to excite surprise. Mr. Crawfurd accounts for it from the fact that the Portuguese race is the product of an almost unexampled blending of nationalities—a race which combines the tough fibre of the north with the more subtle genius of the south, and therefore possessing great and rare qualities. We cannot help thinking that his estimate of the present generation of Portuguese is rather high, but we demur with hesitation to the judgment of one whose opinions are based on such long and close acquaintance.

A classical scholar like Mr. Crawfurd could not, of course, fail to note the evidences, so abundantly preserved in Portugal, of the Roman occupation. In the method of holding land the emphyteutic tenure of the later empire still survives. And not simply in legal traditions, but also in the habits of the people may be detected unmistakable Roman features. The modern Portuguese landed proprietor, like the old Roman, does not relish living on his estate. Although in Portugal there is no lack of country-houses, and some of them good and pleasant ones, the Portuguese gentleman prefers the more sociable life of the city. He never resides at his country-place, but simply runs down to it for a brief holiday season. This is the more surprising as the Portuguese landscape is full of rare and diversified beauty. The foreign commerce of the country for three hundred years has made it an emporium of plants and shrubs from every quarter of the globe, while its genial climate allows the variegated growth of China, Japan, Australia, and South America to be readily reproduced. Nor are the native products unworthy to be compared with these. Mr. Crawfurd is compelled to admit that, so far as relates to the practical methods of farming, Portugal has made little progress for fourteen hundred years. The same ploughs are still in use that were brought here by the Romans, and the Georgics of Virgil may be interpreted by practices to be witnessed on any Portuguese farm to-day. The most common details do not escape notice. Some of our readers will perhaps feel a more kindly interest in the little kingdom when they learn that the cod is there held in an esteem not inferior to that with which he is regarded in Massachusetts, and that the *bôlos de bacalhao*, which in the opinion of all good Portuguese alone renders existence tolerable, is nothing more nor less than the familiar fish-ball which forms the Sunday breakfast of orthodox New England. Mr. Crawfurd declares that, could he persuade his own countrymen to adopt this nutritious diet, he would do more for their material advancement than most statesmen accomplish in a lifetime. But he frankly confesses that it is difficult for him to approach this topic without seeming to be over-enthusiastic.

In a work so much of which is devoted to the rural life of Portugal the most famous product of the soil, the vintage of the Douro, naturally is not forgotten. A long and interesting chapter is devoted to port wine, and the long residence of Mr. Crawfurd, and his own practical experience as a wine-grower, enable him to throw much light on a subject which both ignorance and prejudice have helped to obscure. Here, as everywhere, he is loyal to the land in which he lives, and sets a high estimate upon port as compared with other wines. Into this interesting discussion we cannot, however, follow him, nor can we do more than mention the two charming chapters with which the book concludes, in which the author treats us to bits of travel, the accounts of his visit to the ancient Roman town of Cetobriga, in southern

* 'Portugal, Old and New. By Oswald Crawfurd, Her Majesty's Consul at Oporto.' With Maps and Illustrations. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1880.

Portugal, and of his exploration of the lost city of Citania. Nothing in the whole book is finer than some of the descriptions of natural scenery in these chapters. In addition to his other accomplishments Mr. Crawfurd is an enthusiastic botanist, and no rare plant or fern eludes his searching eye.

NICHOL'S BYRON.*

MR. NICHOL'S work has not escaped the dangers that beset writing to order. Is it quite fair to stretch all our worthies upon a Procrustean bed of two hundred pages duodecimo? Compare, for instance, Mr. Ward's 'Chaucer' with Mr. Nichol's 'Byron.' All the facts now ascertainable of Chaucer's life can be summed up in three or four pages; the rest of the volume is merely a picture of the times of Chaucer and a critique of his writings. Mr. Nichol, on the other hand, has such a mass of facts, such a network of controversies to deal with, that he cannot afford the space for an ample discussion of Byron's authorship. Yet such a discussion is particularly necessary and timely in the case of Byron. No poet was more idolized and more vilified in his day; and it is quite time that some critic should instruct us how, not to admire nor to vilify, but to understand him. Mr. Nichol will help us in a measure; the general tone of his work is healthy, because sensible; it is itself a sign of the reaction to which it adverts in favor of Byron. But it is insufficient, partly because the writer could not within such narrow limits develop his views freely and naturally, partly—and indeed chiefly—because he has not put himself at the right point of view. The proper way of treating Byron is precisely the opposite of Mr. Nichol's, it seems to us; the biographical portion might be restricted to the narrowest limits compatible with clearness. What, for instance, does the ordinary reader care to know of the right and the wrong of the dispute between Byron and Hunt, or how can it benefit him to know? It is wasting time and pains to attempt at this late day to compete with Moore. Those of us who wish to know the man Byron as he appeared to his contemporaries will, of course, read and re-read the 'Life and Letters,' just as we turn to Lockhart and to Boswell for our information concerning Scott and Dr. Johnson. Moore's work, it is true, is anything but infallible; it needs careful revision. Here Elze's work will be quite sufficient for most purposes. On the other hand, to comprehend Byron's authorship aright, to estimate his influence on our times, the sooner the critic learns to discard Moore, Elze, and all other would-be judges, the better for him and for us. We venture to say that no one will succeed in penetrating the secret of Byron until he discards absolutely all critiques, conversations, and gossip, and studies Byron where every other author ought to be studied—in his printed works alone. After subjecting these to unprejudiced and persistent examination, the critic may of course derive an occasional ray of light from outside sources. He will derive more, however, from political than from literary history, we venture to suggest. Byron's writings, from "Childe Harold" to "Don Juan," are the poetic treatment of European politics. The autobiographical element in them has been absurdly overrated. Excepting such unmistakably personal poems as "The Dream," we may say that their significance to us at the present day consists in their being the expression of the thoughts and emotions of Europe in the early part of our century. They constitute, therefore, a most valuable contribution to our "*Culturgeschichte*," and it is from this point of view that we would have them estimated.

Let us apply the method to Byron's three pre-eminent works, "Childe Harold," "Cain," and "Don Juan." If "Childe Harold" be merely the outpouring of a single cynic, dead and buried these fifty years, of what value is it to us? Now, if Mr. Nichol had only read the first volume of Brandes's 'Hauptströmungen' as carefully as he has read the fourth, he would have seen the connection—although it has escaped Brandes himself—between the *émigré*-spirit of Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant and the Childe-Haroldism of Byron. The English poet is the link between this *émigré*-spirit and the subsequent *Weltschmerz* of Alfred de Musset and Heinrich Heine. His voice is merely one, although the loudest, in the general European litany.

Did Byron continue in this strain? Certainly "Cain" is of a different order of writing from the "Pilgrimage." Were it merely what on its face it purports to be—the unphilosophic expression of an unphilosophic mind—we might consign it to the upper shelves, or read it solely for its scattered beauties of emotional description. But "Cain" is something more. It is a renewal of the conflict that had been waged since the days of the English and French deists between revealed religion and free thought. We can imagine to ourselves Byron as saying to the orthodox of his day: "You hold to the inspiration of Genesis, the temptation and fall, the descent of mankind from a single pair, the central position of the earth in the divine economy. I will accordingly take you at your word, construct for you your first family, confront you with the rigorous deductions from your own assumptions. Furthermore, I will take you out of this wonderful earth and show you how it looks from other worlds. After seeing other creatures and types that perished ages ago, you can decide for yourselves what chance you have of immortality." It was the boldness and the vigor of this home-thrust, and not the high-flown language of Lucifer, that electrified England in 1821, and that will secure for "Cain" its significance in literature. For us its author is no longer a mere cynic.

"Don Juan" is more difficult to characterize. Its scope is wide and its variety endless. To call it a satire is not enough. Of what is it a satire? and in what tone is it couched? To neither of these questions does Mr. Nichol have a direct answer. In one place he almost gives us to understand that the satire is aimed at England. This is only partially true. "Don Juan" is a satire upon all Europe and European society, not of the nineteenth century, as critics tacitly assume, but of the *ancien régime*. The persistency with which literary men of all nationalities treat "Don Juan" as a nineteenth-century poem is curious. The groundwork of the story—*i. e.*, the fable of Don Juan Tenorio de Sevilla—is mediæval; all the historical characters introduced by Byron are well-known personages of the eighteenth century. Again, the atmosphere of the poem is wholly that of the days before '89; a career like that of the hero would have been impossible after the Revolution. The movement is evidently caught from Louvet de Couvray's 'Faublas,' which is by eminence the type of Don Juanism in France under Louis XVI. There are numerous passages, it is true, in which Byron introduces personal reminiscences and renews many an old literary feud. But of the poem as a poem we must say that it has always seemed to us an attempt to portray the vice, the foibles, the glittering *laisser-aller* of Spain, Russia, England, France, and Italy before the dark and evil days of the Revolution. That Byron had France and Italy in mind, and would have drawn them on his panorama had he completed the work, is evident from his letter to Murray, dated Ravenna, Feb. 16, 1821. The circumstance that "Don Juan" was planned and composed entirely on Italian soil should not be overlooked, for Italy was then the only European country where such a work was possible. Although suffering from the invasions of French and Austrians, it had escaped the social and religious upheavals of its neighbors. Here alone the graces and easy-going virtues of the *ancien régime* survived as a sort of Indian summer.

Conceding, then, that "Childe Harold" is largely a portrayal of the author's moods, we must be prepared to recognize in "Cain" a clearly-defined objectivity, equal at least to that of Milton's "Paradise Lost." And in "Don Juan" the narrative and descriptive parts and the entire action of the poem are in the strictest sense objective. The personal digressions are mere appendages, and may be expunged without affecting the story. By expunging them (and also those other passages that are too broad for modern English taste), a skilful editor might produce, we are confident, a work that would be instantly and universally acknowledged to be the most striking and most realistic metrical narrative in our language. But, in fact, no one general estimate of Byron is possible. What will apply to him in his earlier, his Byronic, stage may not hold good of "Cain," and it certainly cannot help us in understanding "Don Juan," or "Beppo," or "The Island." Elze and Taine are at opposite extremes from the truth. Elze creates an imaginary Byron, whom he dislikes and depreciates; Taine another imaginary Byron, whom he extols without discrimination.

While Mr. Nichol's work is unsatisfactory for want of any such general views as we have roughly indicated, it is nevertheless entitled to the credit of being thoroughly conscientious. It gives the tenor of Byron's life fairly, states the facts clearly and accurately. An ordinary reader will gain from it a sufficient insight into Byron's way of living and writing. Mr. Nichol's remarks upon the Scotch element in Byron's temperament are well worth considering. All the good engravings we have seen of the poet suggest a Scottish type of face, and some of his irregular rhymes betray, we think, the Scottish accent. The delicate matter of the Stowe scandal has been handled with discrimination. Mr. Nichol might have dismissed it with even fewer words as the worst fiasco of our day. Byron's controversy with Southey is scarcely treated with sufficient fulness. The reader will find a much more incisive and detailed analysis, one more in favor of Southey, by Hennig, in the *Anglia* iii. 426 ff. The strictures upon Moore are over-severe; at least, we fail to see why a "worldling" must be of necessity "a superficial critic," or why the respect Byron and Shelley paid to Moore should be such an "enigma." In connection with this we call attention to Thiergen's doctoral dissertation, 'Byron's u. Moore's Orientalische Gedichte, eine Parallele' (Leipzig, 1880). Many of Thiergen's positions are utterly untenable and to the last degree conventional; but his rhyme-analyses and comparisons of kindred passages in the two poets evince careful study. Mr. Nichol's remarks upon "Cain" may be contrasted with Schaffner's 'Cain u. seine Quellen' (Strassburg, 1880). One perceives at a glance the thoroughness of the German "method." Schaffner is the first, to our knowledge, to point out any connection between Byron's conception of Abel and the Towneley Mysteries. Mr. Nichol's chapter on Byron in Greece may be read as a wholesome antidote to Elze's. The Scotchman's verdict is the common-sense one: that Byron knew perfectly well what he was undertaking, and might have succeeded, and, indeed, deserved to suc-

* 'Byron. By John Nichol.' [English Men of Letters.] New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

ceed. Although Mr. Nichol does not cite Professor Jebb's recently-published lecture on "Byron and Modern Greece," his views are almost identical.

CHURCH BUILDING IN THE MIDDLE AGES.*

ITALIAN history, during the erection of the cathedrals of Venice, Siena, and Florence, has been frequently studied in the light of political, commercial, and literary advance. The more prominent incidents have been chosen for special recital; the buildings themselves are described in every work upon mediæval architecture and in laboriously-compiled monographs, and yet the book before us stands alone: there is no work in any language projected upon the same plan. The sombre monuments of the Gothic Arnolfo di Cambio, to whom was given the freedom of Florence, are well known; the extravagant design of adopting the entire Duomo of Siena as a transept for a new and vastly more magnificent edifice has often been discussed; but they never before have been illustrated by Dante's journey through the spiritual realms, the date of which lies within a week of this honor accorded Arnolfo, or by the reckless violence of the *brigata spendereccia*. It is difficult to define the perception thus gained. When Mephistopheles would acquaint Faust with the lovable nature of the maiden whom fortune had led across his path, he did not knowingly portray her personal attractions, perchance in the manner of the late eminent Prime Minister of Great Britain, but went, in the quiet of the summer evening, to her small, spotless room, where, surrounded by the objects familiar to her daily life, the receptive Faust could

> "An aller Hoffnung künft'ger Freuden
> In ihrem Dunstkreis satt sich weiden";

could alter his flippant tone after the first meeting, understanding and appreciating more than would have been possible in a number of circumspect interviews. And thus does the author of these 'Historical Studies of Church Building' succeed in introducing us to the inner significance of the great mediæval cathedrals chosen as his subject, not by demonstrating the details and dimensions of their construction, but by viewing them through the medium of historical appreciation. The elevations and sections of these buildings, indeed, stand only in the relation to their real import that features and attire do to life and love; the technicalities of detail are studied by the mere antiquary in much the same way as Frosch or Altmayer would doubtless have looked upon Gretchen's charms. "Among the arts, the one that has alike the closest and the widest relations to the life of a people—to its wants, habits, and culture—and which gives the fullest and most exact expression to its moral disposition, its imagination, and its intelligence is that of architecture." It is by a rare apprehension of this truth that Mr. Charles Eliot Norton is peculiarly fitted to be an historian of that greatest manifestation of human ideas, sentiments, and emotions.

Although the book before us is the author's first publication upon architecture, he brings to it a long familiarity with the subject, scholarly and conscientious labor, and, above all, this exceptional insight born of an earnest love for his work; and the result is a study of three of the greatest mediæval cathedrals which, in its general accuracy and clearness, will be a valuable reference for students of art, while its graceful and often poetic diction will make it an interesting volume even to the most aimless reader. The value of the introduction, which characterizes the temper and condition of human relations during the middle ages, is only limited by its extreme brevity. The advance of religion, law, and commercial prosperity is concisely defined, the position of the Church being recognized with singular insight and moderation. After the complete ruin of antique civilization the tumult of the time of Charlemagne had driven shy and unprized learning and art to the monasteries, where, hidden from the lawlessness of war and the destructive passions of the times, they grew rich in their retirement with the power that comes from quiet and unity.

> "When, towards the close of the tenth century, in various parts of Europe, the sense of increasing civil order and security was distinctly felt, one of the first signs of this improvement was a general zeal for the building of churches—a work of piety to which all, poor and rich, weak and strong, alike could contribute, and in the merits of which all could have a share. It was a work for the glory of God and of his Mother, for the honor of the saints, for the credit of the community, for the eternal benefit of every individual. The hearts and the imaginations of all men were engaged in it; the dispersed resources of the people were brought together to achieve it; capacities that had long been unused were evoked, and, as in other ages, a vivid and earnest faith found its just and characteristic expression. . . . The mediæval ideal of beauty was indeed not less narrow than the moral ideal of the time, but it was not less genuine. It did not embrace the whole creation; it was perverted by ascetic prepossessions and by superstitious fears."

Mr. Norton cannot too strongly emphasize this fact, that the moral and intellectual dispositions of the middle ages are to be read in these mighty walls and in the faithful decorative work which beautifies them. They remain, as he says, "monuments over the grave of the passions, hopes, and faith of generations that were capable of efforts beyond the mark of modern times." It was in the same spirit that Heine, standing before one of these cathedrals that seem built with the strength of Titans and decorated with the patience of dwarfs, explained to a friend who, with mingled awe and pity, had enquired why we do not build such edifices in our times: "Ah! my dear Alphonse, the men of that day had convictions, while we moderns have only opinions—and it takes something more than opinions to build a cathedral." How strong these convictions were is illustrated by the zealous devotion of "one Master Guccio and his wife Mina," who gave themselves as oblates, offering their lives and all their property for the furtherance of the work upon the Sienese cathedral, in the impulse which in preceding centuries led men to venture life and fortune in the Crusades.

In the studies upon Venice, Siena, and Florence Mr. Norton relates incidents characteristic of those cities during the building of the typical cathedrals: St. Mark's, Our Lady of the Assumption, and St. Mary of the Flower. The patriotic pride of the Venetians in the independence and perpetuity of their state, the charm and mystery of the East, which pervaded the port, are felt in the chosen episodes—the discovery and transportation of the body of St. Mark, the legendary subjugation of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa to Pope Alexander III., and the preparations and outset of the fourth Crusade, as related by its historian, Villehardouin. Because of the more abundant documentary evidence, twice the space allowed Venice is devoted to Siena and to Florence. The Sienese cathedral was chiefly a municipal undertaking, and researches among the archives of that commune have provided new materials bearing upon the construction of the church and the sources of the requisite funds. The progress of the work was interrupted by the feuds constantly occurring between Guelfs and Ghibellines, which ended in the battle of Montaperti; the completion of the extravagant alterations was rendered for ever impossible by the devastating plague of 1348; the triumph and misery of the city are depicted with equal force. The history of Florence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is similarly illustrated, the writer's vivid and poetic fancy drawing us near to the reality of the past, as a fragrance brings back a half-forgotten story. But as some direct acquaintance with the structures themselves is necessary—as, to carry out the simile, some meeting, however short, between Faust and Gretchen was requisite before he could muse with personal interest in her vacant room, her ten words are here amply represented by accounts of the cathedral buildings, which, free from technicalities and of admirable appreciation, give the book the highest standing among those works upon the art of building in the middle ages with which it might naturally be compared. The architectural descriptions predominate in the sections on Siena and Florence, the Tuscan cities being particularly interesting from the employment of Niccolò and Giovanni Pisano upon the pulpit and façade of Our Lady of the Assumption, and of Brunelleschi, Donatello, and Ghiberti upon the building of the cupola and lantern of St. Mary of the Flower and the bronze gates of the Baptistery.

That it may not interfere with the continued narrative of the text, much detailed information is given in foot-notes that will be welcomed by every scholar. With what exceptional care the author's statements are verified may be judged from the fact that the given date of the completion of the Florentine Duomo, 1467, corrects an error which is even accepted in Milanesi's new edition of Vasari, 1878. In a work which appeals so directly to the general reader the advisability of publishing the Latin documents relative to the cathedral of Siena, as an appendix, may be questionable, however great their importance to the specialist. We could wish that, in their stead, greater length had been allowed the historical introduction. The book is throughout singularly free from those faults of omission and commission to detect and publish which is ordinarily deemed the special province of the reviewer, and which he is wont to present as the result of a foray, as it were, into the enemy's country. Two dates are not correct, one a mere misprint of 1864 for 1764, as the publication of Adam's 'Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro,' the other perhaps an oversight in allowing a sentence, as it now stands, to state that the Venetian campanile was restored in 1489; although it was, as Mr. Norton says, shattered by lightning in that year, it was not rebuilt until 1510, when Bartolommeo Buono added the existing attica and pitched roof. The mechanical presentation of the work by the publishers is admirable in every respect; it is the handsomest book that has ever been printed by the well-known firm of Franklin Square, and one of the best representatives of American book-making that could be named. The leaded pica seems almost too luxurious, and it is desirable that a reprint should be issued in smaller type, without the appendix, as a *cicerone* for those who visit the cathedrals. We cannot think from the plan of the book and from its title that the 'Historical Studies of Church Building in the Middle Ages' are to end here, but trust that Mr. Norton's professional duties will permit him to devote the necessary research to continue a work which will not only add to his high reputation, but will be a credit to American scholarship.

* 'Historical Studies of Church Building in the Middle Ages. Venice, Siena, Florence. By Charles Eliot Norton.' New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880. Pp. 331.

RECENT NOVELS.*

'THE WELLFIELDS' is in some respect the best story yet written by the author of 'The First Violin.' It is, of course, a love story, and the scene is laid partly in Germany, in that sort of artistic society which the author describes so well, and partly in England. Jerome Wellfield is a young man of extraordinary beauty and accomplishments, the heir of an old family, once Catholic, but in its later generations apostate from the true Church, who falls in love, in Germany, with an English girl named Sara Ford. Sara is a young woman of great loveliness and strength of character, but strength of character is not among Jerome's possessions. He discovers shortly after his engagement that his father has made away with pretty much all the Wellfield property, and that he will have to make his own way in the world. Returning to England for this purpose, he leaves his sister with Miss Ford in Germany, and, going to his family estate, finds it in the possession of a Mr. Bolton, whose daughter Nita is now the heir to all the property which he would, in the natural course of events, have come into. There is also close by a Jesuit priest, who determines, after the manner of Jesuit priests, that the best thing for Jerome is that he should marry Nita and return to the fold, bringing the property under the control of the Church. For this purpose he schemes and intrigues. His plan works admirably. He contrives to establish a complete mastery over the weak character of Jerome, and to fill him with the idea that it is essential to him to break off his engagement with Sara Ford and marry Nita Bolton. The gradual process by which this result is brought about is extremely well described by the author, and in the end Wellfield plays the dastardly part which his religious friend desires. He first makes his sister return from Germany, and then breaks off his engagement. A marriage with Miss Bolton follows; but here for a time the plans of the priest are baffled. He has established his hold upon the husband, but, although he succeeds in making the wife unhappy by a disclosure of the behavior of Jerome, the only result of this is that he exposes his own character and gains nothing. In the end, however, fate is on the side of the Church, for Mrs. Wellfield dies a broken-hearted woman, leaving behind her a child, who, of course, in the end falls a victim to the machinations of the wily Father Somerville. Meanwhile Sara Ford, whose heart has also been broken by Jerome, is suddenly married by a sort of *coup de main*. The gentleman who effects this alliance is one Falkenberg, a critic; he has early fallen in love with Sara and given her some very good advice about art. This Falkenberg is fortunately a man of great wealth and high character, and in the end makes her completely happy. Wellfield's sister is provided for by her marriage with John Leyburn, who at one point in the story seems to be trembling on the verge of an unfortunate passion for Miss Bolton. This outline gives a poor idea of the story. The description of the means by which Father Somerville establishes his hold upon Wellfield, and brings about his marriage, is admirably done, and the whole plot of the novel is managed with a firmer hand than the author has hitherto shown. Falkenberg is poorly drawn, and exhibits that tendency toward priggishness which is the unfailing characteristic of the truly good man in novels written by women.

'White Wings' is of a flimsy texture, and adds to the cumulative evidence that Mr. Black has probably already written all the readable books he had to write and is now relying upon their momentum. 'A Princess of Thule' was sufficient to lend him a good deal, and the central figure of that work was charming enough to make her introduction at the close of this story, even though only for an instant, jar a trifle on one's sense of her worth, which is certainly considerable enough to withdraw her from the thoughtless and whimsical treatment of her creator himself. But it is evident enough that Mr. Black is unlikely to reach that level again, and his recent books have seemed almost like an express abandonment of every ambition to do so, or to do anything, indeed, beyond gratifying the popular audience which better work has gained for him. Even this we should think it would be hazardous to play fast and loose with by furnishing it provender of the quality of 'White Wings.' It is "a yachting romance," and its incidents are few and unexciting, as a matter of course, since it is part of Mr. Black's general scheme to avoid the improbable and shun the suspicion of melodrama. Neither are its characters remarkable, for the same reason; and of plot there is really none at all. Readers of the book will at once remind us that the Laird of Denny-mains should be excepted from this catalogue of commonplace, but we confess this portrait is an example of what we like least in Mr. Black. His line is, like that of Robertson in dramatic writing, to be simple and natural, to depend upon the real forces of familiar things to move his readers; to discover what is pleasant, pathetic, mirthful, what not, in the society and situations nearest at hand, and to let all kinds of heroics religiously alone. Now and then he has followed it with complete success, as in the instance above mentioned; but it is a particularly difficult one to follow, because it demands an absolute sincerity. Mr. Black's sincerity is wholly a relative quality, valuable, no doubt, when one is illustrating the possibilities of melodrama, and entirely unobjectionable in psychological analyses, but in exploiting the charms of commonplace inadequate. Simplicity is, of course, the last thing one ought to affect, since affecting it is plainly a contradiction in terms. Mr. Black, however, is artistically and sentimentally fond of it; he deals with it in what is technically known as the extenuated style, and artfully—or shall we risk the paradox, and say artlessly?—tries to play it for more than it is worth, in vulgar parlance. He has the air of containing himself, of suppressing emotion, of endeavoring to convey volumes by a hint, and, in general, of ridiculing all rhetorical devices by example. The effort after effortless effect, however, is always evident in the absence of very subtle art, and Mr. Black's is commonly transparent enough, while it is tinged with a sentimentality which is getting to be so much of an old story in much current writing that to a sensitive taste it must soon come to appear worse than the worst melodramatic absurdity. It is the least respectable, in some respects, of the varieties of what is accurately, though vulgarly, termed "gush." 'White Wings,' for example, is full of "And now—and now," and "And then—and then," a sort of palpitating, dynamic introduction to what is to follow; sometimes the sequence concerns the landscape, sometimes the yacht, sometimes the emotions of the excursionists, but always it is of the most ordinary character. "Then the girl spoke, proudly and bravely —," says Mr. Black, and, instead of some "proud and brave" speech, we have the entirely inoffensive remarks consistent with her character, which, in turn, is of course consistent with Mr. Black's general scheme. This kind of thing is clearly a waste of ammunition, and one resents the cheapening of the ways and means of melodrama which it involves. And in the portrait of Denny-mains all this seems somehow concentrated. He is a person of the Colonel Newcome type, a simple and laughable but noble-minded Scotch laird, and it is a pity that he could not have been treated as simply as he deserves. The creation of Colonel Newcomes may safely be called a hazardous business, and any one who enters upon the task lightly plays with edged tools. Mr. Black's success will be accurately enough understood if we say that he contrives to show an appreciation of the beauty and dignity of such a character without evincing the ability to construct one whose individuality discovers any new potentialities in the type. Almost any one could, given the same facility, do as well in the latter regard as is here done. And Denny-mains is the only character of the novel. Furthermore, the natural limits of the story are far narrower than its actual terms; it betrays in its manifest padding, quite as much as in its mechanical hysteria and its mechanical affectation of simplicity, the effect of success upon the popular novelist. But, as we say, it is possible that Mr. Black may be too sure of the fidelity of his audience.

Mr. Scudder's stories and romances afford an agreeable contrast in these regards. They are the work of a writer who has a thorough respect for his art and would not think of trifling with it, though he may be an eminently successful trifler in it. Thus their slightness becomes an important merit, and the writer is so careful to preserve literary propriety in making it a conspicuous quality that we have finished each story with the wish that there had been more of it, if not with the conviction that an extension of it would have been wise. They are, too, admirably simple, and not simplicity disguised and tricked out in an effort to heighten its effectiveness. Mr. Scudder has a reputation for writing good children's books, but these stories are of a thoroughly adult character and we do not now happen to think of any of the kind that excel them. "A Hard Bargain," "Do not Even the Publicans the Same?" and "A Story from the Siege of Boston," are decidedly inferior to the rest, and we cannot help wishing they had been omitted if the remainder would have made a sizable volume. "Left Over from the Last Century" is perhaps the best of all. It is not only witty both in idea and phrase, but it has a real flavor and is the work of a true humorist; the hero is a charming imbecile whose like we have not met with in a long time, and yet with a pathetic nature which rivets the interest his quaintness arouses. The pathetic, however, is not so distinctly Mr. Scudder's forte as the humorous; and even the story "Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John," straightforward as it is, threatens to become embarrassing once or twice, though our fears are not justified and its excellent moral is enforced without any incidental clap-trap. In such a story as "Nobody's Business" or "Accidentally Overheard" he shows how agreeably he can treat pure whimsicality by failing to pretend that it is anything else and gaining everything by the concession. "The House of Entertainment" is an unusual piece of work, with elements enough and of sufficient strength of fibre easily to stand expansion into a novel, we should say. But Mr. Scudder is on the safe side, and no doubt he is right in preferring suggestion to elaboration. His stories are all marked by ingenuity and have an original situation, as good short stories do of course, and possibly in more pretentious work this would stand him in less stead and he would have to depend more upon his ability to deal with character. This is considerable, and it is plain that all his personages have been thoroughly

* 'The Wellfields: A Novel. By Jessie Fothergill.' (Leisure-Hour Series No. 115.) New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1880.
'White Wings: A Yachting Romance. By William Black.' New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.
Stories and Romances. By Horace E. Scudder.' Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1880.

studied and are beyond doubt based on acute observation, but it is rather minute than broad, and if Mr. Scudder had a freer hand perhaps he might not write short stories so well. Nevertheless, "The House of Entertainment," if not so piquant as "Left Over from the Last Century," which we have called the best, is in respect of character and emotion the most important; it has to do with Shakerism, and treats it at once sympathetically and critically. Ruth and her father make a picturesque pair, and the hero is depicted with a good deal of distinctness, considering his shadowy nature.

It is difficult to see in 'Bricks without Straw' the same hand that wrote 'A Fool's Errand.' In the nature of things, perhaps, it is not to be expected that a genuine and unlooked-for popular success should be immediately succeeded by a predetermined and deliberate one. In such cases the second book is sometimes the earlier written, and brought out to be floated by the fame of the first; sometimes it is thrown together with extreme haste to take advantage of the flood tide; sometimes it is manufactured out of whole cloth and has really no reason at all for existing. 'Bricks without Straw' may be included in any of these classes. But for its acknowledged authorship we should ascribe it to a hand controlled more by feeling than judgment, whose enthusiasm had been occasionally checked and modified by a cooler mind. The effectiveness of 'A Fool's Errand' was due in great measure to its candor in admitting the existence of excuses, or at least natural causes, for the state of things it deplored and attacked. In this book there is not even a man of straw set up to justify the blows of which a shower is kept up. It has the air of a Stalwart polemic, written in the heat of a Presidential campaign for the approval of a campaign committee. The "staff correspondents" do not excel this, for example:

"Ah, God! how sad that history should be compelled to make up so dark a record—abuse, contumely, violence. Christian tongues befouled with calumny! Christian lips blistered with falsehood! Christian hearts overflowing with hate! Christian pens reeking with ridicule because other Christians sought to do their needy fellows good. No wonder that faith grew weak and unbelief ran riot through all the land when men looked upon the spectacle! The present may excuse, for charity is kind; but the future is inexorable and writes its judgments with a pen hard-nibbed!"

This refers to the ill-treatment "nigger-teachers" received in the South after the war. The significance of the book's title is that the "Nation" (*sic* throughout the book) didn't furnish the straw (of "troops," we infer) wherewith the freedmen might make bricks to rear the edifice of their civilization and advancement. The scene is in one of the Carolinas, in 1870, as nearly as we can make out. The only personages who do not richly deserve hanging are negroes, a "nigger-teacher," "radicals," and a "Douglas Democrat," who becomes a "Radical" before the book closes, and is promptly ostracised therefor, though his family is a very proud one. The plot is very simple and the incidents few, so that it is hardly to be classed as a novel at all. There is a phenomenal horse and a perilous ride, readers of 'A Fool's Errand' may be informed, and the poverty of invention which the repetition suggests is scarcely disguised. Indeed the book is to be treated entirely as a political pamphlet, and as such we can see no respect in which it is not a failure. It may be of no consequence that its effect should be to harden the hearts of the wicked Southerners, who have always shown a sensitiveness when their worst side only was held up to public notice, but we submit that its general tone and temper have become tiresome to reading people at the North, and now that the election is over we are ready for something more novel than "outrages" and something more spicy than elaborate sarcasm of the pusillanimity of incredulity concerning them, at least between the covers of a book. The last chapter recalls Judge Tourgee himself, however, and is another plea for education as the Southern panacea. The other good thing that we have remarked is a letter from a white refugee in Kansas to the converted Carolina "Radical," in which he says: "Nobody asks your politics. I don't reckon anybody knew mine for a year. The fact is, we're all too busy to fuss with our neighbors or cuss them about their opinions. I've heard more politics in a country store in Horsford in a day than I've heard here in Eupolia in a year." The book would be amazingly improved by the substitution of "contemporaneous human interest" of this sort for its eloquent denunciations and its blood-curdling Ku-klux stories.

Sport and Photography in the Rocky Mountains. By Andrew Williamson. (Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1880.)—Mr. Williamson has made a delightful record of his visit to this country in 1878. It begins with his departure late in August from Hall's Gulch, Colorado, for the Eagle River and Piney Range, where most of his shooting was done. The volume, a large quarto, is illustrated from photographs which Mr. Williamson took himself by the wet collodion process, and to his skill and perseverance in getting them, under many difficult circumstances, we owe the seventeen charming plates which adorn the book. The text modestly professes to be no more than "a few notes explanatory of the photographs taken and a short account of the excellent sport obtained."

The principal game killed was elk or wapiti, with a sprinkling of black-tailed deer and a brace of grizzly bears. The first wapiti was found at the timber line on Piney River, and Mr. Williamson was fortunate enough to kill him unaided and alone, though, from using in his Express rifle expanding bullets, which he considers far less deadly for large game than solid ones, it took four shots to bring him down. He gives a fine picture of the head of this stag, of which the antlers were 51 and 53 inches in length, with a span of 42 inches. On pp. 22, 23 is another interesting description of the successful stalk of a very large stag, of which Mr. Williamson gives the measurements as 17 hands high at the shoulders and 6 feet 8 inches around the heart; the horns, however, were not so fine as those of some killed before. This stag got his death-wound on the verge of a deep precipice, where he was left until the next day, when Mr. Williamson returned and took an excellent photograph of him and the surrounding scenery. The change of camp to Eagle River was fortunately made just in time to miss meeting a marauding band of Utes, and very nearly at the cost of the photographic apparatus, which, with the pony carrying it, rolled down a steep hill, and afterwards narrowly escaped destruction in fording the river. Finding that the game on Eagle River, which at the point they struck it was but forty miles from Leadville, had been scared away by other hunters, Mr. Williamson decided to return to his old ground on the Piney, where he again had excellent sport. Chapter viii. describes a red-letter day, when a desperate combat between two large wapiti was witnessed by the author and his guide, Wilkinson, after which both the combatants and a third stag were successfully stalked. Plate 13 gives us a post-mortem view of one of these as he fell, with an enormous pair of antlers 56 and 59 inches in length, and much greater in span and circumference than any other the author obtained. The first bear killed is photographed in Plate 16; and Plate 17—"The Home of the Grizzly"—is a fine picture of wild forest scenery. The amount of hard work accomplished by Mr. Williamson was great, all his shooting being done on foot, and the game, as a rule, reached only after arduous pursuits of hours. His success was fairly earned and fully appreciated, and he can be charged with none of the useless and wanton destruction of the large game of the West wrought by so many English and Americans who glory in the mere numbers they slaughter. Mr. Williamson makes a vigorous protest against this detestable butchery, and states, with pardonable pride, that his entire bag consisted of but thirty-two head, though he might have easily trebled it, and closes by saying:

"I have the greater satisfaction, and surely it is one a humane man will deem a far higher reward, that through the whole trip I never shot a stag whose head I did not bring home as a trophy, never fired at a hind, that we only killed such black-tail as we really needed, and that, save in the case of the grizzly bear, we never lost a wounded animal."

The paper, typography, and plates of the book leave nothing to be desired, and, indeed, are characteristic of the publisher, while the narrative is so plain, straightforward, and evidently truthful that the reader feels it is written by a genuine and intelligent sportsman. Mr. Williamson deserves the thanks of even the Anglophiles for disregarding the rule so generally observed by his countrymen who travel here and write a book, by devoting no part of his to imaginary quotation of the Yankee vernacular. In fact, he confines himself so closely to his topic that we are at a loss to know his opinion of us as a nation even. As bearing on a question lately discussed in *Nature*, we notice his statement that he has observed in the Highlands of Scotland the deer eating their own cast-off antlers, thus accounting for these being so rarely found in places where they must have been dropped. He thinks this habit does not prevail with the elk and black-tail deer of the Rocky Mountains, from their lost antlers being frequently seen on the ground. The rapid disappearance, however, of the shed horns of our own common deer has never yet been satisfactorily accounted for, and Mr. Williamson's statement may give a clue to it.

Miracle Plays and Sacred Dramas. A Historical Survey. By Dr. Karl Hase. Translated from the German by A. W. Jackson, and edited by the Rev. W. W. Jackson, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1880.)—The Ober-Ammergau play has called into existence a small library of guide-books and essays, many of which have appeared this year in new editions. Among the new works which deserve notice is Mr. Jackson's translation of Hase's 'Das geistliche Schauspiel,' published in 1858 at Leipzig. This work, consisting of six popular lectures, is, as the title shows, devoted chiefly to the sacred drama, the early stage of which, the miracle-play or mystery, occupies but one lecture. By changing the title the translator has exposed the weakness of the original, which gave a not very clear idea of the origin and development of the mediæval drama, and since its publication a number of valuable works throwing great light on the subject have appeared which the translator and editor have overlooked. They have added some notes to supply the defective treatment of the Early Eng-

'Bricks without Straw. By the author of 'A Fool's Errand.'' New York Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1880.

lish Drama in the original, and have completed Hase's account of the Ober-Ammergau play. Otherwise, they have not made use of any new material, and have failed to correct the mistakes in the original work. For example, the language used in the oldest mystery, the "Wise and Foolish Virgins," is not Provençal, but Old-French; the romantic element predominating in the mystery of the "King of Hungary's Daughter" was not borrowed in the thirteenth century from a romance of the Troubadours, but from the *Trouvère*, Philippe de Reims; and the statement that at the beginning of the thirteenth century a drama by a troubadour, Anselm Faidit, of Avignon, entitled "The Heresy of the Fathers," was acted at the country residence of the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat, is incorrect—the author and the play having had no existence. The idea that the stage for the performance of the mystery consisted of three stories was deemed correct when Hase's book was written, but has since been abandoned. We have also noticed no reference to the Italian, Breton, and Basque popular plays on religious subjects which are still acted by the peasants.

With the exception of the lecture on the "French Classical Tragedy," which is meagre and unsatisfactory, the other lectures are entertaining and instructive, those on the "Sacred Drama in Spain" and on Hans Sachs being particularly good. With the above restrictions, the book is worthy of commendation. The translation is excellent, and we know of no other work in English which covers this ground.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Amicis (E. de), Holland and its People	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)	$2 00
Arnold (G.), Poems, new ed	(J. R. Osgood & Co.)	1 50
Belot (A.), La Grande Florine, swd	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.)	75
Carter (Susan N.), Art Suggestions from the Masters	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)	1 25
Crawford (J. B.), Origin and History of the Credit-Mobilier	(C. W. Calkins & Co.)	
Ewing (Juliana H.), We and the World: a Boys' Story	(Roberts Bros.)	1 25
Fowler (Prof. T.), Locke	(Harper & Bros.)	75
Haile (Ellen), The Two Gray Girls	(Cassell, Petter & Galpin)	1 25
Knox (T. W.), Boy-Travellers in the Far East: Siam and Java	(Harper & Bros.)	3 00
Richardson (R.), Almost a Hero	(T. Nelson & Sons)	1 50
Smith (Rev. J. C.), Certain Aspects of the Church	(T. Whittaker)	90
Trevelyan (G. O.), Early History of Charles James Fox	(Harper & Bros.)	2 50
Watkins (Rev. M. G.), Pictures of Bird-Life	(Cassell, Petter & Galpin)	10 00
Loyal Ronins	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)	3 00
McCrary (G. W.), American Law of Elections	(E. B. Myers)	
Woltmann (Prof. A.) and Woermann (Prof. K.), History of Ancient, Early Christian, and Mediæval Painting	(Dodd, Mead & Co.)	7 50

Fine Arts.

MLLE. BERNHARDT IN "ADRIENNE."

A RECEPTION had been conscientiously arranged to degrade this actress in every point, to make her appear as a sensation and a charlatan, and to fasten public attention exclusively upon her physical singularity, her defective diameter, her temper, or upon the clothes she had extracted with some anxiety from the Custom-house; but when it came to facing her with her first audience there was enough quiet receptivity in the house, and enough distrustful attention, to make the début a test. The people who had seemed like an army sacking a castle outside turned into a bench of moderators as soon as they found their places. And they listened with a fixed, hard patience, a dutiful, unwearied responsibility, that in its way was a good background on which the artist could sketch her effects. She had to play without the approving murmurs and sighs of satisfaction at the finer shadings to which she is accustomed, and the applause was in every instance dictated by herself with the common declamatory apparatus. We are without devices for expressing a sense of the refinements of playing, and can show approval only in an ejaculatory manner. This produced on Monday night the unfortunate result that such of the actress's successes as were most directly in the line of her character passed without sympathy; and that the applause came down specifically upon the passages in which she endeavored to go outside of her own proper nature. Mlle. Bernhardt, however, never seems to wish to exceed the limits of herself except in passages where the author forcibly commands it. She shows an overweening anxiety to give her part a complexion in consonance with her own possibilities. It is evident that she has taken her temperament as a given quantity of artistic material, looked at it from the outside, and sought to develop it in its own line as a study of dramatic quality. Her subtle but unsafe kind of tenderness, her Phœnician keenness of profile, her cajoling smile as of the Cyprus statues, were the edged instruments of her craft; and her acting at the recalls, when she practised all the tenderness and smiling on the audience, and seemed to hold her life on the tenure of its approval, had the air of being studied up a little more anxiously than anything in the play.

The purely plastic study of Mlle. Bernhardt's acting was a most interesting thing. Few tragedians may be supposed to have arranged the business of the play with a more intelligent use of merely sculptural effects. When she raised her spectral arms—one was always raised higher than the other—the line of the figure, the posture of the limbs, in her case apt to be a mere diagram, was always supported with her own drapery or with some one else's. Thus, when fainting with arms extended, in the recitation-scene at the Hôtel de Bouillon, there were duchesses on either hand, in assorted colors, to imbed the diverging members (with an instant intuition of the fainting business) in their own robes. It is not likely that a person in the audience, during a series of attitudes that were very free and anatomical, once derived a sensation of meagreness, or perceived aught but the fastidious grace of the motion itself. In the recitation of "The Two Pigeons," at the line "Amants, heureux amants, voulez-vous voyager," the actress spread her hands, with a happy sketch of a flying bird, over a form, a pose that seemed positively to soar in its aspiring and towering elevation. When she learned that her lover was really the *Prince de Saxe* in the little actress's haunt of *Mlle. Duclos*, her first gesture was one used by Doré for La Connétable in the 'Contes Drôlatiques,' a lifting up of the hands, in a curled concave fashion, high above the body bent back in a repellant gesture; but when she advanced upon the *Princess* to unmask her, in the interview of the hiding-place just after, her body was bent forwards almost at right angles, the advance was in measured paces, and the hands were extended as far back as possible, bent almost like claws, as if ready to tear and rend. When defending the door of the *Princess*, in the preceding scene, she met the intruding *Abbé* with a pointing hand of threatening, almost precisely like the sketch by herself in her libretto. In the scene of desolation in her own chamber, she sat by the box of flowers in a mass of crushed lace, and extended her whole body along with the hand in which she held out the blossoms for sympathy towards the old prompter; in this pose, and in the accent of the "mon pauvre bouquet!" she found an effect almost as thrilling as the incomparable "meine Blumen" of Seebach; but, directly after, when envying a supposed rival in the words "aimée! elle est aimée!" she rose and thrust out her palms, held downward, at their extreme distance and higher than her face, with the gesture of combating strange seas of melancholy. The arm movements were all made so that the audience could see them without foreshortening, and were never wasted by being pointed in front. The artist moved through the acts, indeed, in a succession of intensely descriptive poses, calculated to the very point of being spontaneous, and never once ungraceful. The hands were pressed to the heart often—both together, as in the "Ta femme! moi?" of *Maurice's* final declaration in the death-scene, or the left hand alone, as in all the first moiety of the declamation from "Phèdre." They nervously tossed a lace mouchoir from one to the other when she promised the prompter to triumph over her passion as he had triumphed over his own. In this moment, too, there was a suggestion of realism and familiarity, at variance with the gently idealized tone of the rendering in general, and balanced on the one side by the early introduction of comedy-acting when *Maurice* is bantered for his spelling, and on the other by the stark naturalness of the death, when Mlle. Bernhardt completely abandoned the atmosphere of poetry thrown over all the preceding portion, and gave the house a good raving, dishevelled dissolution, fit for "The Sphinx" or any melodrama that had never seen the Théâtre-Français. The episodic quotations throughout the piece were variously worthy of attention. The play is rich in them, and the actress gave them great variety of reading, from the purely idyllic, bucolic, country purity of the "Two Pigeons" (kindly ascribed to Corneille in next morning's *Sun*) to the "Phèdre." In this last, however, the reader certainly did not rise to the opportunity of divesting herself completely of Bernhardt, of *Adrienne* herself, and compassing the full height of a legendary heroine, of a mythological character compelled by the gods. The plastic variety shown by the artist in her recalls must not be forgotten. Her first was effected leaning her cheek upon her hand, and being pulled slowly across a broad doorway by the assiduous prompter; all were deeply curved, or hollowed out, with lassitude and a sense of movelessness even in the advance; and all were so appealing, so eloquently silent, that the house had an outburst of loyalty at every appearance, between its rather critical spells of coolness in the body of the play.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1880.

The Week.

WE have discussed elsewhere Judge Davis's extraordinary performance in the Court of Oyer and Terminer. The natural result of delivering a denunciatory political speech from the bench when committing a person for trial on a charge of libel is, that he is now engaged in a controversy with one of the witnesses, through the newspapers, on a question of fact. He has had to acknowledge that he was in error in charging Mr. Hewitt with having seen the Morey letter before its publication. He admits that Mr. Hewitt had not seen it before it was printed in *Truth*, but maintains that he had seen it before the lithographed publication was made. This Mr. Hewitt denies also. The point is hardly worth elucidation, but it almost seems as if the parties were engaged in a game of cross purposes. Is not the lithographed publication which Judge Davis says Mr. Hewitt saw before it appeared, the publication by the Democratic Committee? and is not the lithographed publication which Mr. Hewitt denies having seen before it appeared, the publication in *Truth?* The question whether Mr. Hewitt advised the lithographed publication, or instigated it, is, after all, a secondary one, on which Judge Davis has wasted his acumen. The principal question is, Did Mr. Hewitt advise it in good faith and believing the letter to be genuine? The next in order of importance is, Did he advise its publication and circulation for the purpose of damaging General Garfield, while himself holding the opinions which it attributed to General Garfield? If he answered the first question affirmatively, he could only be condemned for a gross indiscretion. If he answered the second affirmatively, he would plead guilty of participation in a very despicable political dodge. But, no matter what he says or has to say in the newspapers, abuse of him from the bench by a judge who had not heard him in his own defence, and had no jurisdiction over him, was scandalous, and calculated to bring the administration of justice into contempt.

As to the morality of campaign stories, dodges, and devices, we hold that there is but one morality for both parties, and that a Republican lie or fraud calls for precisely the same quantity and quality of reprobation as a Democratic one. We have, therefore, especially since Mr. Hewitt appeared on the scene as an awful example of Democratic depravity, been pained by the recollection of the calm with which General Grant's campaign story about General Hancock was received by Republican moralists. Although, as plainly appears from the Hewitt case, full to the neck of virtuous wrath, they had not one word of indignant remonstrance for a charge against General Hancock of official complicity in a monstrous fraud, told with the utmost calm and minuteness, and given in a revised form to a Methodist minister for circulation through the religious press. There was no truth in it. It was false and slanderous from beginning to end. It came from a man in a high position. It was intended to deprive General Hancock of votes he would otherwise have received. It imputed to him, not defensible economical opinions, but absolute criminality in one of its worst forms. We do not know to this hour, however, what our Republican contemporaries thought of it. Was it not, under the Davis ruling, something in the nature of "an appalling crime," a "national crime," and a "war on the safety and sanctity of popular government"? Now, don't put on that far, uninterested look, brethren, which is so apt to steal over your countenance when your attention is called to Republican sins. Keep up the stern Roman expression which you wear when you are watching the Democratic villains, and let us have a judgment on the little campaign story above mentioned, commonly known as the "Fowler Story," which made General Hancock a partner in a conspiracy for the issue of fraudulent bonds in Louisiana.

General Schofield has made his annual report to the Adjutant-General, in which he gives an account of the condition of West Point Academy which, if it had appeared before the election, would have certainly brought severe chastisement on him at the hands of the Stalwart press. After describing the improvement made in the morals and manners of the cadets by changes in the methods of discipline, he takes up the Whittaker case, and with it the general question of the status and treatment of colored cadets at the Academy. He boldly asserts, as now proved beyond question, that the attack on Whittaker was either an invention of his own or was perpetrated by persons with whom he was in connivance, and denies that any cadet had in any case anything to do with it. With the arguments by which he supports this position our readers are already familiar. He next explains and justifies the institution of a court of enquiry for a court-martial; makes some severe and well-deserved comments on the performances before that court of Mr. Martin I. Townsend, the counsel sent by the Government to supervise the proceedings; also some excellent remarks on the uselessness of trying to enforce pleasant social intercourse between the white and colored cadets by means of military discipline, ascribing its failure partly to the bad character of some of the colored cadets, and partly to "a natural reaction against an attempt to govern social intercourse by military regulations." He maintains, too, that the Military Academy was not a good place to begin the experiment of social intercourse between the white and the black man, and that it is unfair to expect that the young men of a race so recently emancipated from slavery could compete with the whites, and unfair to force them into the competition. Only one of the eleven colored appointees has succeeded in graduating.

As to the color prejudice, General Schofield calls it a "just aversion to qualities which the people of the United States have been long accustomed to associate with a state of slavery, and intercourse without legal marriage, of which color and its various shades are only the external signs." He is here by no means clear, or if clear is hardly sound. A "just aversion" to a quality can only be made the basis of a prejudice against a man by proof that he displays the quality. What General Schofield probably means is, that the aversion entertained towards color by the white cadets is a natural or an excusable aversion, created by the association in their mind of color with the vices of slavery, and with impure and degraded ancestry. He truly adds that this "cannot be removed by the simple act of enfranchising the slave; it can only be done by the education and moral elevation of the race." What made the newspaper declamation about the Whittaker case so absurd was that it not only denied this proposition, but denounced the cadets, young men of about twenty, for not rising at one stroke superior to prejudices which prevail in nearly every white family in the United States, and affect all but an infinitesimally small minority of the white men and women of the country in their intercourse with the colored people. General Schofield's protest against converting the military school into a nursery for "delicate hot-house plants," and lowering its standards or changing its methods so that boys with inferior mental, moral, and physical qualifications can get through it comfortably because they happen to be colored, must commend itself to every sensible reader. Even Stalwart editors will approve of it privately, however much they may bellow over it in public. The duty of the white race is to keep all its standards up and raise the colored race to them; not to lower them to the level of the colored race. There is no logical stopping-place short of fetishism and solitary feeding, if we once begin the practice of adapting our institutions and customs to the needs of such exceptional ignorance and weakness as we happen to have in the country. This is the view of the great body of the American people. The excitement over the Whittaker case out of doors was largely due to each man's desire to have some other man's son rid himself of the color prejudice in his social relations.

The New York *Times* has started a subscription for the purpose of raising $250,000 to pay a pension for life to "the oldest ex-President." As matters stand this is, of course, a movement to provide General Grant with an annuity, and that such is the principal object of the

promoters of the scheme is not concealed. Most of the arguments in favor of the scheme are no more applicable to his case than to that of Mr. Hayes, who will soon stand in the same category. It must be said on the other side that if it is desirable, either on grounds of decency or grounds of justice, to pension any ex-President, it is desirable to pension all, and that the duty is one which, if it exists, fairly devolves on the nation at large, and which it would be very discreditable to have performed by "passing round the hat" among rich men. Every American citizen, however humble, has a fair right to feel and to say that it hurts his pride to have ex-Presidents pensioned by private subscription, as long as the public treasury is overflowing. Moreover, it is not seemly to make a distinction between General Grant and Mr. Hayes on the ground either of seniority or service. The seniority distinction is senseless, and as to services, we must presume in a matter of this kind that all ex-Presidents have deserved equally well of their country. If special provision is to be made for General Grant it ought to be in the character of a soldier simply. We feel quite sure that there will be no opposition in either party to a well-considered movement in Congress to provide a retiring allowance for all ex-Presidents, which would satisfactorily cover this case, and whatever is to be done ought to be done at once. It is at best an affair of $40,000 or $50,000 a year, over which it is disgraceful to have so much humming and hawing.

A very respectable organization, the Young Men's Democratic Club of this city, has been enquiring through a committee into the causes of the defeat of the party at the late national election, and into the best course to pursue with regard to the management of local politics in New York city and county. The committee reported certain resolutions, which were adopted, and which censure as one cause of Hancock's defeat the affiliation of the Democrats of Maine with the Greenbackers, which he mistook for a good omen; the neglect of the tariff issue in the canvass; and "the absence of a well-defined and consistent line of policy on the part of the party during the last four years, and especially in the conduct of the Presidential campaign of 1880." In New York the responsibility of failure is laid upon the State Committee, which received back the triumphantly rebellious Tammany Hall of 1879; and upon the two halls whose indecent lottery of the local offices disgusted all honest men, and resulted in a ticket which could add nothing to the strength of the party. If there was Republican "colonization," the report continues, then the halls were negligent in allowing it; if there was none, they were probably guilty of trading the electoral to save the local ticket. The committee concludes that in any case these organizations have forfeited the confidence of Democratic voters, and they recommend that the Club take the initiative in a new organization and enrolment of these voters, "and become the nucleus of a full and complete representation." But in order to prevent its falling into the hands of boss and machine government, they propose to procure the enactment of a law making "frauds and intimidation at primary meetings a felony." Nobody is better qualified to frame such a law than the chairman, Mr. Simon Sterne, whose name is a guaranty that the project "means business." As, once in force, the law would do something to purify the Republican primaries also, we make no doubt that Mr. George Bliss would cheerfully co-operate with Mr. Sterne in drawing it up.

The Treasury bought less than $600,000 worth of bonds for the Sinking Fund during the week, purchases having been limited to the sixes which mature December 31 next; and the arrivals of foreign specie amounted to only $2,100,000. The banks, while not gaining all of the above amounts, were drawn upon heavily for payments into the Treasury and for currency to ship to the South and West, and the result was that their surplus reserve was nearly extinguished, only $503,000 having been left on the average account of the week. The effect of this reduction in reserve was to advance the rates for demand loans from 3 to 4 per cent. to 5 to 6 per cent. As the rates for money advance here the market for foreign exchange weakens; consequently the rates for bills on London fell so that there was a clear profit in importing specie, and nearly $6,000,000 was ordered from London and the Continental markets during the week. At the Stock Exchange there was, notwithstanding the advance in the rates for loans, a very strong market for United States bonds, which advanced to the highest prices ever paid for them (111⅛ for the 4's and 112⅛ for the 4½'s), and there was also a further rise in railroad bonds. Speculation in stocks was tame and halting, and the net result of the week's fluctuations was a decline in prices of 1 to 9 per cent. The price of silver was steady both in London and here. The bullion in the "buzzard dollar" was worth at the close of the week 86⅝ cents.

The *Times's* protégé, Samuel Perry, lately leader of the North Carolina exodus to Indiana, has been discharged by Judge Wylie, of Washington, on grounds which show how much remains to be done to settle the principles of inter-State extradition. This judge held it to be a suspicious circumstance, affecting the "whole moral atmosphere" of the case, that the requisition was entrusted not to a sheriff or some such officer, but to a farmer (the North Carolina papers call him Doctor Bagby) from the county where Perry had "worked up" the emigration. He then pointed out the time which had elapsed—nearly a year—between the date of the alleged forged school-warrant and that of the proceedings against Perry, when he was bound over in the sum of $100, and the farther delay of six months in finding an indictment against him. Moreover, though Perry prepared he did not utter the instrument, and had it been genuine it would not have been good, as, under the decisions of the North Carolina courts, it was not an order for the payment of money. Hence Judge Wylie, waiving the question whether Perry could have a fair trial, or rather conceding that he could, after hearing testimony pro and con., concluded that he must necessarily be acquitted if sent home, so that the State would not be the loser by the refusal to give him up, and, economically of course, though the judge did not say this, all the parties would be the gainers. This is very kind, no doubt, but it is not surprising to learn that the State took an appeal to the court in banc. Judge Cartter, it will be remembered, paid instant respect to the requisition.

Professor Robertson Smith's enemies in the Free Church of Scotland have at last got the better of him. He was brought up before the Ecclesiastical Court more than a year ago, our readers may remember, for unsoundness in an article on the Bible in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' but got off owing to some mismanagement on the part of the prosecution. Soon afterwards a new volume of the 'Encyclopædia' appeared in which he had an article on the Hebrew language and literature, which appeared to be worse than the first, and was eagerly seized on as an excuse for reviving the proceedings against him. In August last a commission was appointed by the General Assembly to examine this last article, and it has just made its report at a special meeting. It finds him guilty of irreverence in his treatment of the Scriptures; of speaking of them in such manner as to give the impression that God is not the author of them, that their narrative portion is not authentic, and that their prophetic portion was untrue. He talks of Ezra and Nehemiah as being "singularly destitute of literary merit"; alleges that two chapters of Isaiah "seem to have been first published as literary broadsides"; speaks of the Song of Solomon as a "lyric drama," and the story of Jonah as "a parable"; and describes Eber as simply "an ethnological or geographical abstraction." He defended himself in a speech of an hour and a half, in which he is reported to have made great havoc with the report and its authors, over whom, of course, he has an immense advantage in point of learning and dialectical skill, but injured himself somewhat by the impetuosity of his attacks on them. It availed him nothing, however, as he was suspended from the exercise of his professorship for six months by a vote of 270 to 202. He denies the validity of the whole proceeding on technical grounds, and it is now not impossible that the case may make its way into the courts of law.

The state of things in Ireland grows more and more embarrassing for the Government, and is illustrated in somewhat ludicrous fashion, it must be confessed, by what is occurring in Mayo. A Captain Boycott, a land agent of Lord Erne, who also farms himself, has been deserted by all his servants and laborers, and has been literally tabooed by the

whole surrounding population. Nobody will work for him, or buy from him, or sell to him, and, as his life has been threatened, he goes about accompanied by a guard of policemen, under whose protection he has been making feeble attempts for some weeks to gather his crops with the assistance of his own family. The tenants also refuse to pay him any rent. An expedition was got up by some of the Orangemen to go to his assistance, and save his crops and chastise his enemies, but as this would have been a beginning of civil war the Government refused to allow an armed party to start, but agreed to protect a small force of laborers with troops. The laborers have accordingly reached the ground, escorted by a detachment of cavalry and infantry. As soon as he gets his crops in Captain Boycott is going to leave the country, and it remains to be seen how Lord Erne will collect his rents. The story here is the old one—too high rents, advances in rent considered unjustifiable by the tenants, harsh treatment of tenants and laborers, and the stern enforcement of arbitrary "office rules." The incident is mainly useful as an illustration of the power of persecution possessed by the Land League, and of the want of any real moral hold on the peasantry by many of the landlords—if not, indeed, of the whole class—in some parts of the country.

Mr. Gladstone appears to have relieved the public mind in England by announcing at the Lord Mayor's dinner that the Government considered the protection of life and property in Ireland their paramount duty, the performance of which must precede all attempts to deal with the land question. As the murders and intimidation continue there is still some reason for believing that the Government will resort to a suspension of the habeas corpus, which is certainly not only the most effective but the mildest remedy that could be resorted to. All the other schemes of coercion involve, in a greater or less degree, the punishment of the innocent with the guilty. The prompt seizure of the orators who now suggest or apologize for assassination would do a great deal of good, and probably more to the tenant farmer than anybody else. But, in any event, the Ministry is expected to bring in a strong Land Bill when Parliament meets, putting a check on the arbitrary raising of rents by some system of legal arbitration, and facilitating the purchase of land by the peasantry, both by the offer of Government loans and the simplification of conveyancing. Should the Lords throw it out there would probably be a dissolution and excitement such as has not been seen since the passage of the Reform Bill. Both parties perceive clearly the bearings of the Irish land question on the English land question, and in fighting over it are fighting for position with reference to future operations. This relation of Irish to English questions furnishes one of their strongest arguments to the Home-Rulers. They say they never can get an Irish question settled in accordance with Irish opinion.

Two members of the Cabinet, representing its Radical wing, have also made speeches on the Irish question, Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham. Mr. Bright promised a measure giving the tenant fixity of tenure and security against the arbitrary raising of the rent. Mr. Chamberlain, on the other hand, defended the prosecution of the Land-Leaguers, on the ground that if the law were violated the Government had no alternative but to punish those who violated it; while if it had not been violated, the accused had nothing to fear from the trial. There is evidently no great vigor in the prosecution, and of course most of the life will be taken out of it before the jury by the admissions of the Cabinet that the condition of the tenants justifies agitation.

The most important contributions to the literature of the subject of late have been two articles, one in the *Nineteenth Century*, by Lord Sherbrooke, better known as Mr. Robert Lowe, and one in the *Fortnightly Review*, by Mr. Morrough O'Brien. Lord Sherbrooke's has been drawn out by Mr. Tuke's pamphlet, which is more interesting and more influential than anything which the discussion has produced. He applies to the relation of the Irish landlord and tenant the well-known rules of political economy with the utmost neatness. The parties are free agents; the letting of the land is a contract; if the tenant does not like it he need not enter into it. True, he has no security for his improvements; but, on the other hand, owing to the tenant's want of capital, the landlord has generally no security for his rent. The tenant, therefore, if he finds his farming under existing conditions unpleasant, ought to engage in "some handicraft trade or occupy some humble position in the ranks of industry." We presume, in case he can find no such "handicraft trade or humble position in the ranks of industry," he ought to withdraw to some retired place and die quietly in some way which will entail no expense on the county. The answer to all this is, however, that the land has in no European country been treated as a mere agent of production. The landlords, both in England and Ireland, have always treated it as a source of social and political influence and obligation, and yet England is the only country in the world in which politicians venture to preach that the relation of the people to the soil is a purely commercial one. They have been trying to force the acceptance of this doctrine on the Irish for two hundred years, as we see, without any success. Lord Sherbrooke's advice now is to treat the Irish land theories as mere whimsies, and pay no attention to them. Some of the English Liberal papers dispose rather summarily of his lordship's economical sermon, however, by recalling the fact that he voted for Gladstone's Land Act of 1870, which is based on the theory that land-letting is not a mere commercial contract, and that the tenant is not a free agent. Mr. O'Brien's article is a useful one, being devoted to an account of the working of the peasant proprietorships on the church-lands lately sold. It is certainly in the highest degree hopeful.

A very slight check in the Assembly—an adverse vote on the order in which certain bills should be taken up—led on Tuesday week to the resignation of the Ferry Ministry in France, almost immediately after the opening of the session. M. Grévy, however, refused to receive it, and a portion of the Left declared that by the vote they simply meant to manifest their preference on a minor point, and by no means to express any want of confidence in the Ministry. Accordingly, on Thursday last, M. Ferry made a speech demanding a direct vote of confidence, and giving notice that the Ministry would not keep office on sufferance. Clémenceau, the leader of the Extreme Left, therefore, made a bitter attack on them, and after some further debate a division took place on a motion of confidence, which was carried by 297 to 131. In the course of the discussion, M. Baudry-d'Asson, a furious royalist, who had previously been suspended for disorderly behavior, entered the Chamber and took his seat in defiance of the order excluding him, and had to be removed, amidst a scene of great tumult, by the main force of fifteen soldiers, who carried him out, while he kicked and struggled violently. Nothing better was expected of Baudry-d'Asson, but the fact that the Duc de la Rochefoucauld was violently excited on his behalf shows what a state of mind the Extreme Right has worked itself into under the execution of the decrees.

The Ministry retains its place, but it seems to be generally acknowledged that its hold on the Chambers amounts to but little, and that its final downfall may any day be looked for. The Extreme and Advanced Left, which gave the majority against them on the order of procedure, has refused to recede from its position; and as M. Gambetta is on the side of the Ministry, and, in fact, as our politicians would say, "owns" it, this is taken as an indication that he too can no longer control the majority, and that his situation is becoming precarious. The object of Clémenceau and those who act with him is to force Gambetta himself into taking office, by destroying the ministries which are one by one set up to keep things going until Gambetta concludes that his hour has come. Clémenceau has recently made a very savage speech in this sense at Marseilles, calling on him to take the open responsibility before the country of the power which he really exercises, but exercises privately and indirectly. It is very doubtful whether, after the Ferry Ministry retires, any politician either of the first or second order will consent to fill a position which is fast losing all credit or dignity, and whether Gambetta will not be compelled at last to step into the breach himself. There is some danger now that he may himself be so weakened by the time he heads a Cabinet that he will not be able to hold his own either. And after him, what?

GENERAL GARFIELD AND THE BOSSES.

GENERAL GARFIELD is a man of ideas, and must ere this have asked himself the question, What ought a President of the United States to seek in order to signalize his administration before his contemporaries and to posterity? What line of procedure will give him the best claim to the respect and gratitude of his countrymen and the favorable judgment of history? After this question is answered another will present itself: What instrumentalities are best calculated to produce the desired result? A President of the United States has only four, or possibly eight, years to do his work in. He must so arrange his labors that they can be reasonably consummated within this space of time, or he must put things in train so that his successor shall be in some sort constrained to take up his unfinished task and push it forward.

It would be idle to controvert the maxim which governs all politicians, that their first duty to the country is to keep their own party in power. General Garfield will, of course, assume as his first postulate that steps must be taken which will at least keep the Republican party in the majority in as many States as it controlled at the last election. The means by which this end can be most certainly attained are the chief subject of contention now, and will continue to be so throughout his whole term of office. Intrigues for the next nomination on the part of various aspirants and cliques play a large part in the course of events under any administration, but each aspirant like every member of every clique believes or pretends to believe that his aims are those best fitted to strengthen the party and maintain its supremacy. In the clashing of interests around this principal subject of contention Tom, Dick, and Harry can afford to be mistaken, because they are irresponsible and frequently have nothing to lose. But the President of the United States cannot afford to be mistaken. He is bound by his higher standpoint to see farther than others, as his punishment for failure will be heavier. If he be one of the aspirants for the next nomination himself, still less can he afford to commit any serious error in discerning the causes which tend to strengthen or weaken the party in those States where its majority is small and doubtful, but of the last importance.

A glance at the two administrations next preceding General Garfield's will be useful in assisting us to answer the question what line of procedure and general policy is best calculated to keep the Republican party in power, and may enable us incidentally to determine how far General Garfield himself is indebted to such politicians as Conkling, Cameron, and Logan for his election. The two salient points of difference, as to policy, between the administrations of Grant and Hayes were those relating to the government of the South and the management of the civil service. President Grant represented all that is denominated Stalwart in both these particulars. President Hayes has represented the opposite, or nearly the opposite, in both particulars. President Grant led his party to untimely defeat; President Hayes has enabled it to achieve a narrow but sufficient victory. The narrowness is best shown by the vote of New York, where a change of less than twelve thousand would have elected General Hancock, and produced a revolution in the public officers from Maine to Oregon and wherever the Federal Government has a representative in any part of the world. About one vote in a hundred is all the margin that the new Administration has to go on in this State, which happens for the time being to be the deciding factor between the two parties in national politics. In Indiana the state of things is very much the same, and it may be remarked in passing that if Indiana had given a Democratic majority in October General Garfield's chances in New York would not have been worth a rush. The balance of power is but a breath, a zephyr, and we hold that it is altogether fortunate and desirable that it should be so. It is a fact to which all citizens who have no other interest to subserve by their votes than the common good of the country may reasonably "point with pride." It is a fact which puts both parties, and especially the party in power, on the nicest adjustment of their behavior. It is a fact to which General Garfield must pay the strictest heed, and which he cannot afford to lose sight of for a moment.

The Southern question is now settled in such a way that there is no possibility of unsettling it by any outside pressure or interference exerted from Washington City. If General Garfield desired to pursue a different policy from that of President Hayes he would not know how to begin, nor could any of his Stalwart advisers tell him what to do. A new régime of troops at the polls, with double-headed legislatures in Louisiana and South Carolina, would be voted down by the North at the first opportunity. Of the two points of essential difference between the Grant and Hayes administrations, the only one which need greatly concern General Garfield relates to their respective methods of managing the civil service. It is not to be affirmed that Mr. Hayes has achieved entire success in this branch of administration, but he has given better satisfaction to the country in this particular than any President since John Quincy Adams. President Lincoln had no chance to do anything helpful in this regard, and he is the only one of our later Presidents before Mr. Hayes who can be said to have had the mental and moral make-up to do anything helpful. The country, during Mr. Hayes's term of office, has been brought to regard the civil service, its administration, its mode of appointment, its *morale*, as a subject of the highest interest. To have fixed public attention clearly upon this subject is a very great service. President Hayes has done something more: he has stimulated a public demand for a better service and better methods of securing it.

The method in vogue under President Grant—the method which the Bosses will now endeavor to replace, using General Garfield as the instrument for that purpose—was to regard all Federal officers as the raw material of train-bands organized in the personal interest of Senators and Representatives in Congress. The public service was so far a secondary consideration that it was deemed in the highest degree impertinent to raise such an issue against the wishes of the local Boss whose perquisites were threatened. Such was the view taken by the majority of the Republican Senators in the New York custom-house cases at the beginning of Mr. Hayes's Administration. Mr. Hayes has paid the penalty of his temerity by losing the society of the Bosses for the greater part of his term of occupancy of the White House, but he has brought back a majority of Republican Congressmen to the national capital, and of undisputed electoral votes to the nominees of the party, and he has compelled the Bosses to support one of his intimate friends, and one identified with his own policy, as his successor in the Presidency. Upon the whole he has nothing to regret except his own deviation from the line of conduct which has brought about results so admirable even from a party point of view, and so strikingly different from those which were produced by the former régime. If the party, as a whole, owes nothing to the old system, General Garfield himself owes little or nothing to its chief exponents. All the Bosses who bore sway under Grant opposed him at Chicago, and all of them sulked for months afterward, and until it became apparent to them that he would be elected without their aid. They then came forward with banners bearing the device "306," and gave to the campaign the semblance of a contest for the next Presidency instead of this one, and thus drove away many voters, though fortunately not enough to lose the election. General Garfield's personal popularity in Indiana was as important a factor as any in deciding the vote of that wavering State, and the Indiana election, as we have already observed, made a Republican victory in New York possible. Whatever General Garfield owes in return for his election he owes to the Republican voters of the nation, to the American people, and not to any clique, coterie, or faction whatever. His debt will be fully discharged if he administers his office upon this understanding. He can best signalize his administration before his contemporaries and in the eyes of posterity by continuing and bettering the reform of the civil service, and if he does so he can in all probability lay down a policy from which his own successor, whether four or eight years hence, cannot easily depart. We can point out to him no better guide, so far as principles and their application are concerned, than his own public speeches in and out of Congress. It is needless to add that the instrumentalities are not to be found among the Logans, Camerons, and Tom Platts who are so volubly named at this juncture for members of his Cabinet.

THE MOREY LETTER CASE.

THE late canvass was marked, especially towards the close, by several very odd incidents, but none odder than the production, with the sanction of the Democratic Committee, of the Morey forged letter.

The letter was intended to fasten on General Garfield the charge of holding opinions about Chinese immigration which would injure his chances as a candidate in the Pacific States, and probably cause him the loss of a good many votes in the manufacturing districts of the East. It made him say that he thought the Chinese Treaty ought not to be abrogated, or the immigration of Chinese laborers be restricted, until the wants of American employers were fully supplied. It would, if genuine, have been no more injurious to him as a candidate than a letter declaring for an immediate abolition of the tariff. It imputed to him no sentiments discreditable *per se*. Here it is in full:

"DEAR SIR: Yours in relation to the Chinese problem came duly to hand.

"I take it that the question of employees is only a question of private and corporate economy, and individuals or companys have the right to buy labor where they can get it cheapest.

"We have a treaty with the Chinese Government, which should be religiously kept until its provisions are abrogated by the action of the general Government, and I am not prepared to say that it should be abrogated until our great manufacturing and corporate interests are conserved in the matter of labor.

Very truly yours,

"J. A GARFIELD.

"H. L. Morey, Employers' Union, Lynn, Mass."

The first paragraph contains an economic truism which is recognized in the legislation of every State in the Union, and which the police enforce whenever there is a laborers' strike. The second paragraph contains two propositions. The first is a simple repetition of the clause in the United States Constitution which declares treaties made with foreign powers to be "the supreme law of the land." The second affirms that General Garfield has not made up his mind that it would be expedient to abrogate the Chinese treaty until manufacturers and corporations have secured as much labor as they want on satisfactory terms. The term "conserved" is obscure, but this we take to be its meaning. Thousands and probably hundreds of thousands of economists and moralists all over the country undoubtedly would adhere to these propositions and would see nothing dangerous in them. Probably no man with much to do would take the trouble to repudiate such a letter, even if forged and put in circulation in his name, if he were not a candidate for office.

General Garfield was, however, a candidate for office, and as such its circulation was likely to damage him, and in his eagerness to rid himself promptly of responsibility for it he applied to it the somewhat ludicrous epithet "brutal." It is no more "brutal" than a letter imputing to him hostility to the tariff would have been. It is a base letter because forged and intended to do damage at a critical period, but this is the worst that can be said of it. The Republican Committee felt it to be so important to expose it that they at once began the prosecution of the person supposed to have concocted it, and who certainly based on it an article accusing General Garfield of "lying" in denying its authenticity.

In ordinary cases the proceeding would have been opened by the arrest and examination of the accused before a police magistrate, but as forgery, unless it affects property, is not a punishable offence under the New York law, it was found to be necessary, in order to reach the supposed author of the letter, to have the letter treated as a criminal libel. A police magistrate was very likely to be unwilling to take the responsibility of putting this construction on it, and even if he were willing, his construction would not have weight enough or *éclat* enough to make it useful for electioneering purposes. Accordingly the somewhat unusual but perfectly legal course was adopted of bringing the accused before one of the judges of the Supreme Court on a "bench warrant." This judge was Mr. Justice Davis, who has for the last fortnight been conducting the examination, and has closed it by committing Philp, the defendant, for trial.

It is to be observed, however, as necessary to a proper appreciation of Judge Davis's share in this extraordinary case, that the examination before him was just as much a preliminary examination as if it had been conducted by a police justice, and was surrounded by the same restrictions and usages. The object of such an examination is not to reach a definite conclusion as to the prisoner's guilt, but to ascertain whether there is a sufficient *primâ-facie* case against him to warrant his being held for a full trial before a jury. Until the jury has passed upon the case the presumption of law is that he is innocent. It is therefore customary for magistrates conducting such examinations, both in this country and in England, to abstain from all unnecessary comment, and especially from anything like denunciation or magnification of the offence, and from anything approaching to complete assumption of the defendant's guilt. In fact, this delicacy is carried so far among lawyers who live up to the best traditions and usages of the profession that we believe it is considered unjustifiable for a prosecuting counsel to indulge in invective against the prisoner in the opening statement before the jury. He is expected to reserve that until the prisoner's case has been heard.

Judge Davis has taken a different and, if we are not greatly mistaken, an unprecedented view of his duty. He has written a long and very elaborate opinion, in which he not simply commits Philp for trial, but pronounces him guilty of criminal libel in the most positive manner, and enlarges and expatiates on the gravity of the offence, and singles out for denunciation various other persons, some of whom were before him simply as witnesses, but some of whom were not before him at all. We can recall, in fact, nothing like his decision in the recent history of criminal jurisprudence, and we hope the bar has read it with proper surprise.

He finds that to attribute to General Garfield, even by direct assertion, the sentiments of the letter would be libellous, because these are such "as would tend, if believed to be his, to bring him into popular hatred and contempt, and to excite breaches of the peace." It follows from this irresistibly that to have said in the late canvass in a newspaper article that General Garfield was really a free-trader would have been made libellous by his merely denying the fact, for it is impossible to prove, in opposition to his own assertion, that a candidate does or does not hold during a canvass any particular opinion. So that, under this rule, any discussion of a candidate's probable motives or opinions, which tended to bring about his defeat, would be libellous and indictable. We are glad to think that in this matter it is juries who settle the law, and not judges. But as he goes on, Judge Davis's imagination seems to become more and more inflamed. Not satisfied with the functions of a police justice, nor even with those of a petty jury, he takes on himself those of a grand jury, and begins an exploration in search of other offenders besides those before him. Not only is the Morey letter a criminal libel, but the evidence of it, "taken in connection with other evidence," "tends to establish a grave conspiracy to accomplish a national crime," and this conspiracy "points to men in other quarters and of far higher positions, of whom he (Philp) may have been an accomplice or only a dupe and tool." A "national crime" is, we believe, an offence hitherto unknown to the law. It must, as English is now written, be a crime committed by a nation in its corporate capacity, and a conspiracy looking to such a thing must be a very serious affair, so serious that we can hardly believe that the conspirators would begin by publishing a bogus letter ascribing some mild twaddle about Chinese immigration to a candidate for the Presidency. But it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that when he got as far as this Judge Davis had mentally laid aside his judicial character, and was composing a ringing article for a campaign newspaper. The following is quite in the style of a Stalwart "editorial" of the period:

"It must be the wish of all honorable minds that this case will lead not only to the discovery and exposure of the guilty, but to the enactment of laws which will prevent or severely punish offences of this character. Whoever be the guilty in this case, right-thinking men everywhere must look upon the act as an appalling crime wholly at war with the safety and sanctity of popular government. Fortunately no committee and no body of men hold in their hands the conscience of the people; and no party fealty is strong enough to intercept the sentence of condemnation which honest men of all parties must pronounce upon such guilt."

Here we find that a disgusting but by no means novel campaign trick, which was ridiculed forty years ago by foreign caricaturists of American manners like Dickens, has grown into "an appalling crime wholly at war with the safety and sanctity of popular government." It can hardly be as a judge of the Supreme Court that Judge Davis tells us that there are some appalling crimes which are only *partially* "at war with the safety and sanctity of popular government." What name

to give to the bold assertion that "no committee and no body of men hold in their hands the conscience of the people," we do not well know. Respect for the bench requires us to call it at least an *obiter dictum*, but we are afraid that a great many irreverent persons will characterize it in plain English.

His remarks on Mr. Hewitt were, if possible, still more extraordinary than those on the atrocity and gravity of the Morey letter. We have no intention here of undertaking Mr. Hewitt's defence. His position in the matter must be sufficiently unsatisfactory in his own eyes. His best friends cannot acquit him of grave indiscretion, but he is entitled to the benefit of all the favorable presumptions (to which General Garfield has owed so much during the late canvass) raised by a long, unblemished, and useful public and private career. The life of no man in New York furnishes stronger claims to the charitable and careful judgment of the community, even in the face of very unpleasant facts. Therefore, even if he had been the prisoner in this libel case, it would have been unseemly for the judge in a mere preliminary examination, where he could not make a full defence, to rake him with fierce, condemnatory criticism. But he was not the defendant; he was merely a witness. His connection with the letter, however reprehensible, was not before the court. It neither added to nor diminished the gravity of the forgery or libel. Nevertheless Judge Davis denounces him, in the same vigorous newspaper rhetoric in which he describes "the appalling crime," as a man "of known sagacity in business and public affairs who is *supposed* to have a decent respect for truth," but "pressed and caused" the publication of the letter, which "was a wrong to his intimate friend as base and wicked as an assassin's stab." The judge then proceeds to distribute the guilt of the affair among those who helped to spread the letter, and lays it down that they were all accessories to the forgery in the forum of morals. He speculates as to the probable cause of the "toning down" of Mr. Hewitt's "conscience," confesses himself unable to decide whether or not the non-acceptance of Garfield's denial was "under a subterfuge," and decides what his (Hewitt's) "motive" was in a certain act in which he assumes that he was an accomplice.

As we have said before, we are not defending Mr. Hewitt, or apologizing for the Democratic Committee, or extenuating Philp's offence. We are simply calling attention to the use made by Judge Davis of the very trifling and insignificant process of sending an accused man for trial before a jury, to compound on the bench a campaign document to which, even if it had emanated from the Republican Committee, there would be very grave objections on the score of fairness and accuracy. If such attacks on character are ever justifiable from a position so high as the bench, from which all censure falls with so much force, they are justifiable only at the real trial before the tribunal which is to pass finally on the case. Uttered in advance of this trial, their plain tendency to prejudice the public and the jury would of itself suffice to make them indecent.

THE TURKISH CRISIS REVIEWED.

PARIS, October 29, 1880.

THE policy of peace has triumphed in Europe, for a little while at least. The famous demonstration of Dulcigno has not been quite useless, in that it has demonstrated what may be called the actual impossibility of war. It has had another utility—it has torn away the diplomatic veils and shown Europe as it really is, not as it appeared in the protocols of the Congress of Berlin. We have been so near a war that all the great Powers have been obliged to show their sentiments, and to do something more than speak of their common understanding. We have emerged from platonic politics into realities; and what are these realities? Europe spoke of nothing but of a common action and of the necessity of a perpetual harmony, but, in fact, we can see in the late situation two groups of nations animated by very different sentiments.

On one side stand Germany and Austria-Hungary, now united by a most cordial alliance. There is no longer any doubt that when Prince Bismarck rushed to Vienna some time ago he was afraid, or seemed to be afraid, of an alliance of Russia with France, and of a war with Russia. He offered to Austria the German alliance, and guaranteed to her the development of her influence in the valley of the Danube and in the peninsula of the Balkans. Germany is disinterested in the Eastern Question in so far that none of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire can fall into her own sphere of action, and this situation gives her a great authority in the settlement of the Eastern Question. She can throw herself with a greater weight on the side of Austria or of Russia. Bismarck has chosen to espouse the cause of Austria in the East, and in return he has, so to speak, changed the Emperor of Austria into one of the confederates of the new Empire. Things go so fast in our time that Francis Joseph, who was turned out of the German Bund after Sadowa, is becoming now the hope of the Bund. If a general war should break out, it can be said almost with certainty that the regiments which fought against each other on the plains and hills of Bohemia would now fight side by side. The German unity is achieving itself in this new form: not only do all the German-speaking provinces now feel themselves tied to a common destiny, but Germany exercises, through the medium of Austria, a powerful hegemony over the various races which constitute Transleithania, and her attraction, already felt in Bosnia and Herzegovina, will soon be felt even further in the peninsula of the Balkans. The old Metternichian policy has found its *point d'appui* in Berlin.

There is no reason why this new alliance, founded upon the solidarity of all German interests, should produce immediate results in the East. Nobody knows better than Austria the intrinsic difficulties of the Eastern Question. The Ottoman Empire is slowly decaying, and it is better to wait till a new order of things is established by the necessities and fatalities inherent in the various elements which are now in a chaotic state. Austria has probably not many illusions concerning the vitality of the ambitious little nationalities which are struggling for life in the peninsula of the Balkans. She feels that it is her "manifest destiny" to protect these pseudo-nations with their pseudo-princes; to build roads and railroads for these provinces which had been so completely neglected by the Turks; to introduce the arts of civilization, laws, the police, the whole state-machinery of the West into these lands, which seem now almost emerging from barbarism. But Austria is in no hurry. The work which is before her is not the work of a day, and she is not willing to advance any solution by a premature war. It became evident as soon as the allied fleets appeared before the Albanian coast that Germany was not willing to bring the naval demonstration to a warlike end. On the other side stood England, France, and Russia. England was in the forefront of what may be called the active group of Europe. She entered into the Eastern Question with a passion which astonished only those who are not old enough to have seen the Crimean War. Many of us, however, remember England's intense ardor at the time of the Conference of Vienna, of the famous "four points" of Lord Russell; we remember the burst of sincere or affected anger which followed the publication of the despatches of Sir Hamilton Seymour. The situation was not the same in 1880. There was no more sentimentalism about the "sick man," no more alarm about the ambition of the Czar; all the anger of England was now directed against the Sultan. Six great Powers decided in a congress that Montenegro should have such a frontier and Greece such another, and England seemed to consider the resistance of the Sultan as a crime which must be at once punished. We can hardly imagine that such men as Lord Hartington, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. Forster should have found it very extraordinary that the Sultan would not give up large provinces and important cities to the Greeks without even the semblance of a fight. Mr. Gladstone may be more romantically disposed. He gave up the Ionian Islands in the midst of profound peace, but the Sultan will only give up Janina and Metsovo under coercion. Mr. Gladstone was willing that coercion should be exercised in favor of Greece; he was all ready to form a triple alliance with France and with Russia. The temptation was surely great, if there had been any chance of success in the undertaking. England would have had two Continental armies, instead of one—and what armies! The French army, completely reorganized, and numbering now 500,000 in time of peace; the Russian army, fresh from the battle-fields of Plevna, a people rather than an army, a numberless host, fired with all the passions of the Slavic races. Italy, too, might have been drawn, willingly or unwillingly, into the great alliance. She would probably have thrown her fortunes on the side which would have been perforce hostile to the interests of Austria.

What Russia's sentiments may have been in this crisis; how far England approached the Government which has the strongest and most permanent interests in the East; what promises were made, what hopes were given—all this remains a secret for the present. We can only say in a general way that Germany's attitude towards Russia has for some time been marked by hostility; that the journey of the Emperor Francis Joseph to Galicia was considered in Russia as an indirect threat, as an indication that if it was necessary Germany would not hesitate to reopen the Polish question. Since the termination of the Eastern war the relations of Russia and of Germany have become very unsatisfactory. The Emperors still exchange courtesies, while the press and the diplomacy of Germany and of Russia are in a state of continual warfare. The Russians believe that the failure of their plans, the rejection of the treaty of San Stefano, were owing as much, and perhaps more, to the opposition of Prince Bismarck than to the attitude of Lord Beaconsfield. The Russians cannot be consoled for having had Constantinople in their hands, and for not having been allowed to taste the forbidden fruit. Russia seems all ready for any action that would add something to her prestige, and that would undo the treaty of peace which the efforts of all Europe

imposed upon her. She wants a new treaty of San Stefano; she hopes for the final union of Rumelia with Bulgaria; her agents preach a great Bulgaria, a Pan-Bulgaria. She does not like to see the approach of Austria in Bosnia and Herzegovina. She looks upon the Hohenzollern of the Danubian Principalities with distrust. The tide of Panslavism which is rolling constantly towards the Balkans is also rolling towards the Carpathians. But Russia found in the last war that her organization was very imperfect; she is correcting it now, and she is not yet prepared for any important war.

England expected that France would be very eager for her alliance. Kinglake has carefully explained in his 'History of the Crimean War' that one of the chief reasons of it was the isolation of Napoleon and of his associates after the *Coup d'état*. It seems singular that the English statesmen could have imagined any similarity in the situation of the Government born of the *Coup d'état* and of the actual Republican Government, which, whatever may be its faults of conduct, had at any rate a most legitimate origin, as the Republican Constitution was voted by the Constituent Assembly of 1871, elected with the most perfect freedom. It may please some Republican heaven-born statesmen to associate with the representatives of the oldest monarchies and aristocracies; but it would be an insult to their patriotism and to their good sense to suppose that they could endanger their own country in order to win the hypocritical homage of a few lords, who were not long ago the guests of Napoleon III. at Compiègne or at Saint-Cloud. There has been, for a moment, a small party of action—I can find no better name for it, as I will not call it a warlike party—a party composed of a few men who thought that the time had come for France to emerge from her isolation. These men saw with dissatisfaction the success of the English Liberals in the last elections, as they thought that the Liberals were tied to the policy of non-intervention; but when they found that Mr. Gladstone had adopted an active policy in the East, when they received his advances, they thought that they had no right to refuse a chance which seemed to them almost providential. They saw already in their imagination a great movement inaugurated in Europe by the two great Liberal Powers, England and France, seconded by Italy—which has also a Liberal Government—and followed by Russia—which, if it is not a Liberal Government, still defends in the East a cause which has the sympathies of all the Liberals in the world. There was to be a great crusade in the whole of Europe, and France would be at the head of it; she would be again the moral leader of the world.

Facts have dissolved this dream. Internal peace was necessary to France if France wished to take a great part in the affairs of Europe; and internal peace has been much compromised by the decrees against the congregations. The development of the policy of the decrees is only now beginning; we are now "divided against ourselves," and the bitterness of the religious strife is only now being felt. While this "*Kampf*" goes on, France will not look across the frontier. War is impossible; the mere mention of "war" makes all parties almost wild with rage. It would be too long and too painful to analyze all the elements of the present situation. One thing, however, seems certain: the leaders of the state may do what they please, they cannot reconcile the country to war—that is their "*ne plus ultra*." The leaders of the party of action have themselves felt this, and the English Government has been informed politely that there is no possibility of a "common action" which may lead to something more serious than the late naval promenade.

THE FLOOD OF OBSCENE LITERATURE IN FRANCE.

PARIS, November 1, 1880.

THE session will be opened in a few days. Being the last of this legislature it will be invested with considerable importance. The blundering way in which the decrees against the unauthorized congregations other than the Jesuits have been carried out keeps up a dangerous irritation in the country. On the reassembling of the Chambers it is probable that this question will cause the downfall of the Ministry. I shall defer everything that properly speaking concerns politics, and devote this letter to a grievous fact which saddened all right-minded men in France last summer: I allude to the development of immoral journalism within the last few months. These papers, issued at a low price and on a large scale, contain the most obscene stories or pictures. They swarm like reptiles in a noisome and overheated mire. The Government has done its duty. For some time it has been unceasingly prosecuting those publications which were flagrant incentives to debauchery, and the law has condemned them with great severity, though not equal to their deserts. Let us not deceive ourselves: the repression of the law courts, however necessary, does not go very far to cure this evil. I have just been looking over one of those papers which have most signalized themselves in the crusade against good morals, and although previously condemned to pay a heavy fine, accompanied with months of imprisonment, it has not altered for the better, but continues to issue its detestable writings; its columns are still filled with stories as inept as they are indecent. It is satisfied with slightly veiling their immorality, but its pernicious influence will be as strong as before. Reading the journals which were the first to denounce it from professional jealousy, you would have thought from their modest airs that they were themselves regenerated; but in spite of self-imposed restraint, they could not keep from returning to their old ways the day after they had invoked public decency against an imprudent rival. Nothing could better show how general and deeply rooted is the evil.

Let us seek to analyze the immediate causes of it. It is unnecessary to enter into a psychological study of the baser side of human nature, which has existed at all times. We shall fix our attention on the exceptional manifestation of mental libertinism, such as we see in our own day. In several epochs of history many similar instances may be noted. In the past, one of the causes of this rage for corrupt literature has repeatedly been the repression of liberty. On the one hand, the human mind, prohibited from taking part in the stormy phases and sharing the noble passions of political life, expended its passion on the most unworthy objects. On the other hand, despotism found its best security in the development of a life of pleasure. It fostered such tendencies to the utmost of its power. This is the history of the Roman decadence, and also our history under the Second Empire. The court watched approvingly the lowering tone of public morality. It did nothing to check it, but rather encouraged it by its example, and still more by the facility it afforded immoral literature, in the license given by the commission on colportage to publications almost obscene, as proved by the scandalous catalogue brought to light by one of our senators. During the Second Empire operettes and cafés-concerts flourished. It has already been justly observed that the *Vie Parisienne* was the avowed organ of this licentious literature, each of its numbers containing one of those peppery stories which are now being prosecuted. The writers covered them with a certain elegant varnish by describing the scenes as taking place in drawing-rooms and boudoirs of high life. They were no less an affront to all the laws of decency. Scandalous journalism became one of the most paying undertakings of the day. "À tout seigneur tout honneur." It is right to recognize the fact that the Empire bequeathed to our current literature a large portion of the virus which dishonors it.

The Second Empire is, however, not solely to blame in this matter. We must take into consideration the immense fatigue the country felt after passing through the terrible crisis of 1870 and the following years. Such vicissitudes pervert and degrade those whom they do not ennoble. This is what happened after the French Revolution: there was an unhealthy expansion of the public mind during the Directory. I am aware that just as assassination formerly moderated Russian despotism, so this violence is in some respects held in check by the fatal increase of duelling. It is none the less a fact that before a final arrangement of this kind it is allowed great immunities. Literature shows signs of this license. It may be said that the diapason of human speech has been changed. There are no longer any doubtful expressions or "risky words." Novelists of the realistic school have advanced with rapid strides in this way with ever-increasing effrontery. Excesses of this kind have been so common that delicate-minded novelists have dared far more than they formerly would have done. They also have been subjected to the contaminating influence of the surrounding atmosphere. How many times have they not introduced into charming works scenes or words which would not have been tolerated some years ago! If the best have failed what shall be said of the disciples and imitators of the masters of realism? During the past year novels have been published in Paris which are tissues of iniquity, unredeemed by a spark of talent. The successful sale of M. Zola's last work is a scandal unsurpassed by any of which he is so lavish in his works. Humanity is there depicted under the most hideous aspect; the human animal is therein abandoned to the fury of his instincts. That is what is called realism! Never has a more mortal injury been offered to man than this pretension to portray him truthfully whilst admitting only his inferior and at times base qualities, never taking into account his yearnings after justice or the ideal, or making allowance for the generous struggles of his conscience. When this literature was found so remunerative many endeavored to render it popular. The papers which scandalize us at the present time were glad to change into current money the ingot they saw so appreciated on every bookstall. We are happy to see public opinion manifesting itself with so much energy against this infamous literature. The French Republic has a particular motive for becoming more severe with reference to literary morality. At the present time it is striving to diffuse instruction throughout the country. The Government feels it to be a point of honor that a few years hence every French child shall know how to read. This is an obvious reason for taking heed what kind of literature is provided for the rising generation. É.

Correspondence.

CAMPAIGN BRIBERY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I reside in one of the interior counties of this State, in a town hav-

ing about five hundred voters. My first vote was cast in 1868 for Grant, and in political faith I may style myself a "Young Republican" and a disciple of the *Nation*. Believing it my duty to take an active interest in political affairs, though without desire to become in any sense an office-holder, I began about two years since to attend our town caucuses. Being on intimate terms with the leaders of the "machine" in my town and county, I readily became one of our town committee, and this year a delegate to our county and district conventions. I have taken an active personal interest in the recent campaign. I have had full faith in the success of the Republican cause, believing that the majority of the voters, especially in the rural districts, when fully aroused, would vote from conviction with the Republican party.

On election morning I went early to the polls and stayed there all day. I "peddled" Republican ballots, and watched closely the progress of the voting and the methods of the workers and poll-drivers. I discovered that upwards of twenty per cent. of the votes were openly for sale. I know that more than sixty were bought by the Republican "workers" at prices ranging from two to five dollars each. How many the "Democratic" workers secured by the same means I do not know, but probably nearly an equal number. I have since learned that the towns in our county each require on an average at least $250 for the sole purpose of buying votes on election day, and that this is the usual sum expended in this manner. I am informed that it cost our candidate for Congress, in a district naturally (!) Republican, and who was elected by a large majority, not less than $25,000 to pay his election expenses within the past sixty days. I find that it would be folly for any one to aspire to office in this county or neighborhood who was not wealthy and willing to pay liberally for the honor (!)—that wealth is almost the sole requisite in a candidate for any office of importance. Finally, I find that this state of things is by no means exceptional, but that it is precisely the same in the adjacent counties and Congressional districts.

Mr. Garfield has been elected. The vote of this State has been decisive of the result, and this State has given a majority of less than 25,000. I am forced to the belief that the use of money in the open purchase of votes has gone far to bring about this result. One would expect to find at least some private expression of condemnation for the participants in so disgraceful a system—for those who proffer the bribes as well as for those who accept of them; but such is not the case. Men of the strictest integrity, who would scorn a dishonorable action in any business or social matter, do not hesitate to take an active part in this open bribery, and they do not lose caste in the community by so doing. Their action is considered a necessary part of "practical politics," and to be applauded in proportion to their success—*i.e.*, to the number of votes they secure by outbidding their opponents.

How is it possible for any real reform to be inaugurated with such corruption at the ballot-box? How can we expect wise legislation when our law-makers are selected by such a process? Now, I should be glad to devote a portion of my time to political affairs in the interest of good government simply, but I ask, What can I do? I am quite ready to be a subscriber to the Civil-Service Reform Publication Society, but is that to be the extent of my political activity? Must I stand aside and see the methods of this campaign repeated year after year, with no effort made to change them? My friends of the "machine" tell me that they deplore the necessity for this state of affairs; they acknowledge that the corruption of the ballot-box is the root of all the evils of our present government; they profess theoretically to believe in the desirability of civil-service reform; but they say that practically we must accept the situation as it is—we cannot change it. Are they right?

I am sir, etc., M. C.

New York, November 8.

NORTHERN FEELING TOWARDS THE SOUTH.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your issue of November 4 I notice a communication entitled "Do the Northern People hate the Southern?" Perhaps a statement of what seems to be the feeling in this (Mr. Garfield's) district, which Mr. Watterson calls "the most hidebound in the Union," would be of interest as giving what, from a Southern standpoint, would be considered the worst phase of that feeling.

It cannot be denied that there is, throughout this section, a general impression that, whatever may be true of the cities and larger towns, the South is not an agreeable place for a Northern farmer to live in. This is not merely a prejudice inherited from the times before the war, but is largely a result of the experience of those who, after the war, went from this district to find homes in the South. One of them, the author of 'A Fool's Errand,' was so fortunate as to realize from the narrative of his experience what, perhaps, might be considered a fair equivalent of its cost. Since that time the class that is constantly emigrating from this section, consisting mainly of young farmers and professional men, full of energy but without capital, have not been sufficiently curious about the feeling at the South toward Northern emigrants to try it. They know that at the West success means social position and political influence. Their impression is that at the South they can never be anything but "carpet-baggers." An intelligent farmer who went down to Virginia three years ago, and came back this year to stay, said: "I don't know but they treated *me* decently enough, but *my wife* was wholly ignored." His wife was a woman of more than average culture and intelligence. To this feeling it is due that, though the climate of the South is so inviting, our emigration goes West.

There is also a feeling here that the elections at the South are not nearly so much the free and fair expression of the will of the people as at the North and West; that the stories about ballot-box-stuffing, tissue-ballots, and intimidation, though, of course, overdrawn for campaign purposes, are not all idle tales. Had it not been for this feeling the action of the Louisiana Returning Board would have received no justification in this district. This feeling was much intensified by the attempted repeal of the election laws by the last Congress. We could not see why any honest man should be afraid of United States supervision of its own elections.

The impression prevails here that life is not nearly so safe at the South as at the North and West, and that murder is not usually punished

The "Solid South" has entered largely into the canvass here, but the question has been mainly discussed on its economic side. The conduct of the Southern leaders during the last four years has not been such that we were willing to trust the interests of the nation to their guidance. On all the great economic questions, some one of which must in the near future come to the front, their position could not be even guessed at. It was not so much that the South was solid, as that it was solid for that party whose policy three months hence none but a clairvoyant would venture to predict. We prefer things to stay as they are till we have time to discuss what changes are advisable.

That there is no such warmth of feeling between the South and the North as between the East and the West is largely due to the fact that there are no such family ties between their citizens. There is scarce a family in any State north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, that has not near relations in almost every State between it and the Pacific. Visits, letters, and local papers are exchanged, keeping up a constant cordiality. Of course no such feeling can obtain between the North and the South till the tide of emigration is turned southward.

But that there is any feeling of ill-will or hate toward the South is untrue. We do not even go so far as your correspondent. We here know of no such body of troops as "Northern soldiers." If he had been present at the meeting of the citizens of Jefferson, the home of Giddings and Wade, on the evening of the day after the election, he would have heard, as the uniform expression of feeling, thankfulness that there would be now four years of a reasonably stable policy, during which the progressive element at the South (and we believe that there is such an element) can unite with that of the North in securing reforms which shall add to the prosperity of the nation. The verdict of the 2d of November was a blow at no section, but solely an expression of the American people, to the effect that the conduct of its affairs could not safely be entrusted to the Democratic party as at present constituted and led.

Yours very truly, L. B. Tuckerman.

Austinburg, Ashtabula Co., Ohio, November 9, 1880.

THE SOUTH AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have just finished reading your article bearing the title "What the South had better do now," and have been a good deal interested in its perusal. The subject is, however, a difficult one. The solution of the difficulty is not altogether apparent to me, and partly for the reason that there is a moral phenomenon displayed at the North at the present time which I do not fully comprehend. I am a Southern man, born and bred, but I have been a good deal of the time in the North for the last few years. Unless I have been much deceived, I have found that financial men are generally opposed to the Democratic party. That I understand, for, although a Democrat, I think that the "record" of the Republican party, since Mr. Schurz saved it from a fiat policy, is more creditable on the whole than that of its opponent. But what I do not fully comprehend is the fact that I have usually found that what may be called the religious element at the North is strongly, I may almost say fiercely, committed to the Republican party, and that not through any notions of policy or good government, but apparently from motives of animosity towards the Southern people, always active and generally intense. I have commonly found the business men of the North disposed to take rather a charitable view of the sins of the South; but whenever I have talked with a deacon or a class-leader I have nearly always discovered that he was animated by feelings of hatred towards the people of the South which were cultivated with a devotion that could seemingly only proceed from a strong sense of duty. Why should this be? Does the religion of Christ practically lead to uncharitableness? Is it that men who are always talking about loving their neighbors and forgiving their enemies need some relaxation by acting in a different

spirit? I have often asked myself these questions, and I have never been able to hit upon a reply that could be regarded as satisfactory. I know that it will be said that the fact does not exist; but I am certain that it does, and I will appeal to any candid observer for confirmation of what I have said. It may also be said that I speak from a spirit of hostility to the Christian religion, bringing forward a commonplace reproach of hypocrisy but too often charged upon the Church by those who are blind to its usefulness. This, however, is not true. I am a believer in churches, and am not unusually shocked by the want of conformity that must, of course, exist between all lofty ideals and the performances that go along with them.

But to return to your article: the Solid South is, no doubt, at present a part, and the principal part, of the capital of the Radical party. The Democratic party is only the splint which binds up the decayed bones of the Republican party. That party can afford to tax all office-holders for the purpose of preserving a united Democracy in the South. The remedy seems to be easy. Let the Southern people throw the Democratic party overboard. What then? If we had that fine measure of charity which would induce us voluntarily to swell the ranks of men who spend their whole leisure time in depicting all Southern men as bullies and cutthroats, unworthy of association or even of life, my opinion is that the Democracy of the North would in their turn take up the cry of the "Solid South," making the same use of it as that made by the Republicans now. Suppose that some of us go over to the Republican party and some do not, and that some Southern States vote the Republican ticket, will that end the matter? I wish it might, but I cannot foresee any such result. The vindictiveness that is now manifested towards all the Southern States would then be concentrated on those which might still vote for any other ticket. It is easy to suggest some way out of a notorious difficulty, but every remedy is attended with trouble and is obstructed by impediments of a very serious character. X.

Little Rock, Ark., Sunday Morning, Nov. 7, 1880.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In proposing a means of ensuring a non-partisan character to the Civil-Service Reform Publication Society, your correspondent "J." has indirectly raised the question, Whether it is the purpose of the society to bind the vote of its members in any way—for example, as "J." suggests, to vote for no *candidate* who is not "personally pledged against appointments or removals for political reasons"?

Combined action at the polls would have a recognized force in politics and give the society considerable influence in close elections. But many are ready to carry out "J.'s" principle who would not go to the extreme of virtually disfranchising themselves for a time, at least. For I take it the society would merely discriminate between the candidates of other parties and not, like the Prohibition party, nominate candidates of its own on the sole issue of civil-service reform. Such reform, important as it is, will be largely a matter of detail, and cannot be made an exclusive issue at present, when there is no gross violation of its principles, and when other questions are more prominently before the public. It differs from the Abolition movement in being not an isolated question, but one closely connected with every department of public affairs, and in the fact that it does not appeal to the feelings and sentiments of the people, but mainly to their common sense and business experience. It is nothing if not practical, and everything which will cause it to be classed with Prohibition and other impracticable reforms should be carefully avoided.

Obviously there may be wide room for choice between two candidates, neither of whom is a pronounced friend of reform. Because we cannot have a candidate after our own hearts is no reason why we should reject the best that offers, provided he be not positively objectionable. Would it not, then, be enough for those who join the society to pledge themselves always to support the candidate who plainly declares for civil-service reform as against the one who does not, leaving members in other cases free to vote (or not to vote) as they think best? Those who believe in a stricter pledge can have it for themselves, but a much larger number will be ready to take it in a modified form, and both will have the same kind of moral effect.

No vague general declaration from any candidate should be accepted, such as "a thorough and radical reform in the civil service," which might mean a change of men without any change of system. Let it be clearly understood that the "reform" demanded is based upon the English system of civil service, which has for its essential features competitive examinations in appointments to the subordinate offices, with absolute independence of political considerations, successive promotions to the higher grades of the service as in the army and navy, and, for all except the heads of departments, assured tenure of place during good behavior. When this last is fully secured the assessment of salaries and similar abuses may be safely left to regulate themselves. F. H.

Pittsburgh, Nov. 9, 1880.

AN ANACHRONISM.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The November number of *Scribner's Monthly* contains a copiously illustrated article, by Joseph B. Gilder, on "Bordentown and the Bonapartes," in which is the following passage:

"When Lafayette made his triumphal progress through the States in 1824, he was received by the Count with open arms, notwithstanding the fact that he had been denounced as a traitor in Napoleon's will. The Marquis had been paying a visit to General Moreau at Trenton, and was escorted to Bordentown by a troop of Pennsylvania cavalry."

As General Moreau died September 2, 1813, and had been buried at St. Petersburg eleven years when Lafayette revisited America, I presume that the latter only visited the ruins of Moreau's mansion at Morristown, opposite Trenton, if, indeed, there is any foundation for the story. The American local articles in pictorial magazine literature abound in similar reckless errors. One of the earliest numbers of *Scribner's* contained a grossly inaccurate sketch of Marcia Burns, proprietress of the site of Washington City, which Col. W. H. Philip, executor of the estate, properly stigmatized. G. A. T.

THE USE OF WRITING.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: What is the use of preaching and writing? Two years ago you had a controversy with the Rev. Thos. K. Beecher on the currency. Later the Hon. David A. Wells devoted a letter in your columns to his case, in which the "milk-tickets" illustration was used. On the part of yourselves and Mr. Wells it was simply a knock-down argument. How one could survive it is impossible to see; yet last election the Rev. Thomas K. Beecher ran for Congress on a Greenback ticket. What is the use of writing?

Yours truly, J. A. Walker.

November 13, 1880.

[You might as well ask, What is the use of the courts, or the police, or of any other reformatory or preventive agency? Besides this, it is to be observed that, as Dr. Johnson long ago pointed out, when you have provided a good argument you have done your whole duty; the responsibility of providing intelligence enough to be convinced by it rests on others.—Ed. Nation.]

Notes.

Henry Holt & Co. have in press 'Our Familiar Songs, and Those Who Made Them,' with words and music, edited by Mrs. Helen Kendrick Johnson; vol. ii. of Taine's 'French Revolution,' translated by John Durand; 'Sister Augustine, an Old Catholic,' by Augustus J. C. Hare; 'Poems,' by Robert K. Weeks; 'The Child's Astronomy,' by J. D. Champlin, jr.; and a 'History of Modern Europe,' by C. A. Fyffe.——J. B. Lippincott & Co. announce 'Vignettes of Travel,' by W. W. Nevin; 'Shakespeare's Dream,' by Wm. Leighton; 'Oldtime Child-life,' by E. H. Arr; and the miscellaneous writings of the late Dr. Francis Lieber. A reduction in the price of *Lippincott's Magazine* is promised with the new year.——Moses King, Cambridge, has done well to reprint from the Harvard Register Mr. Henry F. Jenks's interesting paper on the history of the Boston Public Latin School. Its value is enhanced by several wood-cuts.——Nothing need be said by way of comment on the hundred pictures from Doré's Bible series chosen to make up the 'Bible Gallery' just issued by Cassell, Petter & Galpin. A portrait and life of Doré are prefixed to the descriptive text of Talbot W. Chambers, D.D.——Encouraged by the success of their last year's Christmas annual, the 'Stage Door,' the Messrs. Routledge have brought out this year the 'Green Room,' edited, like its predecessor, by Mr. Clement Scott, and, like it, containing contributions only from those connected with the stage as author, actor, or critic. There are articles of one kind or another by Mr. Henry Irving, Mr. W. J. Florence, Mr. F. C. Burnand, Mr. H. J. Byron, and Mme. Modjeska. The best thing in the little book is an anecdote of the founder of the theatre which was long our best: when Mr. James W. Wallack was once playing *Rover* in "Wild Oats" at the Haymarket he was greatly annoyed by an old gentleman near the stage, who rose and began to put on his overcoat. "I beg your pardon, sir," said Wallack, "but the piece is not quite over." The old gentleman was entirely prepared, and replied: "Thank you, Mr. Wallack, but I've had quite enough of it!"——'American or Standard Whist' is the title of a neat volume of two hundred and fifty pages written by "G. W. P." and published by James R. Osgood & Co. The American differs from the English whist of Cavendish and his followers in that it is played in strict silence, honors are not counted, and the game is seven points. Assuming that American whist is played by gentlemen who do not need

to be watched, and who can get enough interest out of the game without betting, the laws and rules are greatly simplified. "G. W. P." is outspoken and iconoclastic, but his manner is in general courteous, and a lover of whist is likely to find many new views in this book, which will be a wholesome stimulant to indolent "book"-players.——Those whom a part contents as well as the whole, will find also the cheapness of a 'Handy Book of Popular Quotations' (Putnams) a recommendation. The poetical extracts are arranged alphabetically, not omitting the *a*'s and *the*'s, and there is a catch-word index.——A novel, and doubtless to many a welcome, compilation is Cecil Arnold's 'Index to Shakspearian Thought,' consisting of classified passages derived from the plays and poems (Scribner & Welford). The grouping is instructive, and as for the classification we must put up with it, for it is next to impossible to meet every requirement of reference. Thus, one pleasant feature of this collection is its embodying the minor songs, but in looking for the dirge from "Cymbeline" "Dirge" might seem the last title under which to look for it. On the other hand, under "Merry" one might expect to find the song of Autolycus. The book is beautifully made.——An account of the library of the late Edward Fournier, with a portrait and a charming view of his overflowing and disordered *cabinet du travail*, makes a delightful "first paper" in *Le Livre* for October. Among notable books reviewed in this number, or in *Polybiblion* of the same date, we remark Julien Bregeault's 'Procès contre les cadavres dans l'ancien droit'; Champfleury's 'Histoire de la caricature sous la Réforme et la Ligue,' to be followed by a history of caricature in the East; the beginning of an important series on the typographic antiquities of France, Claudin's 'Origines de l'imprimerie à Albi en Languedoc' (1480–84), a work of great originality and authority; Alfred de Besancenet's 'Le général Dommartin en Italie et en Égypte' (1786–90); Lespinasse's edition of Étienne de Boileau's 'Livre des Métiers'; and a promising series of 'Questions controversées de l'histoire et de la science,' just begun to be published by the Société Bibliographique.——B. Westermann & Co. send us the first number of *Le Roman des Familles*, a bimonthly magazine, published at Berlin, under the direction of M. G. Van Muyden—a curious combination of nationalities. Its tales will be what are called in this country "original" (*inédits*), and it will occasionally give a *comédie de société*. Foot-notes explain Parisian or provincial locutions, etc., and everything unclean will be scrupulously kept out.——Among the new publications of Hachette & Cie., of Paris, is an illustrated octavo volume of 'Voyages et Découvertes des Compagnons de Colomb,' translated and abridged by M. J. Girardin from Washington Irving. Perhaps this French practical testimonial to Irving's merit may be taken to offset a characteristically British criticism in a recent number of *Notes and Queries*, to the effect that if Irving had rightly appreciated Dutch character "he would never have published that very foolish, would-be humorous burlesque, 'The History of New York.'"——Mr. F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia, continuing his gallery of deceased notabilities, has just issued an excellent imperial photograph of the late Mrs. Lucretia Mott.

—Mr. George Haven Putnam, concerning whose part of his publication, 'Hints for Home Reading,' it was recently remarked in these columns that "another publisher would have made a different list" (*i.e.*, of books suitable for libraries), construes the remark as an accusation of using his position as editor to push his own publications. We are glad to assure him explicitly that we designed nothing further than an allusion to a natural and no doubt unconscious bias in favor of works with which he had of necessity a more intimate acquaintance than "another publisher" would.

—The *Atlantic* for December is decidedly a literary number, though a paper on "Libel and Its Legal Remedy" has a social, the usual "Reminiscences of Washington" an historical, and "The Æsthetic Value of the Sense of Smell" perhaps a scientific, interest. In the last Mr. Henry T. Finck speculates curiously, and reminds us of various curious though familar facts bearing upon his subject. He does not look for a "nosonicon" soon, however, because there are no scales in odors, and because artificial scents are inferior to natural. Some one in a review of Mr. Mallock makes the point that he is everywhere except in 'Is Life Worth Living?' uncertain, and gives him what by this time we should suppose many people will admit is the good advice to "study Joseph de Maistre on Voltaire if he would know what are the most efficient weapons against atheism." The novels of the period are treated at great length and with a discrimination, in our opinion at least, which makes the article a safe "guide," if such be its purpose, but fails to make it of absorbing interest in itself. Mr. T. S. Perry has a number of remarks about "Gray, Collins, and Beattie," the sum of which is that the poets in question have merits that it is possible to overlook, and that the common notion that their age was unfavorable to poetry is to a certain extent a mistaken one. To what extent, Mr. Perry does not say, and, of course, it would be difficult to say; but we wish he had attempted it with a little more enthusiasm. A paper on "Mary Wollstonecraft," by Mr. G. E. Woodberry, is very sympathetically written, and is, from this cause chiefly perhaps, a successful literary portrait. Mr. Woodberry is "tempted to link her name with that of George Sand; . . . vast as was the difference in their genius, they belong to the same order of women"—an association that would bear more specific and elaborate justification. Mr. Stedman has some verses on the late Mr. Sanford Gifford, and Dr. Holmes some on the late Prof. Peirce. Two reviews of George's 'Progress and Poverty' deserve special attention.

—The instalment of Mr. James's 'The Portrait of a Lady' in the December *Atlantic* strikes us as a literary performance of a very high order. It indicates, to be sure, more emphatically than even his recent writings have done how wholly he has abandoned the realm of romance and the potentialities of the dramatic and heroic elements to be found therein; and these have so long been esteemed so essential to a novel of any large importance that Mr. James's discarding of them, after he had shown an unquestionable ability to deal with them, naturally seems a pity. Nevertheless, though there is not a situation, hardly an incident, and almost no narrative in these chapters, they make some of the most interesting reading we have met with for some time in fiction, old or new. They are, it need scarcely be said, the data of character, and to find this unfolded from without in a manner variously delightful enough to furnish a criticism upon the superiority of the recognized method—namely, development from within—is a disarming surprise. One asks himself, after enjoying the subtle and sympathetic dissection in itself and witnessing the unexpected result of it in distinct portraiture, if, after all, too much value has not been set upon the mere terminology of the art of novel-writing, and if Mr. James is not wiser than his critics in disregarding it and following his unmistakable bent for analysis. At any rate it is safe to admit that in his deft hands the scalpel is a very effective instrument, and an introspective age will certainly condone the violation of traditions if the analysis is well enough done. Nearly every sentence of the thirty pages or less that the current instalment fills is a revelation of some occult and individual yet typical trait; and there is so much skill evinced in the process that the reader feels irresistibly flattered at the homage paid to his perceptive powers throughout. Perhaps when, as in the natural course of things must happen, we come to some event further on, Mr. James will be less happy, but we trust he will not get tired of this story before he has thought out and polished every detail as carefully as he has done so far.

—In Lieutenant-Colonel Garrick Mallery's 'Collection of Gesture Signs and Signals of the North American Indians' (Washington: Government Printing-Office. 1880. Quarto, 329 pages) more than two thousand signs, in alphabetical order, representing several hundred different ideas, are minutely described by the author, formerly Chief Signal Officer of the U. S. A. The material, which is unprecedentedly large, was furnished by about forty special correspondents throughout the Union and other parts of North America, and by pure-blooded Indians who had been sent on official business by their tribes to the authorities in Washington, and willingly supplied Colonel Mallery's collaborator, Dr. T. W. Hoffman, with a plentiful and reliable array of gestures new to explorers. With all these results the author has compared the sundry systems of deaf-mute sign-speech, the signs made by the Cistercian monks, by the Italian peasants, and by several Asiatic and Australian nations. The inventiveness, imagination, and powers of combination displayed here by the American Indian are really astonishing; he is able to sketch even *colors* with unmistakable mimicry, and has also developed a sign for the idea of color taken as a generic term. The mode of forming signs for tribal names is of special interest to the ethnologist, and in this particular the various tribes show a greater consensus than in many other directions. These signs will explain several of the tribal names now current. Thus, the Cheyennes are designated as a "butcher" tribe by the fingers of the right hand drawn across the left arm or wrist; the Pawnees as the "wolf" tribe, by raising two fingers of each hand above the ears or head; a portion of this tribe, one of their four sub-divisions, once lived on Loup River, a fork of the Platte River, and about the year 1820 three of these sub-divisions were found roaming on both sides of the same fork. An Indian speaking about the Crows, or Absárokas, of Montana, will make the sign of flapping wings; about the Nez-Percés and the Caddos, by the gesture of piercing the nose, although the former had renounced this custom before they became acquainted with the whites. The Káyowa tribe is designated by combining the signs for *prairie* and *drinking water*; "Indian" is expressed by rubbing the back of the left hand lightly with the index of the right, which points to the idea of color, and hence "to dark-skinned." Although a considerable number of Indian gesture signs are of modern origin, we cannot doubt that such as express concrete acts and objects known to everybody are of high antiquity and have undergone but a few unimportant modifications. Colonel Mallery's treatise forms the fourth publication of the ethnologic series of the United States Bureau of Ethnology.

—"After dinner," wrote John Quincy Adams in his diary, on July 11, 1836, his seventieth birthday, which he was spending in Philadelphia, "Benjamin Lundy came at six, and I walked with him to the house of his friend, James Mott, No. 136 North Ninth Street, where there was a large tea and

evening party of men and women—all of the Society of Friends. I had free conversation with them till between ten and eleven o'clock, upon slavery, the abolition of slavery, and other topics; of all of which the only exceptionable part was the undue proportion of talking assumed by me, and the indiscretion and vanity in which I indulged myself. Lucretia Mott, the mistress of the house, wife of James Mott, is a native of the island of Nantucket, and had heard of my visit there last September. She is sensible and lively, and an abolitionist of the most intrepid school." In this brief entry the ex-President compressed the salient traits of the late Mrs. Mott—unbounded hospitality and philanthropy, unflinching courage, a bright and vigorous intellect; but to these should have been added a more than Quaker sweetness of spirit and aspect, which venerable age only made the more striking. She was in her prime when Mr. Adams recorded his impressions of her, and had not yet become, at least in the full sense, a representative American woman. For eighteen years she had been "in the ministry" among Friends; she had, in 1827, parted from her Calvinistic associates to unite with the followers of Elias Hicks; she had been among the first to receive Garrison on his release from Baltimore jail, and had taken an active part in forming the American Anti-Slavery Society in December, 1833, and a local Female Anti-Slavery Society in the succeeding year, thus, contrary to the prevailing narrowness of her sect, co-operating with the "world's people" in the chief humanitarian movement of the age. The mob era had already set in: in the previous October the editor of the *Liberator* had been hustled through the streets of Boston at the peril of his life, and on the day following the interview with Mr. Adams the first midnight assault was made on Bailey's anti-slavery press in Cincinnati. In 1837 Lovejoy was murdered at Alton; in May, 1838, Pennsylvania Hall, dedicated to "free discussion," was burnt on the fourth day after its opening, with the connivance of the city authorities of Philadelphia. Mrs. Mott spoke on the third day at a meeting of anti-slavery women, while brickbats were crashing through the windows, to the terror of a purely female audience; on the next day, before a similar gathering, and while the building was again surrounded by rioters, she "exhorted the members of the Convention to be steadfast and solemn in the prosecution of the business for which they were assembled." Men had been excluded from these meetings because it was still "considered improper for women to address promiscuous assemblies," and Mrs. Mott had expressed the "hope that such false notions of delicacy and propriety would not long obtain in this enlightened country." In 1840 this question became the touchstone of the abolitionists, who divided in consequence of opposite views about it, and the "Old Organization" appointed "our beloved friends William L. Garrison, N. P. Rogers, C. L. Remond, and Lucretia Mott" delegates to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention to be held in London in June of that year, with Clarkson for President. British feeling, however, sympathized with the prejudices of the New Organization, and Mrs. Mott and her sister delegates were not recognized. She accordingly took her seat in the gallery, as appears in Haydon's huge painting of the scene, now in the National Portrait Gallery. In July, 1848, James Mott presided at the first Woman's Rights Convention, held at Seneca Falls, N. Y., and his wife, one of the four ladies who had called it (another was her sister, the late Martha Wright), was among the speakers. Of her subsequent career it is enough to say that she remained prominently identified with these two (we might almost say twin) causes, with the cause of temperance and of free religion. As a speaker she was far above the level of the "ministry" to which she belonged, but her presence rather than her oratory distinguished her among the women speakers of our time. In spite of some published utterances, she was not properly a writer, in this respect offering no comparison with the late Mrs. Child. Socially her home was the centre of an immense circle, and here the Burleighs, McKim, Whittier, Lowell, and a troop of other philanthropists, young and old, were entertained almost as sons and brothers. The fugitive slave knew it also as a safe harbor, and the poor and needy never left it empty-handed. Mrs. Mott was born on the island of Nantucket on Jan. 3, 1793, her father being Thomas Coffin, of the line of the British Admiral Coffin, and her mother Anna Folger, of the stock from which Benjamin Franklin was derived. The shrewdness, humor, and common-sense of the author of 'Poor Richard' were well represented in the kinswoman who has just departed, and who was not more remarkable for her vitality than for the endurance of her mental faculties, and her eager interest to the last in current thought and in all good work for the improvement of mankind. Her husband, whom she survived, was in every way worthy of her.

—The first concert of the Philharmonic Society introduced a programme of great interest, which was, almost without exception, performed in a highly satisfactory manner. Finer ensemble-playing than that by the string instruments on Saturday evening has seldom been heard. The opening number was Beethoven's "Eroica," a work equally familiar to the musicians who played it and to the audience who listened to it, and which only calls for the remark that Mr. Thomas took the Funeral March unusually slow, differing in this respect from many distinguished conductors, who are of opinion that a slightly increased tempo gives additional effect to the movement. The second orchestral number was the Introduction to the third act of Wagner's "Meistersinger." The selection of this piece was not very fortunate, for to understand and appreciate it one must be familiar with the opera. It is intended, like most of Wagner's orchestral introductions to the different acts of his operas, to convey an idea of distinct dramatic situations which either have already occurred or are going to take place. Nobody unacquainted with the opera will be able to follow Wagner's ideas in this beautiful composition. The last number was Berlioz's romantic symphony, "Harold in Italy," interesting as a musical experiment. Berlioz selected a solo instrument to represent the leading actor in this dramatic tone-picture. The viola represents Byron's hero, Childe Harold, and the plaintive strains of this instrument resound again and again throughout the four movements, recalling the melancholy wanderer. The symphony in its entirety has not been heard here for many years. The great orchestral difficulties, the fantastic, often eccentric, character both of conception and construction, will always prevent it from becoming a popular work. Under Mr. Thomas's careful, strong hand the orchestra overcame them with admirable precision, and Mr. Schwazy played the solo viola part with great taste and feeling. Mr. Joseffy surpassed himself in playing the graceful and brilliant Henselt Concerto, and in a Scherzo by Litolf, which he gave as an encore, he displayed an amount of mechanical skill which no living virtuoso has ever exceeded.

—The first of a series of piano recitals by Miss Anna Bock attracted a very numerous audience to Steinway Hall. The young artist appeared with a programme of great interest and scope. In a trio by Raff she was assisted by Messrs. Brandt and Müller, and displayed marked intelligence and judgment in avoiding a mistake frequently committed even by more experienced artists: Miss Bock never attempted to make the piano prevail over the other instruments, and the whole performance was one of the best specimens of chamber-music ever listened to in New York. In her solo numbers she gave evidence of those desirable qualities which were favorably noticed last year when she first returned from Europe: brilliant technique, a soft and melodious touch, great power, and excellent artistic taste. Her rendering of the celebrated Sonata in C sharp minor, the "Moonlight," was especially commendable. Her greatest technical accomplishment was one of Chopin's Études, Op. 10, No. 2, which ranks among the composer's most difficult works, and in which she overcame the most break-neck passages with delightful ease and self-confidence. The remaining numbers by Mozart, Scarlatti, and Saint-Saëns were executed with equal merit, and Miss Bock may count her first appearance this season a genuine success.

—A correspondent writes us as follows:

"The strictures on the appreciative faculty of the Germans in matters of American fiction (*Nation*, No. 801) seem rather severe. Spielhagen, although a writer of much-read novels, most of which enjoy great popularity in American translations, is not considered a high authority as a littérateur. As the chief editor of *Westermann's Monatshefte*, however, it is not likely that he could help knowing Henry James, jr., as an American author. Of the three translations published in Germany of 'The American' one, by the now famous M. Busch, forms vols. vi. and vii. of 'Amerikanische Novellisten'; the second is translated "Aus dem Amerikanischen," and the third is part of Auerbach's 'Transatlantische Roman-Bibliothek.' Neither does it seem such an entirely common notion with the Germans that Bret Harte is the only living American author of note, since there are many good translations of Emerson's, N. Hawthorne's, Holmes's, Bryant's, and Howells's works at least, not to speak of Asher's and Tauchnitz's reprints of the originals—both literary enterprises of which no other nation can boast and which seem to show that good novels in the English language are more appreciated in Germany, and read, too, either in the original or translations, than in any other, not English-speaking, country. One more proof of the ever-growing interest the Germans take in American literature: Dr. R. Doehn, a former resident among us, has just published 'Aus dem Amerikanischen Dichterwald, Literar-historische Skizzen' (Leipzig: O. Wigand; New York: B. Westermann & Co.), from which book Spielhagen or any other German can derive all the information needed for an appreciative judgment on 'hopeful Americans.' We quote from his preface: 'The time has long gone by when American literature, and poetry in particular, was in its age of childhood. The fetters of intellectual dependence on English models are fairly loosened if not entirely broken. The American, politically and industrially independent, cultivates poetry also from a standpoint of his own. For obvious reasons the interest in the poetical literature of America has been steadily growing for some time in Europe, and in Germany especially, and hence, from this point of view also, my work may be a timely undertaking.'"

—The effective and increasing activity of the native scholars of India, in emulation of Europeans, in the work of laying open to present knowledge the ancient records of their literature, is one of the encouraging signs of the times. Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt has recently published at Calcutta (Trübner, London) the first volume of an English translation of the *Râja-Tarangini*, or Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir, well known as the book in Sanskrit literature to which cleaves a larger percentage of historical character than to any other. A much more extensive and important work is a version (Bombay and

London: Trübner) of two of the authoritative treatises of Hindu law, the *Vyavahâra Mayûkha* and *Yâjnavalkya*, by a native lawyer of the highest standing and connections, named Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik. The version is richly provided with notes containing references to other leading authorities and extracts from them, and an elaborate introduction and appendices constitute nearly half the volume. So valuable a single contribution to the vexed and difficult subject of modern Hindu law-practice has hardly been made before, and it is the more trustworthy as coming from one who is able to look at things from the point of view of the native. The Sanskrit text of the two treatises is added in a companion volume.

—Some very interesting data as to the prevalence and manner of occurrence of defective vision are given by Dr. Eugen Netoliczka in his recently-published pamphlet, entitled 'Untersuchungen über Farbenblindheit und Kurzsichtigkeit.' In this paper the author details the results of an exhaustive series of enquiries made by himself during the years 1879 and 1880, mainly upon the students of Gratz, Styria, and covering several thousand individuals. As to Daltonism, or color-blindness, Dr. Netoliczka arrives at the general conclusion: 1. That the affection is hereditary, and quotes in confirmation of his own observations those of Magnus, which, in addition, tend to prove that, as in the case of other hereditary transmissions, there is frequently a manifestation only with the second generation. 2. It is very rarely present among females. Of 819 girls examined not one was found to be color-blind. Magnus and Cohn, in Breslau, and Jeffries, in Boston, obtained equally negative results from examinations respectively of 2,216, 1,061, and 1,025 individuals; Dor, on the other hand, reports that he has observed among 611 females examined in Berlin five cases of color-blindness. This immunity from an affection which is developed to the extent of about four per cent. among males is attributed to circumstances connected with female occupation. Constant attention paid to the harmonious contrasting of shade and color, whether in dress or in design, from earliest childhood to mature womanhood, acts as a developing agent upon the sense of color perception, and hence the superiority, in this particular, of the female eye and of the eyes of such as have to do with the careful analysis of color. This view receives support from the fact that in the country, as compared with the city, cases of partial color-blindness are much more numerous, doubtless because country people, as a rule, attach comparatively little significance to, or are imperfectly educated in, color-harmony. 3. Daltonism is in no way connected with defective definition in vision. 4. The inability to distinguish red colors is of much the most frequent occurrence, violet blindness being comparatively rare. 5. Certain persons, while readily able to distinguish between colors when near at hand, fail to do so at a distance. This form of partial Daltonism, from its practical importance, especially invites the attention of railroad officials, and ought to receive far more consideration in the examination of employees than has hitherto been the case. 6. Color-blindness, if not absolutely curable, may to some extent be mitigated through proper treatment. An examination of 4,500 students, composed of about an equal number of individuals of both sexes, attending the lower schools (*Volks- und Bürgerschüler*), showed a far greater prevalence of short-sightedness among girls than boys, the ratio being nearly as 14 to 10 per cent. This is attributed to an extra strain upon the organs of vision induced by hand-work, which, in addition to the normal studies of the class, is compulsory upon the female attendants of the schools. Short-sightedness obtains most among the highest and the lowest classes, the members of the middle class being most exempt. Country people are less affected than the inhabitants of a city, and thus, perhaps, enjoy ample compensation for their lack of color perception. The opinion held by Dr. Netoliczka that myopia is frequently the result of hereditary transmission is combated by Prof. Cohn, who maintains (in the address recently delivered before the German Association in Danzig) that the affection is rarely if ever congenital, but is rather induced by an injurious method of study during childhood.

RECENT WORKS ON EDGAR POE.*

IT is certainly a strong tribute to the unique genius of Edgar Allan Poe that there should have appeared within a month or two no less than three elaborate biographies or critiques in regard to him. Simultaneously with the appearance of Mr. Ingram's extended memoir we have a more condensed biography by Mr. R. H. Stoddard, said to have been prepared expressly for a volume of 'Select Works of Poe,' though based on a previous memoir; and we have also a reprint of Mr. E. C. Stedman's careful critique, which first appeared in *Scribner's Monthly*. These publications are a recognition of Poe's genius, but they are also, in part, the fruit of whatever was *bizarre* or melodramatic in his career. No sober poet, who pays his bills regularly and keeps the ten commandments—who, in the immortal words of Hosea Biglow, "stays to hum and looks arter his folks"—can afford such tempting material to a biographer as one who, if less gifted, yet occasionally disappears for a year or two without trace of his wanderings, and who, when his whereabouts are best known, sometimes gives his friends most reason to wish him still a wanderer. All that makes Poe's career least defensible—his vices, quarrels, desperate straits, attempted suicides, ardent and sometimes simultaneous love-affairs—all these afford great resources for the biographer, who has reason to be grateful for a subject who did not dwell in decencies for ever. It is almost amusing to see how each new memoir of Poe professes to be the first to tell the real story of his life; and how each, while denouncing the obvious malice of Griswold, ends by re-establishing almost all the damaging facts which Griswold left only half-proved. If Poe fared ill at the hands of his enemy, he has fared worse, on the whole, at those of his friends. With every disposition to make the best of the man, we must honestly own that we never thought so ill of him as on closing the last page of Mr. Ingram's two bulky volumes.

Of the three books before us, that of Mr. Ingram is the work of a laborious and not very discriminating annalist; while Mr. Stoddard's is that of a man of much poetic feeling, who is, however, too fond of disguising himself as a jaunty and rather cynical man of the world. Both these are essentially biographies, tempered, in Mr. Ingram's case, with a little criticism, and in Mr. Stoddard's with more. Mr. Stedman's essay is pure criticism, and is, like all his work in that direction, of very high character. There is sometimes a little prolixity and perhaps over-refining; a touch of judicial self-consciousness, a dallying with his golden chain, like Tennyson's chancellor—we sometimes wish for the abrupter decision of Mr. Stoddard's more trenchant strokes; yet these are but a small abatement of the praise due for such admirable work. In these respects the English biographer is at great disadvantage, compared with the American critics; he adds a good deal to our detailed information, but scarcely anything to our critical resources.

Probably no man living has taken so much pains as Mr. Ingram to collect all possible memorials of Poe, and he deserves hearty thanks for this zeal. On the other hand, it is probable that the hastiest American writer has the advantage of knowing more of Poe's *milieu*, and of the influences around him, than his English biographer. Mere remoteness makes it hard for Mr. Ingram to understand the society in which his hero mingled, the people whom he loved or hated, and the opportunities and temptations that surrounded him. It also leads him into biographical inaccuracies, as in his assumption (i. 165) that the first two-volume collection of 'Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque' made no impression upon the public. Contrast this with the personal reminiscence of Mr. Stedman, which we can heartily confirm, in regard to this very collection of stories: "With what eagerness we caught them from hand to hand until many of us knew them by heart" (Stedman, p. 35). But in a more general way this want of local knowledge mars the work of Mr. Ingram. We can pardon the high-sounding sentence with which the memoir opens, "Edgar Allan Poe was of gentle birth," although the plain, unvarnished fact is that he was the son of two strolling players, and that his paternal grandfather was an Irish wheelwright. The whole theory of descent from the Le Poer family is disowned by the American Poes, and was apparently a bit of romantic enthusiasm on the part of Mrs. Whitman, whose maiden name was Power, and who liked to fancy herself a blood relation of her betrothed (Ingram, ii. 248). This social ambition is a common weakness of biographers, and is not to be severely censured. But Mr. Ingram's explaining the fact of Poe's adoption, with his brother and sister, into other families after the death of their parents, as being "in accordance with a custom not uncommon in republican countries" (i. 9), becomes amusing in view of the fact that M. La Vigne has just called attention to the prevalence of the same practice in Russia; and nothing can well be more preposterous than seriously to attribute the unpopularity of Poe's writings with some of his countrymen to the fact that in his "Some Words with a Mummy" he describes thirteen Egyptian states as governed by a tyrant named Mob. After fully stating the bearing of this *jeu d'esprit*, Mr. Ingram adds these words: "The Americans being too susceptible to relish a joke at their own expense" (ii. 13). Probably a single day of a Presidential canvass would convince even an English biographer that if there is anything in which Americans revel, it is in jokes at their own expense; all branches of the English race fortunately take such jokes with a relish, and the countrymen of Mark Twain most of all. It was really Poe, not his readers, who had no relish for a joke; there was not an impulse of innocent play about him; every jest must either carry a sting or be saturated with the atmosphere of sepulchres.

It shows the unconsciousness of Mr. Ingram's frequent partisanship that he sometimes gives on the same page his impressions and the facts which refute these impressions. If there was anything for which Poe habitually posed, it was the "chivalrous" attitude; he used to say to his female admirers, "I cannot point an arrow against any woman" (Mrs. Weiss in Stoddard, clxv.) Accordingly his biographer takes him at his word, assuming, as a thing undoubted, "Poe's invariable courtesy towards women" (ii. 46), and then takes pains to preserve, in the very next paragraph, a vulgar personal assault upon Miss Walter, of the Boston *Transcript*, a dignified and most estimable

* 'Edgar Allan Poe: his Life, Letters, and Opinions. By John H. Ingram.' With portraits of Poe and his Mother. London: John Hogg. 1880. 2 vols.
'Select Works of Edgar Allan Poe: Poetical and Prose. With a new memoir, by R. H. Stoddard.' Household Edition. New York: W. J. Widdleton. 1880.
Edgar Allan Poe By E. C. Stedman.' Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1881.

lady, whose only offence was in properly reproving the conduct of Poe—which Mr. Stedman justly calls "absurd and outrageous"—in connection with his poem before the Boston Lyceum. How much lower deeps even than this could be fathomed by this chivalrous poet in flinging slander against a woman who had offended what Stedman (again) calls his "measureless self-esteem," will be seen when we turn to Mr. Ingram's exhibition of his duplicity toward Mrs. Whitman.

It is hard to recall, among all the sad revelations of literary biography, anything so utterly dastardly as the whole record of Poe's life, as revealed by his own letters, during his brief betrothal to this unselfish and generous woman. Something of this may have been before suspected, but Mr. Ingram gives the whole evidence, sparing us no damning detail of date, and showing conclusively that during the very period when he was writing to this lady as ardently and as reverentially as ever lover wrote to his betrothed—while she was using all her influence to redeem him from his debasing habits, and was undergoing agonies of doubt and fear for his sake—he was constantly solacing himself by writing other letters equally ardent, and often on alternate days, to a lady whose name Mr. Ingram discreetly veils as "Annie"; while the worthy Mrs. Clemm, his mother-in-law, was apparently using all her influence to detach him from his intended wife, and to cultivate his romantic passion for her rival. Let us consider some steps in the affair. On October 18 he wrote to Mrs. Whitman as his "best and only-beloved Helen"; even after this she hesitated about marrying him, and all her friends tried to prevent it; he attempted suicide in Boston, passed a night of wild delirium in Providence, had a terrible scene with her in the morning, and she decided to be his wife "in the hope of being enabled to preserve him from his impending doom" (Ingram, ii. 177). She then gave her pledge, "upon condition that he never touched intoxicants again." Poe went to New York to make arrangements for his marriage, and wrote to her on November 14: "Beloved of my heart, of my imagination, of my intellect—life of my life, soul of my soul—dearest, beloved Helen, how shall I ever thank you as I ought?" In a letter written a few days afterward he describes a cottage where he dreamed of himself and his beloved as dwelling, afar from the world (Ingram, ii. 179). It almost surpasses belief when we find that on the 16th of November he was writing in a strain quite as impassioned to "Annie," telling her that she must come to him, that he "cannot live," and conjuring up another picture of a cottage, far from the world, as attractive as the first one, with her near him as his guardian angel:

"It is not *much* that I ask, *sweet sister Annie*. My mother and myself would take a small cottage—oh! *so* small—so *very* humble—I should be far away from the tumult of the world—from the ambition which I loathe—I would labor day and night, and with industry I could accomplish *so* much. Annie! it would be a Paradise beyond my wildest hopes. I could see some of your beloved family every day, and you often. Do not these pictures touch your inmost heart? . . . *Farewell*, here and hereafter. For ever your own Eddy" (Ingram, ii. 194).

With this "heartrending epistle," as Mr. Ingram calls it, from a lover who had just been moving heaven and earth to get himself betrothed to somebody else, Mrs. Clemm also sends "Annie" a note written by herself under this same date of Nov. 16, saying: "He raved all night about you, but is now more composed." If this were a solitary instance, it would be less humiliating; but the thing was chronic. This spiritual bigamy seems to have been just the condition in which Poe revelled, in his then half-insane condition; and all through that month, by Mr. Ingram's merciless showing, he was alternately turning the stops of emotion for "Helen" and for "Annie." He kept on writing to Mrs. Whitman, by Mr. Ingram's statement, "a series of idiosyncratic epistles" (ii. 178), and almost on the same day he would write in an equally idiosyncratic manner to the other lady, who seems to have had, for a time at least, sufficient propriety not to answer them. Thus he wrote (Nov. 22) to "sweet Helen": "My sole hope now is in you, Helen. As you are true to me or fail me, so do I live or die" (ii. 180). Then he wrote on the very next day (Nov. 23) to "Annie's" sister: "If there is any pity in your heart, reply immediately to this and let me know why it is I do not hear from Annie. . . . Her silence fills my whole soul with terror. . . . Let me but hear from her once more, and I can bear whatever happens. . . . You would pity me if you knew the agony that is in my heart as I write these words" (ii. 196).

This is bad enough, but worse follows. He broke his pledge of abstinence, and Mrs. Whitman dismissed him. Yet on the 11th of January he had the baseness to write to his other correspondent that the engagement was broken off by himself, and to exult in it: "I need not tell you, Annie, how great a burden is taken off my heart by my rupture with Mrs. W.; for I have fully made up my mind to break the engagement" (Ingram, ii. 202). Worse yet, he wrote a letter to Mrs. Whitman, about Jan. 23, sent it to "Annie" for herself and friends to read, with the request that it should then be sealed and posted (ii. 204), and then closes with this crowning infamy: "But of one thing rest assured, Annie—from this day forth I shun the pestilential society of *literary women*. They are a heartless, unnatural, venomous, dishonorable set, with no guiding principle but inordinate self-esteem. Mrs. Osgood is the *only* exception I know" (ii. 205).

When one reads this sentence, so plainly aimed at her whom he had deceived, wronged, and was now maligning; her who was his "guardian angel" so long as he allowed it, and who went to her grave his faithful lover and staunch defender—not knowing, let us hope, to her dying day how he wrote about her to "Annie"—no manly reader can help feeling that whatever Griswold may have done to injure the memory of Poe, the revelations of Mr. Ingram are more fatal. The indulgent public will, as in the case of Goethe, pardon almost any number of love affairs to a poet so long as he makes them consecutive, but it is absolutely impossible to throw any glamour of personal honor about a sentimentalist who is remorselessly torturing two women's hearts at the same time.

It is due to Mr. Ingram to say that, though he almost uniformly takes Poe's side during his whole life of quarrels—and this without much judicial weighing of the facts—he yet recognizes in a general way the defects of his favorite. Thus, he finds the limitation of his genius to be shown in his repetitions (i. 152); admits that criticism was not his forte (i. 249), and regrets some of his "ill-considered critiques" (i. 158). He acknowledges that the majority of Poe's works "subdue the intellect only" (i. 181); he owns that the poet's irregularities destroyed his hopes and placed his reputation in the hands of foes (i. 215); admits that his "insatiable love of hoaxing" renders it very difficult to put confidence in anything he wrote (i. 255); and shows that every woman who attempted to befriend him "deemed it necessary to let him go his ways" sooner or later (ii. 192). In view of these admissions, it is idle to treat Poe as a lofty hero obliged to herd with his inferiors, and to deprecate his descending into the arena to "combat blackguards" (ii. 86). The simple fact is that Poe loved a fight like any Irishman, and was commonly the first to toss his own hat "into the arena." Worse yet, he gave fine names to this quarrelsomeness, and made his boast, "I uniformly attacked, where I attacked at all, those who stood highest in power and influence" (ii. 172), whereas three-quarters of his bitterest onslaughts were on those who were already unpopular or unimportant. Only once, in the case of Professor Longfellow, did he fairly strike Bois-Guilbert's shield; and it is possible that he knew, as the result proved, that Bois-Guilbert would be too good-natured or too magnanimous to notice the thrust. Mr. Stoddard handles this whole matter far more wisely than Mr. Ingram, and his verdict on Poe's critical controversies will be the final one: "He advanced no critical principle which he established; he attacked no critical principle which he overthrew. He broke a few butterflies on his wheel, but he destroyed no reputation" (Stoddard, lxxxix.)

In summing up, we can say that the public is indebted to Mr. Ingram for a considerable addition to the materials for a life of Poe, but that his book leaves us, as did the far inferior work of Mr. Gill—which, by the way, Mr. Ingram studiously omits to mention in his bibliography—with the impression that Poe's true biographer is yet to come. It is hardly to be expected that a full memoir will ever be written in the spirit of Mr. Stedman's criticism—so clear, so just, so strong. On one literary point we think this agreeable writer wholly wrong: his vindication of Poe's tiresome "repetends" (p. 59), which Mr. Stoddard more justly condemns. We are surprised, too, that he should speak of "Lenore" as "one of the simplest of ballad forms" (p. 60), ignoring the fact that in its original form, as first printed in Lowell's "Pioneer," it had a lyrical play and exaltation almost as fine as that of "Israfel," which Mr. Stedman places among the first of English lyrics. The present jingling and commonplace form of "Lenore" was only one of Poe's calamitous afterthoughts, when he had become thoroughly given over to the "repetend." But most of Mr. Stedman's essay seems to us simply admirable, and many of his special points and phrases rank high in critical art, as where he classes Poe with Doré rather than with the great masters (p. 76); where he points out that, after all, the poet "loved his share of pain" and took a keen delight in the tragedy of his own existence (p. 101); where he contrasts Poe with Hawthorne, and shows that "the Puritanism by which Hawthorne's strength was tempered was also the source from which it sprang" (p. 68); and when he points out the honorable fact, in view of Poe's indebtedness to French literature, that "there is not an unchaste suggestion in all his writings" (p. 93). Mr. Stedman has in short given us much good criticism; Mr. Stoddard many good facts, including some which the ampler English memoir contrives to leave out, such as citations from Poe's plagiarized book on 'Conchology'; and Mr. Ingram has given us only too ample an array of information, covering almost all points except this alleged plagiarism. A debt is thus due to each writer, and yet we cannot help thinking how hugely it would delight Poe, were he still alive, to break his combative lance against all three.

A HERO OF THE PENINSULAR WAR.

THOMAS GRAHAM was the most distinguished of Wellington's generals in the war of the Spanish Peninsula. The originality and audacity of

his military achievements elicited the emphatic commendation of Napoleon himself, and he had the singular fortune to attract toward himself in an exceptional degree the confidence and affection of the two greatest British soldiers of his time—Sir John Moore and the Duke of Wellington. The biography of such a man deserved to be written, but we regret to say that we cannot compliment Captain Delaroye on his performance. His life of General Graham * bears little more resemblance to a book (properly so called) than a backgammon-board lettered on the back to that effect bears to a veritable 'History of England.' A certain quantity of biographical materials has been placed at his disposal, and Captain Delaroye has been content with "shooting" these into a common receptacle, and styling the operation a 'Life of Thomas Graham, Lord Lynedoch.' No researches have been made in the voluminous literature of the Peninsular War for information wherewith to supplement and complete these imperfect records; and so scanty are the Captain's explanatory comments that, except to a reader who brings to the perusal a very considerable knowledge of the Napoleonic period, the book would be hardly intelligible. Some weeks ago we regretted that the life of such a hero of romance as Sir James Outram should have been entrusted to hands so little capable of doing justice to the stirring theme. The regret is even more poignant in the case of General Graham. Lord Lynedoch's military career was exceptional throughout. He did not enter the army until he was past the age of forty. Up to that time he had been a Scottish gentleman of fortune, living on his estates, representing in Parliament, as one of the "old Whigs," the county of Perth, and devoted to the sports of the field. It was in following these that he acquired those powers of endurance, that splendid horsemanship, the keen eye for the configuration of a country, and the rapid judgment and decision which were destined to do his country such good service in its struggle with Napoleon. The death of a dearly-loved and beautiful wife was the cause of his becoming a soldier. Amid the perils and adventures of war he hoped to find distraction from melancholy remembrances from which there was no escape in the quiet and leisure of a country life. The town of Toulon was at that time held by a combined force of British, Spanish, and Neapolitan troops, and was besieged by the armies of the French Republic. Lord Mulgrave was in command of the British contingent, and Mr. Graham, without either military rank or a commission in the army, became his aide-de-camp. Such irregularities were possible in those days, and now and then, as in the present instance, for example, were justified by the result. In the course of a sortie against the French works Graham exhibited so much courage and such a swift, intuitive perception of what was to be done at a critical moment in the fight, that Lord Mulgrave earnestly pressed him to become a soldier, confidently predicting his future eminence if he took his advice. Graham did so.

The British Government in those days was sorely in need of troops to make good the waste of war, and country gentlemen of wealth and position were allowed and encouraged to raise regiments which they themselves were to command so long as the war lasted. It was at the same time possible for these gentlemen, at a very trifling expense, to obtain permanent rank in the British army, if they so desired it. Graham now solicited and obtained permission to raise a regiment, of which he was to be the colonel. This regiment is the present Ninetieth Light Infantry. He neglected, however, to make use of the means at that time available for securing permanent rank in the army, and this neglect was near causing the loss to the country of one of the finest soldiers she has produced. Without permanent rank, Colonel Graham was employed on a variety of highly responsible duties. As representing the British Government he was with the Austrian army under Wurmser in their endeavor to compel young General Bonaparte to raise the siege of Mantua, which terminated in Wurmser and his army being themselves shut up in the fortress they desired to relieve. Colonel Graham effected his escape from Mantua before the garrison was reduced to extremities, and, marching with Marshal Alvinczy to its relief, was present at the great battle of Rivoli, in which the Austrian army was entirely defeated. Meanwhile the Duke of York had become commander-in-chief of the British forces, and one of his first acts was to destroy all those facilities whereby temporary officers became permanent. In more than one instance the new order of things was set aside, but in the case of Colonel Graham the duke was inexorable. The fact was that Graham was "a vile Whig" (as Dr. Johnson would have termed him), and Whigs were a variety of the human race which the Court could not endure. But for an accidental ambiguity in the wording of his original commission Graham would have forfeited his military rank entirely on the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens. Much to the chagrin of the Duke of York this ambiguity saved him; but the Government refused to give him any employment suitable to his rank. No official neglect sufficed, however, to damp his ardor, and when Sir John Moore was appointed to the command of the British troops in Spain, Colonel Graham volunteered to accompany him as his aide-de-camp. The offer was eagerly accepted. The two men had long been friends, and each knew the worth of the other.

Sir John Moore is one of those rare heroic figures whose character far transcends his achievements. All the qualities which inspire admiration and command affection were so combined in him, that

> "Nature might stand up,
> And say to all the world, 'This was a man!'"

How warm and lasting were that love and admiration we know from the testimonies to his worth recorded by the Napiers, by Lord Hardinge, and by his generous antagonist, Marshal Soult. The evidence of General Graham is no less emphatic. His notices of the campaign of Corunna teem with affectionate references to the general. Interesting above all is his description of the manner of Sir John Moore on the morning of Corunna. The prospect of fighting a battle, after the long anxieties of the retreat, made the general as "happy as a lover":

"I could scarcely have believed it possible," writes Colonel Graham, "for a man so worn down with fatigue and anxiety to have been so transformed as he was on the 16th of January, 1809. It was a transition from fixed gloom, bordering almost on despair, to a state of exultation at the prospect of being attacked before an embarkation could take place. . . . On a summons from Sir J. Hope he called for his horse, and I shall never forget, not only the animation but the almost boyish gaiety of his manner and countenance, as we rode out to the lines."

All that day the general was to be seen encouraging his troops wherever the fire was hottest, and twilight was coming on when he was stricken from his horse mortally wounded. The wound was a terrible one, but such, says Colonel Graham, "was the invariable firmness of his mind, such the consciousness of his rectitude, that he bore this pain without an altered feature." Among the dying requests of Sir John Moore was an earnest entreaty that Colonel Graham should obtain permanent rank in the British army. Such a request by such a man at such a time, supported as it was by brilliant services rendered in this very campaign, could not be ignored, and shortly after Corunna Graham was gazetted as a lieutenant-general and second in command to Lord Wellington in Spain.

It is curious to contrast the actual facts of Lord Wellington's Peninsular campaigns with the popular legend about them which still prevails in England. That legend represents them as an unbroken tide of success, driving the enemy

> "Back to France with countless blows,
> Till o'er the hills her eagles flew
> Beyond the Pyrenean pines";

and it is mainly and almost exclusively to these campaigns that Englishmen are wont to attribute the fall of Napoleon. As a matter of fact, in Wellington's campaigns victory and reverses alternated throughout; and, despite his great military genius and the indomitable courage of the British soldier, he failed to loosen the French grip upon Spain until Napoleon had destroyed himself and his military power by his mad expedition into Russia. In truth, even in the melancholy annals of war, it would be hard to find a more useless waste of human life and treasure than that occasioned by the English wars in Spain. They availed nothing for the primary object for which they were undertaken, the overthrow of Napoleon. To Spain they were worse than useless, for at their close England acquiesced in the setting up of a tyranny in that country more degrading, because immeasurably more bigoted and unintelligent, than the tyranny of Napoleon, and to which the present fallen state of Spain is clearly traceable. To Great Britain herself the consequences were most disastrous. Her people, dazzled by the glare of military glory, did not care to ask themselves what they had reaped in return for all this lavish expenditure of their blood and the fruits of their industry. They knew that the Whigs had been opposed to this glorious war, while the Tories had approved and supported it. And so for nearly twenty years they submitted themselves like "dumb, driven cattle" to the yoke of a reactionary Toryism. The fruit of the Spanish war, so far as Great Britain was concerned, is to be found in that dark period of her domestic history which extends from 1815 to 1832, and in the millions which it added to her national debt.

General Graham arrived in Spain when the prospects of the allies looked very dark indeed. The campaign of Talavera had ended in the disastrous retreat of the British army within the frontiers of Portugal. Two large Spanish armies had been entirely broken up and dispersed by the French; Marshal Victor was blockading Cadiz; and Masséna, at the head of sixty thousand men, was preparing (as he and all the world believed) to drive Wellington to his ships. Neither he nor the world was cognizant of the lines of Torres Vedras. General Graham was appointed to the command of the Cadiz garrison, which, besides some Spanish troops, consisted of five or six thousand British infantry. It was while holding this command that he won the brilliant victory of Barrosa. A combined British and Spanish force had moved out of Cadiz, under the command of the Spanish general Lapena, to attack the French position at Chiclana. Owing to Lapena's incompetence this force had got itself wedged in a narrow and confined piece of ground, where certain destruction awaited it if the French succeeded in establishing themselves upon the Barrosa height. Graham, perceiving the immense importance of the position, had occupied the hill with the entire British contingent, four thousand strong, but received

* 'Life of Thomas Graham, Lord Lynedoch. By Alex. M. Delaroye, Captain 36th Foot (late 90th L. I.)' London: Richardson & Co.

from the Spanish commander a peremptory order to withdraw. He obeyed, nothing doubting that Lapena proposed to occupy the place in his stead. But no sooner had the British troops withdrawn than Lapena withdrew his men also, without, however, sending word to the British general that he had done so. Marshal Victor, with nine thousand men concealed behind the cover of a pine wood, had been eagerly watching these movements, and no sooner perceived that the Barrosa height had been abandoned than he threw forward his columns in all haste to seize it. The news of this advance reached Graham, who at once countermarched his men, expecting to find Lapena and his Spaniards still in possession of this vital point. He found on his arrival nine thousand tried French troops actually drawn up on the hill, while his Spanish allies were nowhere to be seen. Never, we suppose, was a commander placed in a more critical position. If he retired, the fate of the allied force was sealed, their destruction was inevitable; if he attacked, he would have to do it with four thousand men against nine thousand. General Graham was already past the age of sixty, but the brightness of his eye was not quenched nor the natural force of his mind abated. Swift as light his mind formed the determination to attack. The concentrated fire of twelve guns checked the advance of the French columns, and then the British infantry—hastily thrown into two divisions—were sent headlong at the enemy, the general himself leading them through the thickest of the fire. For an hour and a half a fierce struggle, bayonet to bayonet, was carried on along the summit of the hill, and then, broken and disordered, the French were driven down the slope. How severe the battle was can be judged from the fact that of the small British force of four thousand men no less than sixty officers, sixty sergeants, and twelve hundred rank and file were killed and wounded. The French army might have been entirely dispersed and the blockade of Cadiz raised but for the apathy of the Spanish general. Although close at hand, not one Spanish soldier was sent to the assistance of the small British force, and, though Graham held the heights for several hours in the hope that Lapena would make some effort to improve and complete the astonishing victory that had been won, the Spaniard remained motionless and supine, and the French drew off unmolested. Lord Wellington's comments on the whole transaction are characteristic:

"I beg to congratulate you and the brave troops under your command on the signal victory which you gained on the 5th instant [5th of March, 1811]. I have no doubt whatever that their success would have had the effect of raising the siege of Cadiz, if the Spanish troops had made any effort to assist them; and I am equally certain, from your account of the ground, that if you had not decided with the utmost promptitude to attack the enemy, and if your attack had not been a most vigorous one, the whole allied army would have been lost. . . . The conduct of the Spaniards throughout this expedition is precisely the same as I have ever observed it to be. They march the troops night and day without provisions and rest, abusing everybody who proposes a moment's delay to afford either to the famished and fatigued soldiers. They reach the enemy in such a state as to be unable to make any exertion or to execute any plan, even if any plan had been formed; and then, when the moment of action arrives, they are totally incapable of movement, and they stand by to see their allies destroyed, and afterwards abuse them because they do not continue, unsupported, exertions to which human nature is not equal."

For General Graham's other services in the field want of space compels us to refer our readers to the book we are reviewing. They were of the most brilliant description. In the decisive campaign of Vitoria he commanded Wellington's left, consisting of forty thousand troops. The extended nature of the operations made of this what was virtually an independent command. He arrived in the basin of Vitoria after a march through a country so difficult that to traverse it at all was no small achievement. On the day of battle he overthrew the French right and, getting in their rear, cut off the retreat of the defeated army by the main road leading to France. Subsequently he conducted the siege operations against St. Sebastian, which terminated in the storm and capture of that place. His last military exploit was an endeavor to carry the fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom by a *coup de main*. The endeavor was defeated, but the combined skill and daring manifested in the plan of attack evoked the hearty commendation of the Emperor Napoleon. On the conclusion of peace General Graham was raised to the peerage as Lord Lynedoch, and died at the ripe age of ninety-four, full of years and honors, in 1843.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS.

PROF. GRIFFIS'S 'Japanese Fairy World' (Schenectady: James H. Barhyte) fills an undoubted gap in child-lore, and needs chiefly a more literary finish to give it an assured place in our standard collections. The tales are well chosen in point of interest, and their infrequent bloodiness never approaches that of "Hop o' my Thumb." The first dozen of the two or three dozen are without exception readable, and we have set a mark against several which follow—"The Fisherman and the Moon-Maiden," for its pretty sentimentality; "Smells and Jingles," on account of its identity with a well-known Western fable, etc., etc. The great feature of this little book, however, is the twelve illustrations by Ozawa Nankoku, of Tokio, drawn expressly to fit the stories. Not only is there real enlightenment in thus having a key to Japanese art (for we really deal here with a symbolic mythology), but we must often admire the ingenuity of the Eastern imagination—for example (p. 54), in the difficult subject, "The Egg, Wasp, and Mortar attack the Monkey," with which one may compare Mr. Tenniel's designs in the Alice books. In another edition Mr. Griffis should correct the redundancy on p. 38 of "Princess Hotaru-himé," and the ambiguity, on p. 59, of the sentence "to paint scenery, with Fuji yama and cranes flying in the air," where a child would naturally take the mountain for a bird. Elsewhere we have "Fuji mountain," and "Fuji Yama" with the interpretation (p. 217). It would be well to abandon the French orthography in this name.

It is pleasant to record another notable success on the part of Miss Mary De Morgan, who made her début some years ago in 'On a Pincushion.' Her 'Necklace of Princess Fiorimonde' (New York: Macmillan) is as charming and fresh and genuine a fairy-tale collection as the former, and of perhaps a still more even merit. The first three of the seven stories have to do with malignant witchcraft; the last, the "Wise Princess," is an allegory, teaching that happiness and duty are inseparable; while the "Pedlar's Pack," the "Bread of Discontent," and the "Three Clever Kings," are so many clever satires with very obvious morals. In the "Pedlar's Pack" the *dramatis personæ* have promised each other payments which they cannot make, the vicious circle beginning with the pedlar's engagement to pay the donkey two pieces of gold when he has not a penny to his name. The hedge-sparrow, the last in the chain of hired service, offers the pedlar four pieces for a blanket, and at once duns her employer, the raven, for her wages; he thereupon beats her down one piece, and in turn duns the donkey, who likewise scales his debt, and turns to the pedlar with—

"'Now, good sir, your two pieces of gold, if you please.'

"'In a moment,' said the pedlar; and turning to the hedge-sparrow, said, 'I really must have the money for the blanket at once.'

"'So you shall,' answered the hedge-sparrow, and cried angrily to the raven, 'I want my money now, and cannot wait.'

"'In an instant,' answered the raven, and again whispered to the donkey, 'Why can't you pay me honestly? I should be ashamed of trying to slip out of my debts in such a way.'"

And so the round continues, until the whole party is hauled before a magistrate for wrangling. Now, let the blanket stand for the "national faith," or the total acreage of the country, or any other inconvertible "base," and the promise to pay be represented by a greenback, an *assignat*, or any other form of fiat money, and we have, as we may say, a fable for the times. In the "Wanderings of Arasmon" Miss De Morgan's fancy takes on an especial beauty, but this quality predominates throughout. Walter Crane's illustrations need no praise, but we like most his initial letters and head and tail-pieces, which are very dainty.

'Queer Pets,' by Olive Thorne Miller (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.), comprises a collection of stories descriptive of the pets of a little girl named Marcia. These pets are procured by an amiable uncle, who visits for the purpose foreign ships arriving at an adjacent port. Birds and animals from all parts of the world are purchased for his niece by this self-sacrificing man. Their habits and peculiarities are charmingly described. The uncle is the only unreal personage in the book. He is of the bachelor type. Under the guidance of Miss Miller he develops but one organ—that of benevolence—and uniformly conducts himself with the self-denial so dear to the feminine heart. The illustrations by Mr. Jas. C. Beard, admirably engraved, are full of originality and character, and far in advance of those of his foreign competitors in this direction. The volume, as a specimen of book-work, is brilliantly decorative, and reflects great credit on all engaged in its production.

Mr. Thomas W. Knox's 'Boy Travellers in the Far East (China and Japan)' went last season into so many households that Part II., Siam and Java (New York: Harper & Bros.), requires scarcely any introduction. What this extensive tourist himself has seen is again deftly supplemented by selections, with due credit, from approved works on the various countries under consideration—*e. g.*, for Siam, Vincent's 'Land of the White Elephant.' Col. Yule's 'Marco Polo' and Mr. Edwin Arnold's 'Light of Asia' are likewise made use of, and the result is a surprising variety of information, which frequently becomes episodical, as in the case of alligators, elephants, pearl-diving, etc. The travellers are of course the same, and Mr. Knox, speaking of and through the trio, remains the keen Yankee ready to suggest improvements on the slow ways of the East, and seeing "millions" in ice-machines and direct trade with the United States; whose English has been formed on newspaper models, and whose humor is typically American. Thus, in one of their home letters, the boys, describing their efforts to eat the ill-smelling durian, are made to say: "We are told that the best way is to have the servants cut it up and put the pieces in milk, and by taking them out of the milk and swallowing quickly the smell is avoided. Perhaps this might work; but a better plan would be to have the servants eat the stuff up when it was properly prepared, and let you hear nothing more about it." Some

wholesome checks on hasty censure of Eastern morality are furnished by citing parallel practices or institutions in the Western world. The prudent administration of the Dutch in Java is clearly set forth, but the moral drawbacks, especially to the ruling race, are overlooked. In general we may safely commend this handsome and profusely illustrated volume as an informal geography; its utility would have been greatly enhanced by an index, for the sake of which some of the gaudiness of the binding could have been dispensed with.

"Third edition" is inscribed on the title-page of the Rev. Forbes E. Winslow's 'Children's Fairy Geography, or a Merry Trip round Europe' (New York: Pott, Young & Co.), and all the incidental allusions point to a recent date of composition; but on p. 8 Paris, St. Petersburg, and Constantinople are ranked next in population after London, while on p. 282 St. Petersburg is allowed only 700,000 inhabitants, and on p. 163 Berlin is said to have "now nearly a million." This inconsistency will perhaps pass in fairy-land, but it needs explanation in a work actually offered as a substitute for the repulsive school geographies. A more complete and unfortunate contrast to Mr. Knox's 'Boy Travellers' could hardly be found in print. The fiction is substantially the same: a father with his little boy and girl are whisked through the air from place to place at pleasure, but this is the only *action* in the narrative. The father does all the talking, now and then flinging a remark to the children, like "Ah, Ethel, did you ever see such lovely dolls?" or "What is the matter with you, Jack? You are white as a sheet"; and all the time crying and pointing, Look here —— This is —— You now see—like the showman at a panorama. Guide-books supply the padding, and the result is insufferably tedious, with its air of hurry and cram, the solemn jokes of Mr. Winslow, and his bad verses prefaced by bad English—*e.g.*, "I feel up to a song to-day." It is a pity that so much pains as the author says he has taken, and as we know the publishers have, should have been wasted in this manner. The book is beautifully printed and carefully illustrated.

We cannot discern any superiority in 'Shakespeare's Stories Simply Told,' by Mary Seamer (New York: Thos. Nelson & Sons), over Charles and Mary Lamb's classic version, except that it is more complete by six plays, with "Much Ado About Nothing," "Two Gentlemen of Verona," "All's Well That Ends Well," and "Measure for Measure" omitted. The narrator expurgates freely, of course, and seeks "to introduce all the familiar passages so aptly termed the 'Beauties of Shakespeare.'" This does not always result in giving us more of the words or of the spirit of the dramatist, as in the "Winter's Tale," for example. But the "beauties" are printed separately as verse, and this may be well. The text is embellished with outline engravings of good design.

Mr. Sidney Lanier makes an acceptable addition to his 'Boy's Froissart' of last year with the 'Boy's King Arthur,' abridged from Sir Thomas Malory's History (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons). His introduction gives all needful data concerning the original material which Malory worked over, together with specimens of Walter Mapes's French version of the search for the holy grail, of Layamon's English, of Caxton's apology for printing Sir Thomas's work—all very instructively knit together. The manner of his editing has been to modernize the spelling but preserve the language of his author, and to enclose in brackets his own piecings where the narrative has been abbreviated. The harder words are explained, and foot-notes embody a sufficient but not redundant amount of interpretation and suggestion. The arbitrary arrangement into books has been abandoned for one more logical. In short, the editing has been executed with very scholarly taste, and the handsome volume, adorned with spirited illustrations by Alfred Kappes, can with perfect satisfaction be placed in the hands of any boy or girl.

Two series of historical biographies for the young, both of high merit, have been issued in the last year, and our young folks will welcome a new volume in each series. Mr. Eggleston's hero in the present volume of 'Famous American Indians' (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.) is Montezuma, an American Indian in the strict sense of the term, but a hero of a different type from the Red Jacket, Brant, and Pocahontas with whom his earlier volumes have made his readers familiar. In classing Montezuma with these he tacitly accepts Mr. Morgan's view, that the Mexicans were but more advanced Indians; we are surprised, therefore, to find here the old view of the character of the Mexican empire as an absolute monarchy, with a court of great splendor and elaborate ceremonial. This notion we supposed had been completely disposed of by Mr. Morgan and Mr. Bandelier. If their doctrine is correct, it is certainly important that our young people should not have their minds preoccupied with false conceptions; and the true view is certainly as picturesque as the false, and far more interesting. Apart from this, we have nothing but praise.

Mr. Towle, in his 'Young Folk's Heroes of History' (Boston: Lee & Shepard), has a subject of the first interest and importance—Marco Polo. Perhaps Polo's adventures are less exciting and attractive than those of Pizarro and Magellan, the heroes of his former books, and at any rate their interest is for more mature readers. Mr. Towle's style, too, is not so well adapted to children as Mr. Eggleston's, and is in general rather more artificial. He has done his work very well, however, and has made a book which is not only entertaining in itself, but will be wholly new to most of his readers. The story of Montezuma everybody has read, but how many of the class for whom the book is designed have ever heard the name of Marco Polo? We wish that both of these books were provided with maps; they would be useful in all the books of this series, but in this volume especially we should like to see a map which should mark out a route from Balkh to Samarcand by the way of Pamir. We think Mr. Towle was caught napping here. Marco Polo, in his memoirs, describes Samarcand, as he does, for instance, Cashmere; but he does not say he visited it, and it is plain that he could not have done so. It is rather venturesome, therefore, to say (p. 58) that "Marco was greatly impressed with the wealth and splendor of the city."

Mr. Stockton's 'A Jolly Fellowship' (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons) has already had a success among the readers of *St. Nicholas*. It is the record, recited by the elder, of the travels of two boys, aged respectively sixteen and fourteen, through the South and the Bahamas. The addition of a bright young girl to the party, with a hint of chaperonage in the person of an erratically sensible mother and an eccentric father, lends interest and piquancy to the adventures, which are not too improbable. The midnight scaling of Fort Marion by the two boys, which ended by their gladly backing out of the scrape after being badly victimized by the Indian sentinels, is very funny. So is the farcical attempt of the three friends to restore the African queen to her rights in the African colony in Nassau. There is a shipwreck on the way home, the separation of Corny and the boys from the father and mother, who were in another boat, and much suspense, but of course a happy conclusion. The relations between the boys and Corny are very nicely managed, and the book closes with a hint of school and college instead of hymeneal prospects.

'The Fairport Nine,' by Noah Brooks (Scribner), is the base-ball variety of the boy's book, with the especial peculiarity of the only black boy in town being made, not too obtrusively, the leader in sports and studies. The base-ball games described show that the boy audience has been growing more critical in its demands, and the old scores with numerous runs have given place to the scientific game in which there are fewer runs than innings. The best chapter, as a description of the unconscious mischief which boys manage to get into, is "The Kingdom of Pedan"—an imaginary empire of which the boys are the military defenders. The dialect ascribed to the Fairport Nine is rather exaggerated, we should say, and would have been more in place in the mouths of their rivals "The White Bears."

Like all Mr. Ballantyne's books, 'Philosopher Jack' (London: Jas. Nisbet & Co.) is full enough of incident to satisfy the most exacting juvenile demand for adventure. There is a shipwreck in the Southern Seas on a coral island, rescue by a ship bound for California, an expedition to the gold-mines, where the shipwrecked party pick up a large fortune in a short space of time, another shipwreck off the English coast with the loss of the gold-chests they were bringing home, and the news on landing that the failure of the Blankow bank has sunk all the money they had sent home before them. Being shareholders in this bank their gold may as well as not be at the bottom of the sea so far as they are concerned, as, if it could be reached, it would have to be surrendered. Accordingly the author leaves it there for eight years, until if recovered it will be safe in its former owners' hands, and then has divers find it and provides comfortable fortunes all around. The notion must be acknowledged to be novel and neat, and far better than "making over" one's property to his wife.

Illustrated Text-Books of Art Education. Edited by Edward J. Poynter, R.A. 'Classic and Italian Painting. By Edward J. Poynter, R.A., and Percy R. Head.' 'Architecture, Gothic and Renaissance. By T. Roger Smith, F.R.I.B.A.' (New York: Scribner & Welford; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1880.)—In his preface to this series, of which the books before us are but the first two, Mr. Poynter says that if the present interest in art "is to be more than a fashion," "a definite and systematic knowledge of art must be its foundation," and that the object of his text-books is "to provide that such a knowledge should form part of general education." It would be unnecessary to insist on the value of this, he observes, if it were not widely assumed that æsthetic appreciation is a mere matter of taste. He accordingly offers such suggestions as occur to him in proof of the contrary, and what he says seems so sound that it is easy to agree with his conclusion at the end of it, that "it would be easy to fall into truisms and platitudes by extending these observations." As his collaborator chronicles further on, the same general notion was promulgated by Pamphilus of Amphipolis about 350 B.C., and perhaps the point best worth discussing is how to accomplish a result so long held to be desirable. Text-books of this sort are not new: the past few years have been very prolific of them; but exactly how much good they do has not yet been settled as definitively as could be wished. Invariably we have noticed in their several apologies a modest profession of satisfaction if they shall prove to have stimulated an interest in the subject. Mr. Poynter wishes his "to act as an incentive" to the reader to

follow up the matter for himself, and says he will gain "but little learning" from them. But about their specific success here we confess we are a little sceptical. Neither these nor art text-books in general we believe do much to this end. Most people who need the stimulus in question, except the very young, will probably be content with the amount of "learning" to be got from them; they are not conspicuous, as a rule, for the insidious inveigling of indisposed minds, for which purpose a different sort of thing altogether would be undoubtedly more potent—something romantic, or literary, or critical, or in some way positively attractive in itself. We suspect they are valuable chiefly as all digests and summaries are, and, of course, have the same limitations and drawbacks. These drawbacks are inherent in the scheme, of course, and it is difficult to see how to get over them; indeed, it is almost safe to conclude, after the abundant experimentation which has taken place, that it is impossible, unless the editor will consent to forego either comprehensiveness or explicitness. So that the only way that occurs to us in which this 'Classic and Italian Painting,' for example, could be improved would be to omit many of the details which it includes, and which not only confuse the general drift (that, by the way, might be more explicit with advantage) but are simply beyond the capacity of any one to remember, owing to the slight impression left by their necessary meagreness. Vasari himself, voluminous as he is, would be benefited by this treatment, and we have wished that he might be edited by some one, Mr. Poynter say, as Johnson's 'Lives' have recently been. This is really all we have to remark upon the way in which Mr. Poynter and Mr. Head have executed their task, for, though it would not be difficult to pick flaws in its relative proportions and so on, an answer in each instance would be equally easy, and after all it would not be touching the heart of the matter.

Mr. Smith's book on Gothic and Renaissance Architecture is much better in this respect, and seems to us a book worth writing. He does, to be sure, confess to having been hampered by the conflict between comprehensiveness and detail. Architecture is considerably more technical, and to the general reader more abstruse, it may be said, than painting; it is more of a science, and accordingly a smattering of it is harder to acquire; further than which, the intricacies of its development are more numerous than even the biographical and artistic peculiarities of Italian painters. Mr. Smith, however, accomplishes much by an intelligent use of divisions and subdivisions, and the reader who will study his book and not rest content with skimming it may feel sure of a notion of the subject at once pretty definite and comparatively easy to retain. We wish, nevertheless, that Mr. Smith were a little more inclined to the German method of pursuing such tasks. Instances of its flagrant abuse both by loose and exact transcendentalists are abundant enough, but as a method it has the incontestable advantage of a natural sequence over a congeries, and we should say that Mr. Smith was in no danger of exaggerating it unwisely. More nearly than any other art architecture argues not only the architect but the general mental condition of his contemporaries and *entourage*, because it is the only art with which masses of people have directly to do, on account of its prominent material side. In what he says of the distinguishing characteristics of Gothic and Renaissance Mr. Smith seems discriminating and fair, but at some cost to directness. In his carefulness to be impartial he loses some force. He will probably fail on this account to suit any of the three classes into which architects may broadly be divided: those who believe forms to be the logical expression of specific necessities and almost inevitably inherent in conditions; those who think them substantially settled by the accumulated experience which has resulted in "styles"; and those who are guided solely by a feeling for what is agreeable to the sense. But he will grievously offend none of them. His objection to the shams inseparable from exaggerated Renaissance is sufficiently mild; his recognition of the intrinsic merits of Gothic principles is reasonably cordial; and he is tolerant of pure whim. Perhaps the thick-and-thin Gothic devotee will be least pleased; to the thick-and-thin Gothic devotee his definition of Gothic as "pointed," instead of "the only rational," will be unsatisfactory; and we confess he seems to us to have missed the point of distinction between the Greek temple and the mediæval cathedral, for example, which is perhaps a test of true comprehension of the general development of architecture. He speaks of the symmetry of the one and the variety of the other, and so on. The essential difference is that between a cell and an organism. Nevertheless his readers will get a very fair conception of the main characteristics of "styles," so-called, and without bias in favor of any one, which is a great merit in a writer of even so impersonal a thing as the uninitiated might assume an elementary work on architecture to be. The indispensable glossary is better than most in such books, and is illustrated, but in some instances it is too vague. For example:

"*Apse.*—A semicircular or polygonal termination to, or projection from, a church or other public building.

"*Chancel.*—The choir or eastern part of a church.

"*Choir.*—The part of a church in which the services are celebrated; usually, but not always, the east end, or chancel. In a Spanish church the choir is often at the crossing."

The illustrations are abundant and really illustrative in the main. Detailed criticism is commendably rare; of such as creeps in, the eulogy rather than the censure is the doubtful part. Critics will differ, perhaps, as to whether this or the reverse is a merit in a text-book.

The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort. By Theodore Martin. With Portraits. Volume v. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.)—This concluding volume of Mr. Martin's life embraces the years 1860 and 1861. We have the history of the Prince's connection with, or the expression of his views upon, the diplomatic intrigues which succeeded the Italian war, Lord John Russell's Reform Bill, the invasion of Naples by Garibaldi, the advance on Rome, the Schleswig-Holstein affair, the visit of the Prince of Wales to this country, and the *Trent* affair. An appendix contains a full description of the ceremonial observed at the funeral of the Prince Consort. It is, of course, Mr. Martin's aim to emphasize, if not to magnify, the importance of the position taken by Prince Albert as the husband of the Queen; and, considering the difficulties which the task presented, his success must be considered remarkable. In all the five volumes we believe that no mistakes or misstatements of fact have ever been detected, and yet the picture presented by the book as a whole is that of a laborious, deserving, efficient, and respected monarch governing or directing the Government of his country with consummate skill, tact, and wisdom. To a reader familiar with the actual course of English history during the period of Queen Victoria's reign, the picture, of course, seems that of a eulogist; but Mr. Martin is a eulogist. To write a life of the Prince Consort with the perspective which the cold, clear light of history accords it, would be to reduce the five volumes to a very slender page, and sadly to curtail the proportions of the influence exerted by Prince Albert upon the destiny of Great Britain or the Continent. But it is not fair to examine Mr. Martin's work in this light; he is by virtue of his office a eulogist, and it is as a eulogy that the book should be regarded. As such it is an excellent piece of work.

To Americans the most interesting chapter in the present volume is that which deals with the *Trent* affair. In this matter the influence of the Prince Consort was, as usual, exerted in the direction of peace, and the temper of both countries was at the time so warlike, and the issue depended for a few days upon so many accidental causes, that he may fairly be considered to have helped to turn the scale against war. It is well known that he did not approve the draft of instructions prepared by Lord Russell for Lord Lyons, and made several emendations, which were acted upon by the Queen, and finally commended themselves to Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. The pacific temper thus fortunately brought to bear upon the negotiations is best shown by the memorandum, the joint work of the Queen and the Prince, of which Mr. Martin gives a fac-simile. The original draft is not given, but its general tenor was simply that the Government of the United States should be told that the action of Captain Wilkes in boarding the *Trent* was a violation of international law and of the rights of Great Britain; that the British Government trusted that the act would be disavowed, the prisoners set free and restored to British protection, terminating with an instruction that, in case of the refusal of this demand, Lord Lyons should retire from the United States. The Prince's memorandum adopted by the Queen characterizes this draft as "somewhat meagre." It is suggested that it should have contained "the expression of a hope that the American captain did not act under instructions, or if he did, that he misapprehended them; that the United States Government must be fully aware that the British Government could not allow its flag to be insulted and the security of her mail communications to be placed in jeopardy; and Her Majesty's Government are unwilling to believe that the United States Government intended wantonly to put an insult upon this country, and to add to their many distressing complications by forcing a question of dispute upon us; and that we are therefore glad to believe that upon a full consideration of the circumstances of the undoubted breach of international law committed they would spontaneously offer such redress as would alone satisfy this country—namely, the restoration of the unfortunate passengers and a suitable apology." There seems to be no doubt that the alterations adopted in accordance with these suggestions were really the work of Prince Albert.

A very large part of this volume is, as usual, made up of details of the private life of the royal family, and it is impossible to lay the book down without speculating upon the moral effect of such publications as the Queen has authorized with reference to her private life upon the fortunes of the British Crown. Mr. Theodore Martin has been made the channel through which Queen Victoria has taken the entire world into her confidence as to her domestic life. Nothing has been held back that could have been made known, and the result is that we have an account of a royal household and its private affairs such as has never before been given to the world. On the one hand, of course, the result of all this is to confirm the prevailing impression of the high tone of morality encouraged and fostered at the court by the Queen and the

Prince Consort. An atmosphere of goodness and purity pervades the whole life of the Queen and all who surrounded her, which, to say the least, is unusual in court chronicles. On the other hand, if the institution of monarchy is to be preserved and hedged about with respect and reverence, is it advisable that so much should be known about kings and queens and their ordinary human interests? This reverence and respect are somewhat artificial, and nowhere more artificial than in England, where the actual government is parliamentary, though the head of it possesses royal powers transmitted by descent. In an hereditary monarchy the chances must be that for one pre-eminently virtuous monarch there will be a greater number of insignificant and bad ones, and if the institution is to be preserved it would seem as if, in the long run, a discreet silence on the subject of the private lives of royal personages were the safest course. Familiarity breeds contempt in this no less than in other matters, and the line which divides the public feeling that a monarchy should be preserved as a fine and noble piece of pageantry, and the feeling that the day for all political pageantries is over, is, after all, a narrow one.

A History of the Huguenots of the Dispersion at the recall of the Edict of Nantes. By Reginald Lane Poole. (London: Macmillan & Co. 1880. 208 pp. 8vo.)—The title of this work, the Lothian historical prize-essay for 1879 at Oxford, is somewhat misleading. It is not strictly a history, but a collection of references to the materials for a history of the "emigration consequent upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes." These materials are very voluminous, especially in Holland, Germany, and France. In Germany there is "hardly a church but has its separate chronicler," while in France the twenty-eight volumes of the 'Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français' contain a rich store of documents, statistics, and local traditions invaluable to the historian. All these authorities the writer seems to have faithfully examined, and the result is a work which will prove a trustworthy guide to the student of this subject.

The fugitives are first traced to the Netherlands, and a just tribute is paid to the generously hospitable reception of their co-religionists by the people of this country. Various measures in behalf of the emigrants, such as the granting of all rights enjoyed by natives, gifts of land, exemption from taxation and military service, and permission "to practise their crafts without fee," were adopted by the different provincial and municipal governments immediately after the Revocation. In addition, large sums of money were contributed both by the governments and by private individuals of all classes and religions. The Jews of Amsterdam, for instance, gave in 1685 "as much as 40,000 gulden." The result of this wise and well-timed liberality was that at least one hundred thousand of the fugitives settled in the Low Countries. The exact numbers will never be known, "for in February, 1686, the Estates of Holland, urged by the Estates-General, forbade all mention in the public prints touching the refugees; above all, as to the manner of their escape." In strong contrast to the reception by the Dutch was that which the Huguenots received in England in the early years of the dispersion. The distrust with which the foreigners were regarded, however, soon melted away in the Protestant reaction against the religious and foreign policy of James II., and "the nation raised a splendid fund of relief, and left no opportunity unused of showing the exiles the kindness they sorely needed." From London, where there were soon twenty-eight French churches, they spread to different parts of England, chiefly in the south and east, establishing valuable industries wherever they settled. Considerable colonies went to Ireland, from one of which sprang the manufacture of linen. Their influence upon the political history of Great Britain was possibly more important and valuable than the gain which they brought to the wealth and population of the country. Speaking of the zeal with which the leading Huguenots entered into the discussions of the great questions of the day, Mr. Poole says: "They helped not a little to formulate the public opinion that offered the kingdom to William of Orange."

Though Switzerland was chiefly a country of passage for the refugees, yet many thousands found a home there. The generosity of the people was unbounded. The public charity of Geneva alone during the forty years of the dispersion was 5,143,266 florins; "and the bounty of individuals may have nearly rivalled that of the city." The contributions of Berne amounted to about four millions of florins. The German Lutherans received the Huguenots generally with a distrust and coldness similar to that of the English. Notwithstanding this, probably seventy-five thousand settled in Baden, Hesse, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Brandenburg, repairing in many places the desolation wrought by the Thirty Years' War. The Great Elector of Brandenburg, Frederic William, showed a far-sighted wisdom in his treatment of the emigrants. The Edict of Potsdam, issued within a fortnight after the Edict of the Recall, threw open, as it were, all his dominions to the French refugees. Gifts of land, immunities and privileges of all kinds were promised. Agents were placed in the principal cities on the frontier of France to aid the fugitives with advice, provisions, and money. So strong and sincere was his interest in his new subjects that he supplied "from his privy purse the unaccustomed charges which else had drained his exchequer." It is difficult to overestimate the influence which the emigration had upon the somewhat rude inhabitants of the future kingdom of Prussia. The Huguenots brought a refinement of manners as well as an improvement in husbandry. Their officers and soldiers formed no contemptible part of the army, while the manufactures which they established were a source of great wealth and prosperity. "The society of Berlin was, in fact, the creation of the exile; and it was the refugees who gave it that mobile course of thought, that finer culture, that tact in matters of art, that instinct of conversation, which had before been the unique possession of France."

To the emigration to North America Mr. Poole devotes but half a dozen pages, which he explains by the remark that "the history of this settlement has yet to be written, and it is not likely that its materials will be found on this side the Atlantic." In his brief outline of the history of the colonies in Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, and South Carolina he gives this fact concerning the life of the planters of New Rochelle: "For many years they could not support a church, and these zealous people, after laboring hard the week through, spent much of the nights of Saturday and Sunday in walking the sixteen miles to and from the nearest church at New York."

The number of those who fled from France in consequence of the Recall has been variously estimated from one hundred thousand to two millions. Our author says "it will be clearly within the bounds of moderation to leave the total exodus a range between 300,000 and 350,000." To trace the effect upon their native country of this disastrous measure, except very briefly, lies beyond the scope of the work before us. The Gallican church of Bossuet and Fénelon almost ceased to exist. "The Protestants," says Jurieu, "have carried commerce with them into exile." And "the one class trained to a talent for affairs was removed from the nation." Thus, what Lord Bacon calls "the four pillars of government—religion, justice, counsel, and treasure"—were weakened, and it is no wonder that "when the storm burst upon the French monarchy a century later" it fell.

Mr. Poole's style is somewhat harsh, and at times disfigured by certain mannerisms. From the very nature of his subject the narrative is disconnected, but there is an appearance of notes made while reading having been embodied unchanged in the text. The spelling of well-known names in this fashion—"Zuerich," "Wuerttemberg," "Tsar," and "stadhouder"—seems like an affectation of precise scholarship. At the foot of each page is a copious array of references to authorities. The essay, as a whole, is more German than English in its methods of treatment, as well as in the exhaustive research displayed.

Introduction to Latin Prose Composition. Revised and enlarged, with introductory exercises on elementary constructions, by William F. Allen, Professor in the University of Wisconsin. (Boston: Ginn & Heath. 1880. 12mo, pp. vii.-181.)—A second edition of a small Latin text-book is usually entitled to no special notice, but the new edition of Prof. Allen's 'Introduction to Latin Prose Composition' is in some respects exceptional. The first edition was published about ten years ago. The present edition has been enlarged so as to include the more elementary constructions of Latin syntax, and the whole work revised. This addition and revision have been executed by the Rev. J. H. Allen, a brother of the author, and Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University. He has been assisted by Mr. John Tetlow, Master of the Girls' Latin School in Boston, and their joint labors have been subjected to the criticism of Prof. Peck, of Cornell University. It is seldom that so much learning, experience, and intellectual ability are brought to bear in the construction of an elementary text-book.

The number of persons to whom it is worth while to spend the time and labor necessary to learn to write Latin easily and fluently is very small, and is probably decreasing the world over. Latin composition is generally studied less for its own sake than as one of the best means of learning to read and appreciate the Latin authors. For this purpose the present work seems all-sufficient. For those who intend to make the Latin language a special object of study after leaving college it is, of course, what its title declares, only an introduction.

The following points seem worthy of attention. The English examples which are to be translated into Latin are themselves translations from passages actually occurring in the Latin authors. Experience unmistakably testifies to the advantages of this plan in an elementary work. The constant, even minute, references to the grammar accustom the student to solve difficulties by the application of general principles. The references are to the grammar of Messrs. Allen and Greenough, but accompanying every one there is, in a parenthesis, a reference to the grammars of Prof. Gildersleeve and of Prof. Harkness; the work is thus rendered equally convenient to those who have any one of the three grammars. Those who have access to them all will find it worth the trouble to compare the different ways in which the same matters are viewed and stated by these accomplished Latin scholars. The best thing those students who have none of these grammars can do, irrespective of the use of the present work, is to get one as soon as possible. Lastly, but not least,

Prof. Allen says "he has made the experiment of marking the *long vowels* in the Latin words employed." This is a matter of more importance than even Prof. Allen himself is perhaps aware. There is no doubt that if the pronunciation of Latin prose is properly taught—a point to which the marking of *every* long vowel is indispensable—the proper method of reading Latin poetry comes almost of itself, and the greater part of the stuff with which learners are tormented, under the name of prosody, may be dismissed at once as mere rubbish. This is not, as Prof. Allen seems to think, an experiment. The marking of the long vowels was systematically carried out several years ago in the text-books of Prof. Morris, now of the Johns Hopkins University.

We suggest to Prof. Allen the propriety of publishing, for the use of teachers, a key to his exercises. We have no room to discuss the question, but long observation and experience lead us to think that the advantages altogether outweigh the objections.

Saint-Simon. By Clifton W. Collins, M.A. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880. 16mo, pp. 216.)—This is a brief summary of the memoirs of Saint-Simon, or of the fragment of them thus far published (in Chéruel's edition), with biographical and other comment by the editor. The book is a reprint of the latest number in Mrs. Oliphant's 'Foreign Classics for English Readers,' and in deference to her taste Mr. Collins has excluded the more piquant passages of the original memoirs. One need not complain of this; the serious fault of Mr. Collins's work is that it shows little real knowledge of the time or of the man described. He blames, for instance, the elaborate minuteness of Saint-Simon's genealogies, complaining that the old duke "takes a singular delight in tracing the exact family history and relationship of nearly every personage he mentions," which is to measure the ideas of a time when a title of nobility meant much with the ideas of a time when it means little; and he calls the famous "affaire du bonnet," Saint-Simon's long vexation—the question whether the president, when he addressed the peers in parliament, should wear his cap on his head or place it before him on the table—"only a trivial question of etiquette." It is like calling the approaching deluge only a shower. The critic who misconceives like this the data and the tendency of history and of historical studies is scarcely the writer who will speak to advantage of the times of Saint-Simon. Of Saint-Simon as an individual two sentences translated by Mr. Collins from Sainte-Beuve tell us, though mainly pictorial in their effect, more than pages of Mr. Collins's own commentary: "Do not repent, Frenchmen, of having had among you in the heart of court life at Versailles, and ever on the track of the human quarry, this little duke with the piercing eye, cruel, insatiable, always on the chase, ferreting about, present everywhere, swooping on his prey, and laying waste on all sides. Thanks to him, a Tacitus with natural humor and with unbridled fancy, we have nothing to envy in the earlier writer." It is to be added that Mr. Collins's translation, generally good and spirited, is sometimes careless, as where he renders *roseau* as "rosewood," a blunder from which the knowledge either of Pascal's *pensée*, "Le Roseau pensant," or of Mr. Bayle St. John's partial translation of Saint-Simon's memoirs, might have saved him. Readers of a recent letter on "The Manuscripts of Saint-Simon" (*Nation*, June 3, 1880) will be interested in Mr. Collins's statement that those manuscripts fill two hundred and sixty-six volumes and portfolios, of which hardly more than a tenth part has yet been published.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Arnold (C.), Index to Shaksperian Thought	(Scribner, Welford & Co.) $3 00
Blackie (Prof. J. S.), Goethe's Faust metrically translated	(Macmillan & Co.) 2 50
Benjamin (S. G. W.), Troy: Its Legend, History, and Literature	(Charles Scribner's Sons) 1 00
Clapp (Dr. H. C.), Is Consumption Contagious?	(Otis Clapp & Son)
Corthell (E. L.), History of the Mississippi Jetties	(John Wiley & Sons)
De Morgan (Mary), The Necklace of Princess Fiorimonde	(Macmillan & Co.) re
Doré (G.), Bible Gallery	(Cassell, Petter & Galpin) 6 00
Dye (Col. W. McE.), Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia	(Atkin & Prout) 3 00
Ebers (Prof. G.), Egypt, Descriptive, Historical, and Picturesque, Parts 1-6, swd	(Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.) 75
An Egyptian Princess, 2 vols	(W. S. Gottsberger)
Emmet (Rosina), Pretty Peggy, and Other Ballads	(Dodd, Mead & Co.) 2 50
Ewer (Rev. F. C.), Operation of the Holy Spirit	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 25
Federlein (G.), Practical School of Vocal Culture	(G. Schirmer)
Gamgee (Dr. A.), Physiological Chemistry of the Human Body	(Macmillan & Co.) 4 50
Gatty (Mrs. A.), Parables from Nature, 2 vols	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)
Green (Dr. S. A.), Early Records of Groton	(A. Williams & Co.)
Griffis (W. E.), Japanese Fairy World	(James H. Barhyte) 1 50
Hall (Rev. C. C.) and Lasar (S.), Evangelical Hymnal, with Tunes	(A. S. Barnes & Co.)
Lanier (S.), The Boy's King Arthur	(Charles Scribner's Sons) 3 00
Lawrence (W. B.), Commentaire sur les Eléments du Droit International, Vol. 4, swd	(F. W. Christern)
Lessing (G. E.), Nathan der Weise	(Henry Holt & Co.) 75
Littlejohn (Rev. A. N.), Conciones ad Clerum	(T. Whittaker) 1 50
Pansie's Flower-Bin	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 50
Rayet (Prof. O.), Monuments de l'Art Antique, Part I., swd	(J. W. Bouton) 7 50
Schaff (Prof. P.), Popular Commentary on the New Testament, Vol. II.: John-Acts	(Charles Scribner's Sons) 6 00
Underwood (Gen. A. B.), Three Years' Service of the 33d Mass. Infantry	(A. Williams & Co.)
Wheatley (H. B.), Samuel Pepys and the World He Lived in	(Scribner & Welford) 3 00
Winslow (Rev. F. E.), Children's Fairy Geography: Round Europe	(Pott, Young & Co.)
Wright (W. A.), Shakspere's King Richard III	(Macmillan & Co.) 60

MLLE. BERNHARDT AS *GILBERTE* AND *MARGUERITE*.

MLLE. BERNHARDT'S selections, since "Adrienne Lecouvreur," have been "Froufrou" and "La Dame aux Camélias." The choice was at once business-like and humble. It would have been by no means hard for an actress of her style and physique to have kept up public interest on the line of discussion as to whether or not she was another Rachel, and to have stepped into a place in the Rachel legend almost without a sense of change. America, which has long been collating all sorts of notorieties from abroad in a spirit of collectorship, would be very willing to consider an actress who should adhere to Racine, a writer whom it knows nothing about and respects. To appear very visionarily and impalpably, to imitate statuary and expire every night in parts from the French-Greek drama, to come only once and die of an American cold, is the career of a heroine in this peculiar mythology. The part was waiting for Mlle. Bernhardt, if she had been willing to assume it. To take the lower place almost at once in mere dramas of disease, dramas which make "Adrienne" appear like a classic by contrast, was very human, very modest. It was modest because there are inherent dramatic vices in both the more modern plays which frustrate the best efforts of the artist to personate an interesting and sympathetic character.

In "Froufrou" the dramatist makes his heroine work up an elaborate quarrel with a faultless sister, without providing the ghost of a pretext, merely to start a couple of extra acts, thus reducing to nothing the fine intuitive sense of things which she displays in the rest of the piece, and making the actress's efforts to express native tact and intuition a derision. As for *Marguerite*, of all the characters who have sawed perpetually on one string, without the ghost of intelligence, and have produced effect by constant pressure on an auditor's nerves instead of by stimulating and inspiring him, she is the most vapidly intolerable. The thinness of *motif*, the want of relief, in both book and play, are as little as possible to Dumas's credit; iteration is all the emphasis he has learned. Accordingly, the actress's best-directed efforts to play at delicate feelings or perceptions were very much thrown away. *Gilberte's* exquisite intelligence, her flashes of discernment, her declaration to her sister that she proposes to keep her faults of character, her correction of the statement of the proposed appointment from "ambassador" to "ambassadress," her selfishness as of a blameless and consistent product of nature, her quick objection to a duel on her account which would for ever tarnish the *naïf* prettiness of her character—all these delicate hits, which Mlle. Bernhardt delivered with precision and relish, were made as nothing because the character of *Gilberte* is forced into a gawky fraternal quarrel whose attitude on her part would have been impossible to her nature. After that quarrel—which the actress made a superb separate success, playing for the moment an independent rôle, and leaving on the mind an ineffaceable image of the hissing, serpentine, voluble victim—the part became a blemished ideal, and sympathy with *Gilberte*, here misconceiving things so stupidly, and elsewhere conceiving everything with flashes of tact, was lost. So with *Marguerite Gautier*, there is a *fonds* of self-consciousness, of posing as a victim, of harping on disadvantages, in the conception, which made it quite labor wasted for the actress to receive her lover's father as sweetly as a pastoral ingénue, to entertain her guests with the good-heartedness of a housekeeper and the caprices of a kitten, to die like a saint. The story is patched with traits foreign to its tissue, and it was necessary to rub one's eyes and convince one's self that the same person was still treading the boards, when the dramatist made the most contrary rôles thus into one.

Mlle. Bernhardt shows all the time the most fascinating sense of manners, of behavior in exigencies. In *Marguerite*, her way of listening to the doctor's aside which delivers her death-sentence, while busily writing a feminine billet, was perfection: so was her insult to Varville, who has computed his visits foolishly—"Vous ne dites jamais que des bêtises"; this was not thrown at the interlocutor, but delivered in the lowest, most rapid tones of self-reflection, as if the observation were forced by circumstances, and as if she half-hoped the other would not hear. Sometimes the style was a little more pronounced, as with *Gilberte* burying her chin in her fists, immersing herself in her book, and saying "Je vous écoute" to her husband. These sketches of manners, as important to our century as the illustrations of Restif de la Bretonne to a past one, were not unmixed with inspirations, the great moments of the artist, which were so rich and deep as almost to efface all minor impressions. The scene with the elder Duval, in Dumas's play, was such a masterpiece of pure pathos as has seldom been seen on our stage; the pity it evokes is stainless, is separate from the character, and does the heart good; it is femininity revealed. The quarrel-scene with the sister in "Froufrou" was equally great, as a piece of concentration; the boiling-up of hot, thin, fine-cut words had a brilliant air of spontaneity. It was not like a rôle studied, but like an impromptu shot at a mark and hitting. The death-scenes of the two characters were not unlike, and were models of pathetic grace. A painful company, of the sort of *outre mer* inane we have been accustomed to with Salvini and Ristori, endeavored to annul the labors of the star.

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The Nation.

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The Week.

THE *Times*, after a week's effort, has withdrawn the Grant subscription from the public gaze. It never reached $15,000 of the proposed $250,000, and the greater part of this was made up of a few large donations from rich men. The popular end of the movement has been lamentably small—the gifts of ten dollars and under amounting in all to $120 only. One dollar and a half seem to have come from children with more pocket-money than was good for them. The reason of this is obvious enough. General Grant cultivates and associates with rich men mainly, and appears to value them mainly for their wealth, and plain people with but little money are therefore disposed to think that the rich men, if he needs pecuniary assistance, will take care of him. He is just now engaged in a Mexican railroad enterprise, of which the two principal promoters are Mr. Jay Gould and Mr. Russell Sage. No one whom these eminent men find useful ever suffers from want of money, and we may be sure that as long as he is in their hands they will see that his needs are satisfied. We trust that his other friends have no further humiliations in store for him; a greater one than this last attempt to raise a subscription for him they could hardly have devised. It is the more deplorable because he has as a soldier solid claims on the gratitude of the country which the country, as is well known, is fully prepared to meet. Mr. William E. Chandler has, in a recent letter to the *Tribune*, called attention to the fact that there would have been no difficulty in getting a bill through Congress in May, 1878, putting him on the retired list of the Army with the rank of general, and a salary of $17,500, had it not been opposed by "some of his most devoted and conspicuous friends." The reason was, of course, that they wanted him for "politics." Now, the people, in the clearest manner by the elections of 1874 and 1876, signified that they had had enough of him in politics. The Republican party has signified the same thing in the Chicago Convention, for it must be remembered that the famous band of 306 who stuck to him in that body was mainly composed of Southern delegates of both colors, who could have given him no votes if he had been nominated, and whose opinions on public questions are naturally regulated by their personal necessities. If he needs money, therefore, and wishes to preserve the hold on popular respect and gratitude given him by the war, all he has to do is to take the well-paid military rank which Congress, we feel sure, is still ready to bestow on him, and quit politics for ever. He is steadily frittering his fame away by allowing the impression to sink into the popular mind that he is letting himself be used by political and financial speculators and adventurers.

We believe that the use to which Messrs. Jay Gould and Russell Sage propose to put him is to make him president of a great Mexican railroad combination, and the former is so much in earnest that he would have subscribed $200,000 to the Grant fund if it had been thought prudent to accept such a sum from such a source. But the moral stomachs of the General's friends, strong as they are, do not appear to have been strong enough for this. They may be even now bracing themselves up with tonics, for all we know. The subscription scheme was weighted from the outset by the fact that it was started by one newspaper. This at once brought it into disfavor with all the others, and even exposed it to the shafts of their ridicule. It ought to have been started by a committee and communicated to all the Grant newspapers on the same day, and then a competition might have sprung up amongst them as to which should rake in the most money. It might have been stimulated, too, by secret promises of consulships, post-traderships, appraiserships, and store-keeperships in 1884.

If we must concern ourselves with the fate of our ex-Presidents there is another class of past officials who make a similar appeal to our sympathies: we mean the heads of departments. Whether they have been taken from political or professional life it is often extremely difficult for them to recover the ground lost in four years' absence from the current; their places have been filled, and their clients or constituents have put their trusts into other hands. Foreign missions cannot always be provided for them, and in a reformed civil service would be hardly more exposed to "rotation" than domestic offices. If representation by districts were abolished such men might hope to recover speedily their political standing at least. As it is, acceptance of a seat in the Cabinet often, if not generally, means for them a deliberate sacrifice of the future. Secretary Sherman will, or probably may, be one of the disengaged after more than a quarter of a century's steady devotion to public affairs. General Garfield's timely elevation from Senator-elect to President-elect seemed to open the way providentially for Mr. Sherman's return to the body which he quitted for the Treasury. On personal and on public grounds it should be a gratification to see him re-elected by the Legislature of Ohio. He has, with his usual frankness, announced his candidacy, but is met by the objection that he has had a monopoly long enough, and by a fresh crop of stories like those by which it was sought to prevent his nomination at Chicago.

There happens to be an unusual number of Senatorial aspirants, and it cannot be said that they make a very reputable array. Some of them stand in the line of promotion from State Boss; some are blatant members of the Lower House who, without Mr. Blaine's experience in managing the Machine, would bring to the Senate the same aptitude for violating the traditions and proprieties of that body; and in general the scramble decidedly implies a prevailing belief in a revival of the Senatorial Group. Mr. Wheeler, in modest fashion, indicates his willingness to be complimented with a seat in the Senate from New York, but we are told that his open opposition to the nomination of Gov. Cornell has sealed his chances; he cannot be "Conkling's man." If we are to have Conkling's man, by the way, we must resign ourselves to a Conkling group, of which Vice-President Arthur will be the third constituent. All this shows that somehow the Bosses are confident that Mr. Hayes's successor is going to hold a different attitude towards them, and it would be worth Gen. Garfield's while to enquire what is the basis for such encouragement, and whether, if there be any ground for it, it is altogether creditable to himself. The talk about a "bargain" at Mentor, during the Conkling-Grant visit, has, after all, less significance than the signs of hopeful activity in the corrupt leadership of the Republican party; for these must mean that Gen. Garfield's *character* has been "discounted." We remark that the Massachusetts senatorship is, in accordance with a respectable custom, likely to abide with Mr. Dawes, who, as if dropping an anchor to windward (we do not mean of the President-elect but of public sentiment), has lately declared himself, in a speech, in favor of civil-service reform.

The week witnessed a revival of speculation in many articles of merchandise as well as at the Stock Exchange. United States bonds advanced to 112½ for the 4 per cents, or to a price which yields the buyer only a trifle more than 3¼ per cent. on his investment. Railroad bonds advanced ½ to 6¾ per cent., and stocks which are speculated in advanced 1½ to 17 points, the rise being led by the better class of stocks on which dividends have been regularly paid for years. All that is surprising about the revival of speculation and the advance in prices is that it should occur at a time when the banks are fully expanded, and at a season when each week, so far as domestic influences are concerned, reduces their lending facilities. The imports of specie are larger than a few weeks ago, but they are not yet sufficient to replace in the loan market the drafts upon it by reason of the payments into the Treasury, and the shipments of money to the South and West. The speculation may be said to be anticipatory of a great accumulation of money here early in the new year, of a very large demand from Europe for American securities, and of a reduction of the rate of interest, by refunding, on more than $600,000,000 of the public debt to 3½ and possibly 3 per cent. per annum. All these favorable events can be reasonably calculated on as likely to occur in the not remote future; and yet the interval

is sufficient to permit of a reaction amounting to a panic. On this account conservative holders of securities have, as a rule, been sellers of stocks at the advanced prices, while speculators have been the chief buyers. The price of silver bullion in London declined to 51⅝*d.* per ounce, and the bullion value here of the "buzzard dollar" fell to $0.8623.

There could hardly be a better illustration of the way the best settled maxims of government are sometimes disregarded in the administration of Federal affairs at the South than the case of Deputy-Collector Lanier, of Louisiana. One of these maxims is that when you have to deal with a turbulent or disaffected population you should employ agents, and especially tax-collecting agents, who will have nothing specially provocative about them—that is, nothing to rouse hostility beyond the fearless performance of their duty. This man Lanier is, however, we believe, an old defaulter of the State service; he is also editor of a Radical newspaper, and has been running for Congress, and, we presume, "working" vigorously as an agitator in his district. The result is, as he pitifully writes to Washington, that he is "now a prisoner in his own house, and dare not go out for fear of assassination," and "finds it necessary to leave the collection district to secure his personal safety." "Please advise me," he adds, "what to do in the premises." The advice Commissioner Raum ought to give him is to resign and attend exclusively to his newspaper and his political work. Instead of this, however, he has sent him an armed guard from New Orleans to go about with him on his collection trips, like the Irish constabulary with the landlords and process-servers. It may save some Stalwart the trouble of writing us a letter accusing us of sympathizing with bulldozers and Red-shirts, to say that we are in favor of enforcing the law at the South with every kind of weapon known to modern warfare; but we hold that the officers of the law ought first to be selected simply for their official duty, and that the more difficulty they are likely to encounter in the discharge of this duty, from the character of the population they have to deal with, the more careful should the selection be. Lanier, on his own showing, is an unfit person for his office. An editor of a newspaper and working politician has no business to be a collector of revenue in a disturbed district.

Some Stalwart papers are angry because we have appeared to share in General Schofield's apprehension that the standards at West Point would be lowered in ordered to help colored boys to get through. Now, we assert that it is literally true that the standards have been lowered by some form of indulgence in order to help the eleven colored cadets to graduate, and that Whittaker, too, has enjoyed favors which would not have been accorded to a white boy. Since he left the Academy a petition has already been signed by ministers and others in this city asking the President to put him back, although his inability to pass the examination has been fully ascertained. This has all grown out of the anxiety of the Republican party to have the negro justify the sacrifices made on his behalf and the expectations excited about him. The motive is praiseworthy, but the means resorted to are not defensible. The Government has no right, either at West Point or anywhere else, to mix philanthropy with business. West Point is a scientific school for the training of experts for the public service, and it is as much an abuse of a public trust to use it for missionary or reformatory purposes, as it would be to give some of the funds of the Naval Observatory to a colored orphan asylum. One unfortunate effect of the Stalwart view of the school was only too plainly revealed in Whittaker's diary, where he denounced the professors who gave him low marks as enemies of his race, and treated himself as a martyr whenever he broke down in his recitations.

The consensus of the Buffalo *Courier*, the New York *World*, the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, and perhaps other Democratic journals, in recommending the majority in Congress at the coming session to take up and enact civil-service reform, might lead to something if Mr. Hayes should dextrously pave the way in his forthcoming message, and if the South were ready to seize this opportunity, while still acting with the Democratic party, of demonstrating their interest in legislation which concerns all sections alike. The Southern press made the most of Mr. Garfield's defection from the principles of reform in his letter of acceptance, and used it as an argument for the hopelessness of any improvement in the Federal officers at the South under his Administration. Their representatives in Congress now have it in their power to forestall his accession, and to bind him and the succeeding Republican Congress to a system making capacity and fidelity the tests of admission to and tenure in office. One result of this would be the immediate emancipation of the Federal office-holders from forced assessments. Four years hence they could not be counted upon at all for the sinews of the campaign; so that, viewed merely as a stroke of party policy, the reform commends itself to the outgoing majority. It would, of course, challenge the support of an influential portion of Republicans in Congress, and of President Hayes. Moreover, it would be the beginning of a new "record," of which the Democratic party stands so sorely in need; and something would have been done to offset resumption or any other trump-card of its opponents.

An independent Republican organization in Auburn, N. Y., the Young Men's Garfield and Arthur Club, formed in spite of the opposition of the ring politicians of the county, and having a large membership, had much to do with the success of the Republican ticket in that city. Encouraged by its performances, it has within a fortnight adopted a permanent organization on a somewhat novel basis. Its object, according to the constitution, is "to provide mental instruction on questions of public policy," to sustain the principles of the Republican party, to preserve the purity of the caucuses, and to make incessant war on the Machine—*i.e.*, "those who would use its [the party's] name to subserve personal and selfish purposes." To this end the members pledge themselves to attend caucuses, and no public officer is permitted to be president of the club; which is carrying out President Hayes's "executive order." For the purpose of mental instruction it is proposed to have assembly rooms with reading-room and library attached, and to provide for lectures by prominent politicians of the better sort. Already nearly 700 members have been enrolled in Auburn alone, and the county will be well represented too. In Rochester, as we are informed, a similar organization has grown out of the Young Men's Lincoln Club, a very influential body.

The report of the United States Treasurer shows that of nearly $73,000,000 standard silver dollars coined since 1878 only 34 per cent. has gone into circulation. Over $47,000,000 are in the Treasury vaults. It will be one of the first and most pressing duties of Congress to deal with this state of things. The hopes which the bi-metallists have been trying to keep alive, that the nations of Europe would come to the rescue and help us out of the silver difficulty, are now substantially given up, if, indeed, there was ever anything substantial about them. Every now and then there comes a rumor that Germany is going back to bi-metallism, but it is almost immediately followed by an emphatic denial from the men in authority. The experience of France in trying to be bi-metallic is at this moment very instructive. She is steadily losing her stock of gold in spite of all efforts to prevent it. Within the past few months she has lost about $50,000,000, although it was hoped that the drain would be stopped by ceasing to coin silver. A month ago the plan of raising the rate of interest at the Bank of France was tried, but the result is that the bank instead of gaining gold has gained silver, of which it has already an enormous stock. Frenchmen who have payments to make in mono-metallic countries make them in gold, because silver will not be received, and then lately it is said, as the stock of gold has been visibly diminishing, people have begun to draw on it, even when they do not need it for transmission abroad, fearing that it may before long disappear altogether. Another rise in the bank rate is now looked for, and in Europe it is believed that a sharp struggle for the gold between England, France, and this country is impending.

One of the cries against the South with which the Republicans opened the late canvass was that there were great frauds committed in taking the present census in the Southern States, with the view of increasing or maintaining the Southern representation under the coming apportionment. A good deal was made of this charge both by newspapers and orators, on the plausible ground that the increase reported in South Carolina over the census of 1870 was simply impossible. General Walker thereupon probed the matter to the bottom, by having the enumeration

made over again in the suspected districts, and made the unpleasant covery that it was the census of 1870 which was defective. It was taken by the carpet-bag government, whose officers, in this as in most other things, pocketed the money and did not do the work. Some of the Stalwart Senators in Washington cannot bear this, however. They had settled that *à priori* the South must have cheated in the census, whatever the figures may say, and they have persuaded the President to have still another careful enumeration made by persons in whom they have confidence. Mr. Wallace, the United States Marshal for South Carolina, first raised the cry of fraud, but has since acknowledged his error; but this produces no impression on the Stalwart mind. If this last count should reveal nothing wrong, the condition of this mind, which in all that relates to the South is a very peculiar organ, will be really pitiable.

We print on another page, as an answer to numerous letters of enquiry, the constitution and a list of officers of the reorganized Civil-Service Reform Association. It will be seen that ample precautions have been taken both in the constitution and in the composition of the executive committee against any partisan use of the association. Copies of the constitution will, we are informed, be sent to any one applying for them to the secretary. The annual dues are low enough to enable even those of very limited means to give some help to the undertaking, but those who are more fortunate will remember that larger donations can, and we feel sure will, be turned to good account. The work of the association, too, has equally strong claims upon those in both parties who think that the country ought to be governed by the unbiassed opinion of the majority of the voters. Civil-service reform aims at removing one of the greatest obstacles to the free play of this opinion on the Government, and this is something which every honest man of both parties must desire, and will desire the more earnestly the more importance he attaches to his own views of public policy. But civil-service reform cannot, any more than anything else, be forced on the public. Unless it is the product of clear comprehension, brought about by thorough discussion, it will either prove defective or will not last. This discussion the Association proposes to start and keep going.

There is nothing new in the condition of the Irish question. Both sides are getting ready for the prosecutions, but the interest in them is apparently very small, so completely have all political prosecutions lost their gravity. Everybody knows that, even in case of conviction, the sentences will be slight, and probably will be greatly mitigated in the execution. Moreover, the decay of eloquence at the Irish bar since the O'Connell trials in 1844 has been considerable. There is nobody who excites the same expectations as the lawyers who figured in those trials, and the defendants, except Mr. Parnell, are mostly agitators from obscure positions in life, for whom the prosecution is a distinct social gain. The most important contribution to the literature of the land question since last week is a letter to the London *Daily News* from Professor Thorold Rogers, the well-known English political economist and member of Parliament. He declares that he has "never met an Irishman, not an absentee or land-agent or a land-jobber or a survivor of the Protestant ascendency party," who did not affirm that "the remedy for Irish agrarian disaffection was to plant, by fair and legal means, the Irish occupier on the soil of his native country." He further declares that he has never "met any person who doubted" that the small Irish tenant was only able to pay the rent now exacted of him under competition, by the help of annual gains in England during the harvest; that he "has invariably found on enquiry" that if the Irish land-owners had made in 1878 and 1879 such reductions of rent as were made by English land-owners, "no one would have heard of Mr. Parnell or his Land League as serious political difficulties"; that he has never heard it "seriously denied" that in the vast majority of cases in Ireland improvements are made by the tenants, and that under these circumstances to exact competitive rents is "tyranny and robbery," and that the maintenance of the Irish constabulary out of the imperial exchequer is, under these circumstances, complicity with wrong-doing; that "he would be surprised to hear that during the last two disastrous years Irish landlords have not received a larger percentage in the rental of agricultural land than the English landowners have." He then points out in strong language the justification given to Mr. Parnell's assertion that Irish questions can get no justice from an English Parliament, by the contemptuous rejection by the Lords of the three Irish bills of last session, two of them—the Limitation of Costs Bill and the Irish County Registration Bill—"without a shadow of an excuse."

What is to be done or whether anything is to be done in the matter of coercive measures is still a matter of uncertainty. The Radical wing of the Cabinet, represented by Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain, are known to be opposed to any extraordinary repressive legislation, and are prepared to bring in and pass the proposed land bill, even in the presence of the disturbances and outrages. The Tories, therefore, who have all along insisted that the Liberal party was made up of two hostile and irreconcilable camps, will have it that the inevitable split is to come now from the Irish question, and rumors to this effect are constantly set afloat every week. There does not appear, however, to be much foundation, if any foundation, for them. Mr. Forster, though looking to coercion as a possibility, seems disposed to compromise with his Radical colleagues by holding off as long as possible, and trying whether the ordinary process of law will not do the work of pacification, or, at least, do it sufficiently. One of the best signs of the times for Ireland is, that the Radical English constituencies seem for the first time ready to treat Irish grievances as popular grievances, which English Liberals should make their own. Whether this is or is not owing to the fact that many of these constituencies contain a large Irish vote, it is for Ireland an important and encouraging phenomenon.

There has been a very singular debate in the Prussian Parliament on a petition, signed by various eminent and influential men, praying for the exclusion of the Jews from office and the infliction of other disabilities. The movement is said to have been got up by Herr Stoecker, one of the Court chaplains, and to have had lately more or less of Prince Bismarck's sympathy. The principal charge against the Jews is the old one of spoiling the Christians by stock-jobbing and usury, but the whole string of charges produced by Professor Treitschke in his pamphlet is freely used. The real trouble is that the Jews, owing to various conditions both of life and character, are beating the Christians badly in pursuits which the Christians have only taken up with eagerness within the last twenty years. As long as Germany was not a great commercial and stock-dealing country the financial success of the Jews excited no apprehension. The Emperor is said to side strongly with the Israelites, and we presume they have nothing worse than abuse to fear.

The French are busy reforming their magistracy, which has ever since the "Seize Mai" been a sore subject with the Republicans of the Left. The hostility of large numbers of the judges to the Republic seemed to make many changes necessary, but how to make them without attacking the principle of irremovability was the question. The Assembly has now taken the bull by the horns, and has suspended the irremovability rule for one year, during which, of course, the disaffected or ill-affected judges will be got rid of. So strong does the feeling against the bench as at present constituted seem to be that there was a heavy and nearly successful vote in favor of making the judges elective by universal suffrage, on the American plan. The explanation of this is to be found in the fact that the mode of appointing and promoting French judges trains them in subservience to the Government, in spite of the fixity of their tenure. They are not taken, as here and in England, from the prominent members of the bar. Judging is a profession to itself, which a man enters young and in the lower grades, which are wretchedly paid, and he is then promoted if he finds favor with the appointing power. Long before he reaches the upper courts he is apt to have acquired habits of servility which his irremovability only makes the more obnoxious and dangerous. That the bench has not heartily accepted the Republic must be ascribed to the monarchical traditions in which most of the judges have grown up, the Conservative temper of the profession, and to disbelief in the durability of the new régime. But the suspension of the irremovability must be considered a most dangerous weapon. It has not hitherto been resorted to after any of the recent revolutions. That it will be in any future revolutions appears very sure.

THE ART OF CABINET MAKING.

THE Washington correspondent of the *Herald*, in giving some account of the speculations current in that city about Mr. Garfield's Cabinet, describes the three kinds of cabinets which he may form. He may, it is said, as a recognition of the hostility to "a change" expressed by the election, keep President Hayes's Cabinet. Or he may follow the old rule, which Mr. Lincoln followed, of surrounding himself with the most prominent competitors of his own party, with more or less reference to the claims of locality. Or he may adopt General Grant's plan, and choose persons to whom he himself takes a fancy, without regard to their political or other standing. As regards the first of these suggestions, the objection to it is that it would make certain a prolongation of that hostility to the Administration on the part of the more prominent Republican politicians and managers to which Mr. Hayes has been exposed ever since he took office. Mr. Garfield will probably shrink from this, and not unnaturally. Moreover, he will, if he seeks to make a mark of any kind on affairs during his Administration, wish to select his own advisers, and this he may do even if he intends to follow the lines of policy laid down by his predecessor. The third plan is hardly worth discussion. It was unique; nobody has a word to say for it, and it is not likely to be tried again.

The second is the one Mr. Garfield is most likely to follow, or try to follow, and the one which may be most easily defended. It not only has precedent on its side, but it seems a logical result of the theory which has now been long accepted in the working of this Government—that the President is the head or leader of his party and not a mere executive officer, like a constitutional monarch, raised above parties. Being the head of his party, he may fairly be expected to make up his cabinet as an English Prime Minister makes it up, from among those who have been most prominent and active in the party management. This theory, it is true, cannot always be made to square with the facts. The nominee of the party for the Presidency is by no means always its most prominent politician. In fact, in the history of the Republican party, no selection of this personage for the Presidency has ever taken place. Neither General Fremont, nor Mr. Lincoln, nor General Grant, nor Mr. Hayes was the foremost statesman or leader of the party when elected. Only one of them, Mr. Lincoln, ever attained the position of the real head of a party—that is, of a man who could, if he chose, originate and carry through legislation. He was the only President of the Republican party whose recommendations the majority in Congress heeded and carried out, or tried to carry out. He did, however, in making up his Cabinet from his competitors for the Presidency, surround himself with men who had either been prominent in furnishing, enforcing, and spreading the ideas on which the party was built up, or in putting its policy into execution. The expediency of giving Seward and Chase, for instance, the chief places as his advisers lay in the fact not that their nomination had been talked of or voted for in the convention, but that they had been largely instrumental in forming and diffusing the opinions which finally brought the party into power, and were, therefore, presumably the best men to assist in converting these opinions into action. And this is unquestionably the true rule of cabinet making. A President has to ask himself when he takes office, first, what it is the party which has put him in possession of the Government seeks to accomplish, and then, who are the men who have been most active and successful in bringing the party to desire and strive for this thing. The fact that a man has been much voted for at the convention may mean little or nothing. It may be due to a mere accident, or may be the result of a "boom" prepared by the now familiar process of packing caucuses. It furnishes of itself no indication, or at most only a very faint one, of his real value and fitness as a counsellor.

This view of the proper composition of a cabinet has been greatly obscured, if not destroyed, since Lincoln's day by circumstances in the party's history with which everybody is familiar. Up to the passage of the reconstruction measures the Republican party was a moving body. It started to prevent the extension of slavery to the Territories. It found its attempt to accomplish this by legislation foiled by the Southern revolt. It then set to work, still following the line it had traced out for itself from the beginning, to carry the war to a triumphant conclusion, and, this done, to restore in some shape or other civil government in the territory which the war had placed at its disposal. Through all these transactions there was no difference of opinion in the party ranks on the question of party responsibility and the duty of party action. There *was* difference of opinion as to the mode of reconstruction, but none as to whether the party was not bound to *act* in the matter of reconstruction. No one in the party denied that the party was obliged not simply to reign, but to govern—or, in other words, to put its ideas into legislation and administration. Since the work of reconstruction was finished there has been, however, a gradual but steady decrease of the party momentum. Indeed, for the last ten years it may be said to have ceased. The only really important piece of work the party has accomplished has been the return to specie payments, and we all know that this was by no means accomplished by resolute and fixed design, but rather by a sort of drift and the concurrence of several happy accidents. There has been great division of party sentiment about the duty of resuming at all, and greater still about the expediency of resuming soon. In 1868 the party, in fact, began to "point with pride," but always backward, and this, in a party no less than in a man, is a sign that its natural force is abating, that it begins to shrink from action. It began at the same time to maintain that the only duty that could now be fairly expected of it was the duty of keeping the Democrats and the South out of power, and its newspapers and orators devoted themselves almost exclusively to descriptions of the evils which would result from their advent to power. Under these circumstances the work of party leaders naturally and rapidly became the work, not of originating and disseminating ideas and embodying them in legislative acts, but of distributing offices in such manner as to make it difficult for the Opposition to win elections. This work has accordingly created and brought to the front, by the usual process of natural selection, a group of statesmen who are skilled in it and familiar with it, and who make it their chief business—men who save their country not by planning great measures, but by the judicious officering of custom-houses and post-offices and the withdrawal from nominating conventions of the function of deliberation. They no more resemble the material from which Lincoln drew his Cabinet than Napoleon's marshals, who, old and rich and war-worn, forced him to make peace in 1814, resembled the same men when they followed him in all the fire of youth into Italy in 1796. The inventiveness, the enterprise, the faith, the ardor, the unconquerable determination are all gone. The interest in questions on which party action is possible is gone too, and in its place has come a sort of mock fury about things which are nearly as far removed from the sphere of governmental control—such as the condition of Southern character, both black and white—as the climate of Jupiter.

We may easily illustrate this from the history of Mr. Hayes's Administration. If we were to consult one of the Republican politicians who are now most prominent in the party management as to the character of this Administration, we should get from his criticisms in five minutes a most instructive explanation of the change which has come over the ideas of statesmanship entertained by some Republicans. He would tell us at once that it is the feeblest Administration known in American history, that it has been a total failure, that Mr. Hayes is going out of office amid general contempt, and that Mr. Garfield will be warned by his "fate."

If we ask him in what Mr. Hayes's failure has consisted, he will admit that he has faithfully executed the laws now on the statute-book; that he has made all the recommendations to Congress which the state of the country seemed to call for, or which his party expected him to make; that he has vetoed all bills which he ought to have vetoed, or which the united party expected him to veto; that he has made no treaty by which any national interest was sacrificed or the national pride wounded, and has not failed to make any treaty which could be made and which the national welfare and security plainly called for; that he has not tolerated jobbery and corruption, so far as is known, in any department of the Government; and that he has not abused the pardoning power. When all these admissions are made it seems as if Mr. Hayes had done his whole duty under the Constitution and was a great success. But our politician will go on to say that, in spite of all this, he has betrayed and weakened the party, and if we press him for particulars, will tell us that Mr. Hayes has not taken the party leaders into his confidence, or

consulted their wishes in the distribution of the offices. So that, after a little sifting and analysis, we get down to the fact that leading Republican politicians in our time look on a fair distribution of the offices among senators and representatives as the chief duty of the President; and that the party is an instrumentality not for promoting legislation, as it was in the beginning, but for procuring offices for distribution. The plain truth is that neither Mr. Conkling, Mr. Blaine, Mr. Logan, nor Mr. Cameron has anything against Mr. Hayes, except that his distribution of the offices was not to their liking. They do not allege that the actual incumbents have not done their legal duty; they simply say that they were not selected by them, and that, inasmuch as they were not, Mr. Hayes's Administration, whatever it may have done for the country at large, must be considered a failure, and Mr. Hayes's "fate" as conveying a most impressive lesson to all who come after him.

There is one other illustration of the change which is, perhaps, still more pointed. It would in 1860 have excited great surprise if announced that Mr. Chase or Mr. Seward or Mr. Sumner or Mr. Fessenden did not care to enter the Cabinet himself; that all he asked was to be allowed to "name" some one to sit in it as in some sort his representative. This surprise would have been still further increased if it had been ascertained that the person he wished to "name" was not a man of his own standing, who shared his opinions and who had shared his labors, but a "worker" or "henchman" who attended to his local electioneering business for him, and that his object in wishing to put him in his Cabinet was not to furnish the President with a counsellor, but to have some one at headquarters to let his chief know all that was going on and to see that when the spoils were being divided he got his fair share. Yet this phenomenon, which would have been considered so extraordinary twenty years ago, we are witnessing to-day without any wonder at all. In 1876 party managers first began to demand Cabinet positions for their own henchmen, and in doing so perhaps gave the finishing touch to the "spoils system." At this moment we read in the speculations about the Cabinet, and without either surprise or indignation, that Mr. Conkling does not want a seat in the Cabinet for himself, but will insist on "Tom" Platt getting the Post-office, and that Mr. Blaine, too, would sooner stay in the Senate, but will expect Mr. Eugene Hale to get the Navy Department, and so on. Of course it is not pretended that either "Tom" Platt or Mr. Eugene Hale has reached any such position in public estimation as to make his presence in the Cabinet desirable either as an adviser or administrator. His function in the Cabinet would be, first, to play the part of a standing sign of his chief's power over the President, and, secondly, to watch over his chief's interests in the matter of nominations. The chief himself would remain in the Senate, as the place in which bargains could be best consummated and "perfidy" most effectively punished.

It will thus be seen that it will not be possible for Mr. Garfield to follow the Lincoln plan, even if he desires to do so, owing to the great change in the conditions with which he will have to deal. He will have to choose at the outset whether he will be a President of the Lincoln type—that is, a real administrator occupied above all things with real problems of government; or of the Grant type—that is, a distributer of offices under the supervision of a group or committee of Senators. If he chooses the former, he will, in the existing political situation, trace out for himself a stormy career which no man should enter upon who is not satisfied that he has stomach for a prolonged fight. It is not a rôle which a peaceable or commonplace man ought to take up. But if he does choose it he will find it impossible to make up his Cabinet as Lincoln made up his. If, on the other hand, he elects to be a President of the Grant type, and resigns himself to keeping a kind of "intelligence office" through which Republican Bosses can communicate with their "workers," he will have whatever comfort comes from hearing his praises from the lips of the Bosses on every stump, and he will receive $50,000 a year, paid monthly; but this will be all.

Two or three questions, to which recent history furnishes the answer, will, if he asks them, throw a great deal of light on his path. "What do I gain beyond the friendship of the Bosses by putting 'Tom' in my Cabinet? I do not help the party, it is clear, because 'Tom' was in General Grant's Cabinet when the party lost most of the leading Republican States and nearly lost the Presidency. I do not furnish myself with any valuable assistance either in executing the laws or recommending legislation, because no one thinks 'Tom's' opinions on these subjects are of any value. I shall doubtless win the friendship and support of some leading Senators, which would be useful if I were to confine myself simply to the distribution of offices for the promotion of Senatorial interests. But would this support be of much use to me in administering the Presidency as the Constitution creates it? I think not, because I know that none of these Senators takes much if any interest in such measures or questions as should occupy my mind. What should I lose, then, by offending them? Simply what Mr. Hayes lost—their company and advice at the White House. It would be pleasanter and more comfortable to be on good terms with them, but Mr. Hayes has got on very well without their friendship; why should not I? Moreover, is 'Tom' a safe person to have in a cabinet? Would he not be constantly engaged in jobs and bargains which would bring discredit on me and the party, and lead to defeats at the polls of which I alone should have to bear the blame, inasmuch as 'Tom' would pretend that it was all due to my not having taken his advice?"

A REAL DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

THE efforts to obtain a seat in the Cabinet for the head of the abnormal executive division bearing the above title have hitherto been suspected of being intended to promote personal interests. The incoming of a new Administration furnishes an excellent opportunity to give the proposed dignity to the Department of Agriculture, while leaving the President perfectly free to dismiss or retain the present Commissioner. In what we are about to say we shall leave this consideration entirely untouched.

In 1862 Congress created a so-called Department of Agriculture, independent of all others, but without representation in the Cabinet. Its head was entitled "Commissioner of Agriculture," and its objects were "to acquire and diffuse among the people . . . useful information on subjects connected with agriculture, . . . and to procure, propagate, and distribute among the people new and valuable seeds and plants." The Commissioner was directed "to acquire and preserve . . . all information concerning agriculture which he can obtain by means of books and correspondence, and by practical and scientific experiments, . . . by the collection of statistics, and by any other means within his power; to collect new and valuable seeds and plants; to test, by cultivation . . .; to propagate such as may be worthy, . . . and to distribute them among agriculturists; to make annually a general report to the President and to Congress, and special reports when required or whenever he thought the subject required them, etc." No subsequent laws have modified the general organization or scope of the Department. It will be seen that, within certain narrow limits, the Commissioner's powers to organize and equip were indefinite and unhampered except by the amount of appropriations. The salary of the Commissioner was placed at $3,000, and is still the same—that is, one-third that of the heads of other departments, one-half that of the United States Geologist, two-thirds that of the Commissioner of Patents, three-fourths that of the Commissioner of Public Lands, and three-fifths that of Congressmen. As a consequence of the meagre compensation and the inferior status of the Department men of large abilities have rarely sought the Commissionership, and even under the present improved management the Department has failed to impress Congress with its ability to cope with the enquiry for which the Entomological Commission has been independently instituted.

If it be granted that the only way to raise the standard and increase the efficiency of the Department of Agriculture is by elevating it to a secretaryship, it is difficult to imagine what objections can be raised to such a step. It may be said that for the first time a single class in the community would be represented in the Cabinet. To this the reply will be that half the population is engaged in the production of bread and meat for the food, and of cotton and wool for the clothing, of the whole people; and it is of the first importance that crop production be carried on under the most favoring circumstances, in order that the necessaries of life may be plentiful and cheap. The farm furnishes more than fifty per cent. of the raw material for all our manufactures, the greater portion of the business of railroads and water transportation and of the material of trade, especially of the foreign commerce to which our

present prosperity is attributed. During the last fiscal year the total exports of the country amounted to $823,946,353. Of this vast sum, $529,944,779 represents the products of agriculture as they come from the farm, or more than five-eighths of the whole. Add $115,690,670 as the value of the raw materials in flour, provisions, timber, etc., and $8,506,038 for the farm products used in other manufactured articles, and there results the magnificent total of $654,141,487 as the proportion of our exports to be credited to agriculture, against $169,804,866 to manufactures, mines (except gold and silver), and fisheries.

The proposed enactment would be, even if it created instead of amplifying a department, less class legislation and less "paternal" than a system of foreign consulates, which is chiefly of value to commerce; than the light-house, coast-survey, marine-hospital, and life-saving service, for commerce; the signal service, of most value to commerce; the banking system, for commerce; improvement of navigation, for commerce; subsidies to steamship lines, and land-grants to railroads, for commerce. Manufactures, which employ but one-third as many of our people as does agriculture, are nurtured by Government more than in the most paternal of governments, by a gigantic system of protective tariffs and by our patent laws. In fact, the Departments of the Treasury and the Interior are, for the most part, occupied with the interests of commerce and manufactures.

Now, the protection which agriculture needs is protection from the scourge of animal diseases, which is already causing a loss of more than $300,000,000 annually; from the spread of contagious diseases like pleuro-pneumonia, which alone will cause a direct additional loss of fully $60,000,000 per year, and destroy a profitable foreign trade; from the insect hordes, which work incalculable destruction—forces quite as harmful to our industries as "foreign pauper labor" or "Chinese cheap labor." Agriculture requires in foreign consuls men of sufficient ability to examine and report upon systems and methods of cultivation, as well as upon current crops and crop prospects; a coast survey in a form of a comprehensive system of experimental stations, as in France, Germany, Austria, Russia, and Italy, for the testing of new plants and methods, and for other scientific research; a signal service which shall do for the farmer what is now done for commerce; and internal improvements looking to the saving of fertilizing material now wasted in city sewers, to the reclamation of the deserts and swamps of the West and South, and the protection of rich river-bottoms from overflow. All these things are comparatively easy of accomplishment, with the help of a well-organized and authoritative (because respected) Department of Agriculture.

We have seen what the United States Department of Agriculture is—a "department" without representation in the Government, and with many of its proper functions lodged with other departments. It is struggling hard against destructively small appropriations and consequent incapacity in a field of vast necessities, and yet its probable success in solving the great sugar problem* will eventually produce an income to the country of more than 2,000 per cent. on the total cost of the department to this date. A full department should comprise not only the present so-called Department of Agriculture, but also the Land Office, care of the public forests, and the Geological Survey. Its existing statistical, chemical, veterinary, entomological, botanical, and forestry divisions should be enlarged and organized on a substantial basis, and such means provided for their work and maintenance as would tempt scientists of ability and influence to seek their direction. A Veterinary Division is demanded of such scope as to include inspection at all important trade-centres and ports of shipment, and with power to stamp out cattle-plagues. With such an organization there need be no difficulty about the foreign trade, and the transportation of animals would cease to be the flagrant abuse it now is. A Forestry Division, with the resources of the Land Office and the authority of a Cabinet Secretary who would be interested in the subject, could easily be made of great value for the preservation and extension of our wasting forests. Several experimental farms, as above mentioned, are imperatively needed—one in the Southeast, one Southwest, one Northwest, one Central, and one Northeast.

It would also be the duty of the department, through its various stations, to experiment with a view to the production of such articles as may possibly be raised within our borders, and for which many millions of treasure are now sent out of the country, as enumerated in the following table:

Sugar (not including duty)	$85,000,000
Coffee " " "	60,000,000
Tea " " "	20,000,000
Wool, raw, " "	24,000,000
Silk, raw, " "	12,000,000
Jute, hemp, flax, etc., "	9,250,000
Breadstuffs, fruits, etc., "	13,000,000
Tobacco (not including duty)	7,500,000
Wines " " "	7,500,000
Total	$238,250,000

As the sum of our total imports is but about $670,000,000, it will be seen that herein alone is an ample field of operations for a great department, and employment for the ablest scientists of the country. We must not expect, of course, to see such a department created at once. But the first step, the elevation of the department to full rank, should be taken immediately; this is a duty which both political parties owe to the country, and which should be fulfilled for the common good without reference to party glory. The rest will follow by gravitation and natural growth, and by wise and liberal management.

* See the article "Sorghum Sugar," *Nation*, July 12.

BISMARCK'S FINANCIAL POLICY.

BERLIN, November, 1880.

OUR parliamentary season has been reopened by the meeting of the Prussian Diet, whose first sitting took place on October 28 without exciting much public interest. In Bismarck's absence Count Stollberg, his substitute, and a gentleman of less than ordinary ability, read a rather dull address from the throne, which was listened to almost silently by only about a hundred deputies.

The financial state of the country is the most interesting part of the Diet's business. The address in rough outlines gives the plans of the Government for the ensuing fiscal year, its views on the material development of the country, and its propositions for the best way of defraying the necessary expenses. As it was generally known that there was a deficiency in the Government's income which required a new loan, the Diet was the more surprised by the King's announcement that fourteen millions of marks (4.25 marks equal one dollar) should be devoted to the alleviation of the heavy burdens of the poorer classes by remitting one quarterly payment of their income-tax. This measure, if carried out, is to benefit those who pay taxes on a yearly income of less than 6,000 marks. These humbler taxpayers number altogether 8,843,702 souls. The lowest class, which has a yearly income of less than 420 marks, and which amounts to 3,611,287 souls, is and has been free from taxation, and consequently gains nothing. The next lowest, consisting of 2,697,365 souls, with a yearly income of from 420 to 660 marks, will be relieved by 21 pfennigs (a pfennig is the hundredth part of a mark), or 5 cents, per head; and of the third lowest class, numbering 1,074,893 souls, each will pay 41 pfennigs (10 cents) less for the next year. Thus, 7,583,485 out of 8,843,702 (in a total population of 25,000,000) will derive a very insignificant advantage, if any, from the proposed reduction. Even the highest class, composed of only 10,483 taxpayers, with a yearly income of 6,000 marks, will gain but 11.20 marks—about $2 50 per head.

The reason for the ministers inserting this fine promise into the King's address is rather perspicuous. It was intended to make a favorable impression on the popular mind; it was to prove that the new financial policy of 1878, based on indirect taxes, has been attended with so much success that the Government can afford to make a moderate reduction in the amount of the direct taxes for the present, and a more considerable one if the plans of the Chancellor shall be adopted. Will the poor man swallow this bait? If he has not forgotten the first elements of arithmetic he will reach a conclusion the reverse of what is expected of him. What do 5 pfennigs', what does even a mark's abatement of direct taxes mean, when by the new tariff he is compelled to pay 25 pfennigs more for every hundred weight of rye, 5 pfennigs for every pound of American lard, 6 pfennigs for every pound of bacon, 3 pfennigs for every pound of petroleum, and 30 pfennigs for every pound of tobacco? The Secretary of the Treasury, however, added a depressing commentary to the King's words. He admitted that the ordinary budget had a surplus of 14,000,000 marks, but he had to state at the same time that the extraordinary budget (consisting of all payments which do not recur in the same shape and amount every year) closes with a deficiency of 42,000,000 marks, and that consequently, in order to balance accounts, a new loan of 28,000,000 must be negotiated. Other governments reduce the burdens of their subjects from a surplus of their income. Our secretary admits a deficiency, but,

nevertheless, reduces the taxes by borrowing the non-existing surplus and by increasing the Government's liabilities! The prospects held out for the future are still less encouraging. In order to carry out Bismarck's policy, and especially to abate the direct taxes, the Secretary declares that about 110,000,000 marks more indirect taxes must be raised for the next fiscal year. Now, a duty on malt and beer, on receipts and stamps, and on persons unable to serve in the army (*Wehrsteuer*) amounts to only one-half of the above sum. Consequently tobacco will have to sweat again, while the one article which would yield more than any of the above-named—*i.e.*, whiskey—will not be taxed at all, or, at least, very moderately, because the tax would fall on the large real-estate owners and the gentry, who have been converted into bottle-holders of the present system.

Legislation of this character, acting exclusively in the interest of the well-to-do classes and throwing the heaviest burdens on the poor man's shoulders, will necessarily lead to wide-spread discontent and to the dissemination of communistic doctrines. How easy it will henceforth be for a Social-Democrat to prove to his credulous hearers that he is an innocent victim of the rich, that the present order of things must be radically changed, and that only a revolution can put an end to his cruel sufferings! In itself the Social-Democracy would not be able to create serious disturbances and civil war, but the present plans and proceedings of the ruling classes drive the taxpayers into the arms of the Communists and make them their docile disciples. On the other hand, the Government lets loose the war-dogs of class hatred, and supports the very enemies of the present order of things. Bismarck's leaning towards the social doctrines of Lassalle and other adventurers is well known. In spite of his other heavy duties, he is now acting Secretary of Commerce, and as such has fallen back on his old love. He now proposes to compel the industrial workingmen to form insurance companies against every kind of accident befalling them in the performance of their craft, against sickness and death. To carry out this plan is impossible, as there are so many provisions and conditions that in order really to secure himself against all chances of injury and sickness or death the poor workingman would have to pay two hundred marks a year. Our large manufacturers, however, extol the Chancellor as the great iron prince who, by this bold measure, would relieve them of a part of their responsibility for their employees. Some of the most impudent representatives of the manufacturing interest, wishing to avoid too great an expense, even go so far as to demand that the respective towns and villages should pay one-third of the insurance premiums and give the control of the business into the hands of the Government. They will, of course, not succeed, but only create animosity and difficulties which will at least prevent the springing up of good feeling among the working classes.

To add to the general dissatisfaction the eyes of the discontented Germans are more than ever turned towards the United States. President Hayes's Administration has done more than it is credited with to re-establish the respect, good-will, and partiality which the German people entertained for your country before the unfriendly sale of arms to the French and the corruption under Grant had made it a byword among decent men. You will appreciate the results of this change of mind in the largely increased immigration which has found its way to the United States, although other countries have tried their utmost to divert it from its old course. Your late Presidential campaign was watched here with more attention than any one since the war, and the news of the election of General Garfield was received by our Liberals with univeral joy and gratification. It was greeted as the *coup de grâce* to the mediæval aspirations of the Southern aristocracy, as the harbinger of the peaceful and prosperous development of the political and social life of the United States, and as a step in the right direction for facilitating the springing into existence of new parties not based on sectional differences and bygone strife, but on actual interests and practical issues. The German edition of your former Southern planters and Northern snobs, our gentry (*Junker*), old feudal and orthodox gentlemen as well as lately manufactured noblemen, either know too little of American matters or are misled by the party name of Democrats, or at least feign a haughty indifference to the politics of the United States. They hate your country the more because by its production of breadstuffs it makes the German rye and wheat duties illusory, and is always able to prevent a famine in Europe. All their papers, therefore, do is to copy the often rather mutilated and hardly intelligible American telegrams.

The reasonings of the Liberal press are also very poor, while their feelings are on the right side. The editors are quite ignorant of American constitutional and political history. I could fill volumes with refutations and corrections. They do not even look into the written Constitution, and consequently have no idea how the election takes place, how or when the result is ascertained or the President officially declared elected. The most ludicrous mistakes occur in cases like the present, where the mail arrives about a fortnight after the telegraphic despatches have been published; in the absence of even a shimmer of positive knowledge the large papers must manufacture their leaders in their offices. One editor thinks that the party slang of "Black Republicans" refers exclusively to the emancipated negroes; another informs his readers that the exact result of the election cannot be ascertained before December in Washington; a third assures his public that the Democrats entered upon the campaign with the shibboleth of free-trade and the Republicans with that of protection; and a fourth is quite positive that the inhabitants of the Territory of Dakota have given Garfield a majority. As far as I know, only the Augsburg, Cologne, Frankfort, and Bremen (*Weser*) *Gazettes* and the *Hamburger Nachrichten* have regular correspondents in the United States. The *Vossische* and *National Zeitung* of Berlin and the *Breslauer Zeitung* have or have had their regular correspondents in Leipzig, Berlin, or Breslau; other large and well-paying newspapers, like the *Magdeburger Zeitung* and Berlin *Tribune*, do not go to the expense of paying for special letters, but reprint editorials of the New York *Handelszeitung* or of English journals. When I once expressed my surprise at this to an editor of a well-to-do paper, he answered that he had tried in vain to engage a regular correspondent in New York or some other large Eastern city; that the influx of educated Germans, able and willing to write for the press, had ceased, and that the old stock of men who came in and after 1848 either had gone back to Germany or had died out or devoted themselves to other pursuits in life. Whether this be the case I cannot say, as I have not followed the literary German movement in the United States; but under any circumstances it would benefit both countries if able German-Americans would volunteer to give correct information on American topics to our press, the more so as German papers pay their contributors more liberally than the German-American press. ??

Notes.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS' latest announcements include a new volume of verses by the Goodale sisters, 'All Round the Year'; 'Womanhood,' by the Rev. R. Heber Newton; Isabella Bird's 'Unbeaten Tracks in Japan'; Prof. Palmer's 'Haroun al Raschid, and Saracen Civilization'; and 'A Romance of the Nineteenth Century,' by W. H. Mallock.——W. E. Dibble, Cincinnati, will publish 'Idyls and Lyrics of the Ohio Valley,' by John James Piatt.——"An entire new, complete, and uniform edition of all the celebrated works written by Mrs. Emma D. E. N. Southworth, the popular American Female Authoress," is promised by T. B. Peterson & Bros.——The 'Publishers' Trade-List Annual for 1880,' making the eighth of the series, has just been issued by F. Leypoldt, 13 Park Row. Besides the publishers' catalogues which make the bulk of it, the reading public should not overlook the classified summary (by authors) of works published in 1879–80; the annual reference-list of books recorded in the *Publishers' Weekly* from July 1, 1879, to June 30, 1880; and the educational catalogue for the current year—three extremely handy and valuable indexes.——'The Loyal Ronins,' an historical romance, translated from the Japanese of Tamenaga Shunsui by Shiuichiro Saito and Edward Greey (Putnam) is a new version of the story with which amateur students of Japanese literature probably first familiarize themselves. We have already (No. 575) spoken at some length of a previous translation. This one is marked by less condensation (or greater elaboration), by a cover decorated *à la* Japanese by the American translator, and by the literal translation of proper names. The cover design is a good illustration, *lucus a non lucendo*, of Japanese art, but the other two differences are improvements, though the nomenclature occasionally seems rather stark, as, *e.g.*, "Also-five-boy is now old enough," etc. We need not add that the book reads itself and is worth reading.——A new edition (Osgood, 1880) of 'The Poems of George Arnold' gives Mr. William Winter, the editor, an opportunity to revise his affectionate and sentimental introductory remarks, of which to a slight extent he has taken advantage.——A number of pleasant and more than temporarily valuable books have been made up from the papers in *Lippincott's Magazine*, and have all enjoyed, as regards their style, the benefit of very careful editing. 'On the Rhine, and Other Sketches of European Travel,' is the latest. Like its predecessors, it is illustrated, and a tasteful cover and gilt edges give it a holiday intention.——Of a similar character is 'The Pictorial Tour of the World' (New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.) But it is a compilation without the unity of revision and without geographical sequence.——Macmillan & Co. publish 'The Trial and Death of Socrates,' by F. J. Church. An introduction gives a sketch of the life of Socrates, embracing all the facts that are definitely ascertained, and though it contains no very profound views of his character and influence, is perhaps none the less suited to the younger class of readers. The body of the work consists of a translation of the four dialogues of Plato which are most intimately connected with the trial and death of Socrates—viz., the "Euthyphron," the "Apology," the "Crito," and the "Phædo." Why Mr. Church permits Euthyphron to retain the final *n* of his name and denies the privilege to Crito and Phædo we cannot tell. The meaning of the Greek text is generally very well rendered, but the ease and artistic grace which form one of the principal charms of the original do not seem to have been preserved to as great an extent as was practicable.

Such expressions as "I do not mean to give in till I discover that," "I thought that nothing was more impudent than to have the face to say that," and the pettish school-girl expression "let me be," which occurs more than once, are undoubtedly easy English, but give a false notion of the tone of the original. Compared with Prof. Jowett's translation, Mr. Church's adheres more closely to the text, but Prof. Jowett's leaves a general impression more like that produced by reading the Greek. In a word, the interval between the minds of Plato and Prof. Jowett is much less than between those of Plato and Mr. Church.——A sketch of the life of Andrew Porter, a colonel in the Revolutionary Army, is the leading paper in No. 15 of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. It is accompanied by an etched portrait; and two other portraits, after Stuart, in mezzotint, adorn the number—viz., of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., first provost of the College of Philadelphia, and his daughter, Mrs. Blodget—both in the grand style.——On Oct. 20 the Comédie-Française celebrated the two hundredth anniversary of its foundation with a special and archæological reproduction of the "Bourgeois Gentilhomme," with the original music of Lulli and a reconstruction of the original dances. This was accompanied by a delivery, by M. Got, of the "Maison de Molière," an occasional poem by M. Coppée, and by the revival of Molière's "Impromptu de Versailles," with M. Coquelin as Molière himself. In commemoration of the centenary and the performances of the jubilee week which followed it, M. Jouaust has printed and M. Ollendorff published a beautiful little volume containing Molière's two plays, M. Coppée's poem, and an introduction by M. Regnier. The book is adorned with two fancy etchings of Molière, of no special value.——Noteworthy is a translation into French of Fritz Reuter's 'Ut de Franzosentid' ('En l'année 1813'), by E. Zeys, a member of the Court of Appeals at Algiers. American readers have long since enjoyed 'In the Year '13' in Henry Holt & Co.'s edition.——Mr. George G. Rockwood, 17 Union Square, sends us a photograph of kittens—a *tableau vivant*—of which the sharpness and naturalness bear out his announcement that a European process, of which he has acquired the right, enables him to take likenesses in a few seconds' time, making the sitter independent of the odious head-rest, and the operator independent of the weather. For interior views its capacity is said to be quite as surprising.——Geo. A. Leavitt & Co. will sell by auction, commencing Monday evening, December 6, the "Library of a Bibliomaniac." The carefully-prepared catalogue (by the hand of Mr. Alexander Denham) comprises 1,296 numbers, and is rich in veritable "nuggets." Among the works described we find the Elzevir Cicero of 1642, the gem of the productions of the famous Leyden printers. As for the Dibdins (twenty-eight numbers of the catalogue), some of them on "large paper" and with extra illustrations, we do not hesitate to say that (taking the description to be exact) a finer or completer set never came under the hammer of an American auctioneer. The collection contains specimens of the binding of Hayday, Riviere, Bedford, and Lewis.

—A letter from Mr. Abram S. Hewitt, in reply to our strictures last week upon his connection with the Morey letter case, reaches us too late for insertion this week. It will appear in our next issue.

—Some remembrance of past good things not yet out of date is wholesome in the midst of the current display of holiday gift-books. On this principle new editions have been issued, by Charles Scribner's Sons, of Mr. Clarence Cook's 'House Beautiful' and Dr. Schliemann's 'Mycenæ,' on which critics and the public have already passed a judgment wholly favorable, so far as beauty of type and illustrations and binding is concerned. In Mr. Cook's work no textual changes appear to have been made. The cover, of a light drab cloth, is stamped with a tasteful design in red and black, with which a deep orange tint on the edges of the leaves harmonizes well. The 'Mycenæ' has been enlarged by several interesting appendices, in which new plates are inserted, one and the most curious of these showing the engraved design on both sides of a sword-blade originally represented with all its incrustations before cleaning. The recovered decoration depicts a lion-hunt and is valuable in many ways. An analysis of several Mycenean metals is also given. Geo. Kirchner & Co. have prepared a quarto edition of Theodore Martin's translation of 'Faust,' with reduced plates, after Professor A. von Kreling's designs, of which alone it is necessary to speak here. They have the qualities of correct and graceful draughtsmanship, and bear a consistent relation one with another, but stop considerably short of imaginative genius. Besides the photogravures numerous woodcuts, illustrative and symbolically ornamental, are scattered through the volume. The binding has the requisite elaboration, of formal pattern.

—Walton lived to see his 'Complete Angler' pass through five editions, and since his time enthusiastic admirers of the charming pastoral have taken it up, supplied it with prefaces, notes, and plates, and presented it to English readers in almost every possible shape, from 32mo to quarto. The sums that have been expended upon it by "extenders" we have no means for calculating, but as a matter of fact we can state that some years ago, at an auction in this city, a copy extended to four volumes, and enriched with more than two hundred and fifty plates, was sold for $600. In the list of its editors we find the names of poets, divines, and historians, whilst printers, engravers, and binders have bestowed some of their best work upon the "Father of Angling." What may be properly styled our American edition was printed first in 1847, and again, we believe, in 1848. It was edited by the late Dr. G. W. Bethune, and certainly no man possessed better qualifications for the task. His collection of Waltoniana was so extensive that it formed in itself a library the mere catalogue of which covers one hundred and fifty octavo pages. He was a learned man, he was an enthusiast, and he worked from pure love of his subject. Bethune's edition, then, must rank with the best issues of the English press. If, in regard to art, it is inferior to Sir Harris Nicolas's edition, its literary excellences—its preface and original notes—place it second to none. For several years now it has been "out of print," and we therefore very gladly welcome the reissue that has been undertaken by John Wiley & Sons, with the benefit of the corrections and improvements made in the editor's own copy. This edition, it should be mentioned, like the original, contains Cotton's "Instructions how to Angle for a Trout or Grayling in a Clear Stream," and several bibliographical appendices.

—We opened the December *Scribner's* at the article on "Montenegro as We Saw It," by an English writer, Mr. Athol Mayhew, and of the new matter we incline to think there is nothing better in the number. Even those who have read the second chapter of Mr. W. J. Stillman's 'Herzegovina and the Late Uprising,' will find here, apart from the capital illustrations, some additional details for the picture of the forlorn country that lies between the Ladder of Cattaro and Cettinje. Mr. Mayhew describes the new road designed to circumvent the "Ladder," and which there is every reason to hope will prove a highway of civilization, and not a fatally easy approach for modern artillery, as Mr. Stillman foresaw in 1877. Mr. Mayhew and his companion found themselves, to their surprise, better marksmen than the Montenegrins. If this paper, with Dulcigno still unsurrendered, is timely, so are Mr. J. Brander Matthews's "Sheridan's 'Rivals,'" anticipating the revival of that comedy in this city with Mr. Jefferson and Mrs. John Drew in the leading rôles; Mr. John B. Thompson's "Alessandro Gavazzi," this orator having just revisited America; and Miss Kate Field's "An English War-Correspondent," meaning Archibald Forbes, now lecturing among us. M. Sensier gives us another chapter of his tragic biography of Millet; Messrs. Henry Bacon and Frederick H. Allen begin a readable series of illustrated articles, entitled "Glimpses of Parisian Art"; Mr. Rowland E. Robinson's "Hunting the Honey-Bee" is in this writer's peculiarly happy vein of natural description. In the editor's "Topics of the Time" a good word is spoken for the Civil-Service Reform Association.

—In *Harper's*, Mr. James's 'Washington Square" is concluded firmly and logically, and leaves the impression of a powerful if singularly chosen study. The new serial, with which the English readers of the magazine are to make first acquaintance, is "Anne," a novel by Miss Constance Fenimore Woolson, which is both cis-atlantic and of the northern frontier. It makes a good beginning, with strong contrasts of character and a *milieu* that has seldom been employed in fiction. Mr. Conway discourses of the "English Lakes and their Genii," and incidentally pays a tribute to Mrs. Hemans's muse which many who are far from being grandparents will approve in the spirit in which it is paid. Mr. G. F. Muller's "City of Pittsburgh" is a well-ordered description of that city and its prodigious industries, with a slight historical retrospect and a single episode not purely material: Stephen C. Foster, the most genuine American song-writer, was a native of Pittsburgh, and lived and died there. Mr. Muller states these facts, and shows by statistics the continued popularity of Foster's melodies, of which "Oh! Susannah" is the earliest in our recollection; but he does not speculate on the cause of their generally African complexion, nor on the effect of them judged by the fallacious old maxim that if one can make the songs of a country he need not envy its lawgivers. We do not, for our part, think the historian will ever class the negro minstrels among the auxiliary anti-slavery societies of the past half-century. A likeness of Foster accompanies Mr. Shirlaw's often admirable designs for the paper on Pittsburgh. While speaking of songs, we may call the attention of any enterprising composer to Mrs. Lathrop's little ballad called "Fancy's Chances"; and speaking of designs, we should praise Mr. E. A. Abbey's "To Be Merry," after Herrick, as among the most successful in the series to which it belongs. The jollity, the movement, the grouping are exceptionally well rendered.

—Close upon the heels of the Dorchester volume of the Boston Record Commissioners a much more comely reprint of the 'Early Records of Groton, Mass., 1662–1707,' reaches us from A. Williams & Co., Boston. The town ordered this undertaking, but we probably owe its elegant execution to the munificence of the editor, Dr. Samuel A. Green, and certainly to his good taste. It is a matter-of-fact chronicle, about the minister's pay and the customary quarrels over it, the church seatings, the felling of trees, the main-

tenance of roads and bridges, the town rates, elections, etc., unrelieved except by the abominable spelling of the town clerks, one of the most illiterate of whom, be it said for the encouragement of all cacographers, was Jonas Prescott, grandfather of the Col. William Prescott who commanded at Bunker Hill, and who in turn became grandfather of the historian. Capt. James Parker, too, was a worthy rival as well as predecessor of "Prescod" (as he calls him), writing, among other "instruckyons" to the "seleckt men," "2 they are too tack car that there be a cooll or colleg of larning of children the inglish tung too Red." And John Morse outdoes both, and taxes credulity, by telling of "the Towne rat for the powder and ammunetion beeing truly cast vp by the sellect men"—unless, indeed, we should here read "the powder for the town rat," etc. Among obsolete senses of words one is struck with the application of the term "artist" to the surveyor, as (p. 23) "to pay the Artest and the men that attended him and his diet for himself and his horse, and for two sheets of parchment, for him to make two platts for the towne," etc., and again on p. 122; the date of the first entry being 1667, and that of the second 1702. There is but one entry in regard to irresponsible sojourners, and that reads as if penned by Stephen Girard: "the [the selectmen] shall tack speshall care that no parson or parsons whatsoeuer shall abide in this town upone any pretenc whatsoeuer, unless," etc. Among all the names of the early settlers, that of "Ben garfell," on p. 56, has greatest present interest, for this surname appears in its true guise on p. 144 as Garfield. A few of the early land-grants, of which the records escaped destruction at the hands of the Indians when the town was temporarily abandoned (1676–78), are given with an interesting and valuable introduction on the nature of colonial land-grants—only one of the many ways in which the editor has elucidated the text. In the course of this essay we have an explanation of the Americanisms "lot," as applied to any measured portion of land, and "meadow," as applied to low, swampy land. Even after King Philip's War, in 1684, the town of Groton extinguished the Indian title by purchase.

—An experience to be enjoyed just now in Fourteenth Street recalls the days of the exhibition in this city of "phenomenal" paintings as such. Mr. Holman Hunt's famous "Shadow of the Cross," well known by the engraving of it, is there to be seen under the old circumstances, but the methods of popular art education have been so completely altered within a dozen or more years that the whole affair appears an anachronism, and the receipts must suffer accordingly. The *curieux* finds the outer door opening before him as he approaches, and as he enters an impressive mute singularly devoid of Oriental habiliments waves him down a long and dark corridor to a draped desk, at which he purchases an admission ticket of a silent young woman. Then he turns to the left and proceeds amid maroon hangings and increasing darkness to another turn, where an usher receives his ticket and, as it were, bids him God-speed. After doubling two more corners, and having wholly lost his bearings, he finds himself suddenly in the penetralia of a temple. There are a score or so of worshippers gazing enrapt, except the two or three men who look perplexed, at an altar-piece focussed by receding planes of maroon, and but for whose brilliant lighting the apartment would be dark. On a transept altar is a framed copy of an engraving of the masterpiece, with a subscription-book lying open like a "Gospel" before it; all around are scattered, like liturgies and hymn-books, descriptions of the picture and commendations of it by eminent persons, chiefly ecclesiastics. You get a kind of confused notion that the Archbishop of Canterbury has pronounced it "like." Profound stillness reigns; there is less whispering than in a church. The only defect is the absence of the pasteboard cylinders with which to make the details "stand out" stereoscopically; but using your hand instead you get an excellent effect. In this respect, indeed, consists the notorious "realism" of the picture; in others it does not seem real so much as laboriously unimaginative. The colors, it is worth noticing, look like acrid and poisonous earths, to touch which with the tongue would be instant death. There is, after all, a certain fitness in the way it is exhibited—one is as much of an anachronism as the other, and few things have shown the growth of a just appreciation of art in New York so well as the unanimity with which the critics of our esteemed contemporaries of the daily press have fallen foul of it.

—The report of the working for the first year of the "private collegiate instruction for women in Cambridge," popularly known as the Harvard Annex, shows that twenty-five ladies pursued their studies in a great variety of branches, literary and scientific, during the year which began about Oct. 1, 1879, that they passed their examinations with credit, and that the present term opens with forty-three ladies, or nearly twice the number, of whom 18 take Greek, 16 Latin, 10 English, German, and Mathematics respectively, 8 Philosophy and History, 4 Physics, 3 Astronomy, 2 French, Italian, and Botany, and 1 Political Economy—in all, twenty-nine classes, taught by seven professors, four assistant professors, and twelve instructors. "Ten ladies are pursuing the regular course of four years." The financial exhibit is interesting. A fund of $16,000 was subscribed "on call," and $7,500 of it paid in. The pupils' fees aggregated $3,725, the expenses some two thousand dollars more; thus ensuring the pecuniary support of the experiment for eight years, supposing there is no nearer approach to a balance of receipts and expenditures. The pamphlet containing this report also announces the courses of study for 1880–81, with requisitions for admission. It may be had of the Secretary, Mr. Arthur Gilman, Waterhouse street, Cambridge.

—The programme of the first concert of the Brooklyn Philharmonic Society, which took place on Saturday, was modelled upon that given by the New York Society the week before. In place of the majestic "Eroica," Beethoven's Eighth Symphony in F, Op. 93, was substituted. Among all the compositions dating from the later and sadder period of the master's life, this delightful symphony is the brightest and most cheerful. There is not an unhappy thought in one of the four movements, which all breathe grace, light, and beauty. Mr. Thomas's rendering of this work, which is as familiar as household words to his musicians and to his audience, was faultless in expression and execution. The "Siegfried Idyl," by Wagner, which next followed, was written in honor of his first-born son, whom, in remembrance of the hero of his "Nibelungen" Trilogy, he had christened "Siegfried." This beautiful lyric tone-picture consists chiefly of some of the gentlest *motifs* of the opera "Siegfried" mingled with soothing German cradle-songs. It was first performed as a serenade to Madame Wagner, shortly after the birth of her son, in the villa in Zürich. Mr. Thomas first introduced it here a few years ago. It has not often been heard, and its reproduction in Brooklyn, in a masterly manner, was a delight to all present. The "Harold Symphony," by Berlioz, was repeated, with the same excellence as on the previous Saturday, at the New York Academy of Music. If Mr. Joseffy astonished his hearers in this city by his performance of the Henselt Concerto, it is no exaggeration to say that his rendering of the same work, and of a Scherzo by Litolf, in Brooklyn last Saturday, was perhaps the greatest achievement of mechanical skill that has ever been witnessed on the piano-forte. There are perhaps two or three living virtuosi who can approach it.

—The two last of Miss Anna Bock's recitals have revealed in stronger relief her many admirable qualities. It is no small compliment to say that she shows to greatest advantage in her interpretation of Beethoven. Both the violin sonata in C minor, Op. 30, which she played with Mr. Brandt, and the "Sonata Appassionata," Op. 57, which she played on Saturday, present great technical difficulties, but she overcame them with delightful facility. She did more—her interpretation of these two great works was remarkable for good taste and purity of conception. One of the features of the second recital was a remarkably powerful yet perfectly clear performance of Chopin's celebrated Polonaise in A flat, one of the most trying and difficult pieces by that composer. The crescendo and decrescendo effects in the difficult octave passages of the second part of the polonaise were particularly well given. In these three recitals, comprising nearly forty of the most difficult compositions of piano-forte music of all ages, Miss Bock has proved herself entitled to a foremost place among pianists now living in this country.

—Of all clever French playwrights Sardou is undoubtedly the cleverest, and his cosmopolitan success speaks volumes for his talent. *A priori*, no one of his plays would seem less likely to make a hit in a foreign country than "Daniel Rochat." It is French in plot and situation, and though *Lea Henderson* is an American, she is an American seen through French glasses. The conflict between religion and love with which it deals is, of course, a conflict which might arise in any country, but in no country save France would it be likely to take the form depicted in Sardou's last play. Indeed, it would have been possible a few weeks ago for an unregenerate critic to have ridiculed the idea of playing *Daniel Rochat* in New York. In Paris the production of the drama created almost a riot. *Rochat* is described in the bills as a "statesman and philosopher," but really he is a modern French radical of the extreme atheistic type—no cheerful agnostic such as may be found in England and America, who knows too much about the place which religion occupies in the eyes of science to have the slightest taste for martyrdom, but an out-and-out atheist, and a preaching atheist at that. He may, in fact, be truly described as a leading, progressive atheist, who looks upon all religious observances as relics of barbarism, which he is obliged, as a matter of religious faith and duty, to discountenance actively. *Lea Henderson* is a young American girl, betrothed to *Daniel*, but ignorant of his principles. In the ordinary course of things their marriage would consist of the civil and the religious ceremony. There is no difficulty about the first, but the principles of *Daniel* will not allow him to have the second performed. He now tries to persuade *Lea* that they are man and wife, while she tries to persuade him to go to church. In the end she is victorious; but meantime she has discovered that he is a very different *Daniel Rochat* from what she had supposed. He is of the earth earthy, and, moreover, an atheist, and her interest dies out. The tragedy ends in a dissolution of the civil marriage, by the laws of Switzerland, which it is well known facilitate the nullification of unions entered into under a misconception of facts. This is the whole of the play, all the other characters being introduced as foils to these two. *Dr. Bidache* and *William Fargis* serve as a sort of background for *Daniel*, just as *Esther Henderson* and *Mrs.*

Powers answer a similar purpose in the case of *Lea*. The comic love-plot of *Casimir Fargis* and *Esther* contrasts with the tragedy of the main plot, but it is introduced solely for purposes of contrast. There can hardly be said to be any action in the play, the interest of the situations being purely sentimental, or what is nowadays known as "emotional." The boudoir scene between *Lea* and *Daniel* in the fourth act could probably, in the hands of competent French actors, be emotional to a shocking degree; but there is an abundance of conscientious frigidity about Miss Sara Jewett which can but satisfy the most prudish critic. Mr. Thorne's *Rochat* is a good specimen of his acting, but we like him best in his earlier style, as we knew him before he had undertaken modern realistic parts. He is really a romantic actor of the old-fashioned muscular school, and his genius is fettered in quiet parts. The other parts are all well, some of them excellently, taken. There is no better actor on the New York stage than Mr. John Parselle, who plays *William Fargis*, and Miss Maud Harrison and Mrs. Phillips are both competent actresses in their respective lines.

—Mr. Daly appears to have convinced himself, as a great many other managers have done before him, that the public has become thoroughly tired of tragedy, comedy, farce, and all other recognized forms of the drama, and in order to be pleased must be provided with pure nonsense. The public is no doubt capable of great folly, but not of folly so great as to endure long such a monstrosity as "Needles and Pins." What it is all about we will not pretend to say. The plot is so complicated and mysterious that we have grave doubts whether we know what it is ourselves, and any attempt to describe it would be futile. It appears to have once been a good German farce, of the sort which Mr. Daly has recently taken to adapting; but when this versatile dramatist seriously undertakes a piece of adaptation and Americanization of a foreign play the result, whatever else it may be, is pretty certain to be original. In the way of original and wild absurdity we have seen nothing at all like "Needles and Pins" for a long time. In fact, Mr. Daly seems to feel that in it he has reached a level from which further descents are impossible, for he announces that he is now temporarily going to abandon the drama and bring out a troupe of Nautch girls. But, seriously, we trust that after this Oriental interlude is over there may be some hope of a dramatic reform at this theatre. The company which Mr. Daly has got together is too good to be wasted on plays like "Needles and Pins." Mr. Daly has always known that the drama was in a bad way, and that the path of reform in it was not a path of roses; but there is nothing more painful or depressing than to see a manager who begins as a reformer end as a cynic.

—Twenty-two periodicals of all sorts are recorded by *Le Livre* as having been launched in Paris during the month of August. At the bottom of the list we find *Le Pornographe*, "journal des cochons, monarchique et clérical." "Prostitute's Own," we suppose the main title might be translated; and the sub-title is clearly only an ingenious propitiation of the republican authorities, whom the monarchists and clericals are daily charging with criminal negligence in not suppressing the journalism of filth. The Government, indeed, did act promptly in arresting a man who was openly distributing on the streets the first instalment of an obscene romance; apropos of which a writer in the *Français* candidly recalls the circumstances attending the admission to the Vaudeville of the "Dame aux Camélias." The censorship of the Second Republic rejected it, but the success of the *Coup d'état* transferred the power of deciding to M. de Morny, who saw the account of the new régime in encouraging corrupting amusements. He gave his sanction to M. Alexandre Dumas, who in return gave him a dedication of the rescued play. Thus, says the writer referred to, was a dike burst in, a barrier overthrown. If the new license paved the way for works of genius like the same playwright's "Demi-Monde" and "Père Prodigue," M. Augier's "Mariage d'Olympe," and Thiboust's "Filles de Marbre," on the other hand there was no reason for excluding from the "terrain de la galanterie vénale" the purveyors for popular theatres who sought more grossly to paint the same immoral world; and in fact they came trooping in. In an editorial article the *Français* declares that the colporteurs of the "pornographic press" have already dangerous rivals in the peep-showmen at fairs, whose dioramas are now supplemented by obscene stereoscope views before which even the dirty journalists would recoil. To these, women and boys and girls are admitted without distinction for a cent or two a head. Unhappily for the authorities, the showmen "cannot be suspected of clericalism."

—It is a relief to turn from such evidences of relaxed and depraved public morals to the doings of an institution now in its tenth year, the Paris "École Libre des Sciences Politiques," of which the term opened on Monday last. Its aim is to prepare students for diplomacy, public administration, and parliamentary life, in short to provide the civil service and the legislature with men of training and capacity. Last year the attendance at its courses, which cover two years, was 229, and the courses are 23 in number. MM. Laboulaye, Taine, Germer-Baillière, H. Guidoz, Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, Molinari, and Paul Janet are perhaps the most widely known among the managers, committees, or professors; but they constitute only a seventh of the whole corps. Diplomas do not entitle the pupils to a place in the Government employ, but in the competitive examinations for admission the graduates of this school are found to do credit to their instruction, and to carry off a majority of the prizes. Post-graduates of one or more years' standing are allowed to compete yearly for a travelling purse of $200, in return for which the recipient makes report of his special observations at home or abroad. Merely to enumerate the studies taught at the school would make a serious demand upon our space. The grand divisions are as follows. Administrative Section: Administrative organization and practice in France and in foreign countries; financial organization and administration at home and abroad; comparative civil legislation. Diplomatic Section: Geography and ethnography; diplomatic history of Europe from 1789 to 1830; jus gentium; international law resulting from laws and from treaties; statistics and economic geography; political economy. German and English are the only two languages taught.

THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON.*

A NEW method is here applied to the writing of history, and if the general verdict is favorable we shall doubtless have other histories of a like method. It is not enough to say it is co-operative, since other histories have been written by the joint labors of several hands. Notably in this way was prepared what is known as the 'Pictorial History of England'; but the principle then involved has been carried much farther in this new history of Boston, the aim having been to subdivide the subject in such a way that special attainments should be brought to bear upon every point. There are nearly one hundred chapters to be written to compass the entire work (four volumes), and more than seventy writers are to prepare them, twenty-four of these seventy having been engaged on the twenty-eight sections of this first volume. The experiment—if it is to be so considered—has been undertaken, it must be confessed, under the best of auspices in Boston. Hardly another city, in this country at least, can be named as its equal—first, in the length of time covered by, and the general interest pertaining to, its annals; second, in the attention which its writers have devoted to elucidating those annals; and, third, in the body of living students, some of them of wide repute and nearly all of local prominence, who have been willing to come forward and take part in this commemorative exercise. They have been long schooled in this way; their mutual sympathies may have, indeed, at times given rise in other latitudes to the feeling that they have magnified unduly the importance of those annals. The existence in Boston of such associations as the Massachusetts Historical Society (which is the oldest in the States); the New England Historic-Genealogical Society (which has been the great promoter of all the studies which its name imports, and which has sustained so well the oldest periodical devoted to those interests); the Antiquarian Club (in its infancy, to be sure, but with the activity of youth); the impulse to specific studies which comes from the neighboring university; the attention which both the State and the city have paid to garnering and arranging their records—all these elements serve to make it possibly easier than it would be in any other of our American cities to carry out on a large scale the project of a commemorative history on a co-operative plan.

It was, of course, not enough that various writers, however fit, should throw their contributions together. They must have a common fealty to the idea, in a way to subject themselves to some controlling editorial power, and they must work in harmony with each other. Indeed, so far as the entire scheme of the book concerned the individual writer, it was a business in which his assistance could only be advisory at best, while those to whom was left the general direction of the enterprise must curb or let free each and all, as was necessary to keep the book sound and to ensure the general march of the story. And this has not seemingly been done in any exacting spirit. The editor has suffered not a little independence of opinion to prevail; he has not tried to make views conform to any standard or to each other. The result is that we find the book to be in some respects, even as regards opinions, better rounded than if written by one hand. Events and persons come up in succeeding chapters in new aspects. Each writer approaches them with the light of his own predilections streaming before him. Take, for instance, such characters as the Mathers: we find that in the diversity of judgments upon them, and in the variety of angles at which they are observed, their individualities come out with real relief, somewhat as the two eyes of the stereoscope produce its surprising results. This "symposium" quality of the book is not the least of its merits, and probably the whole work needs to be before us, before we can get all the side-lights of the full illumination. The plan of the book, judging from the prospectus which was issued, reserves for the final volume some general summaries, taking the reader back over the entire period of the history, in cases where particular phases of the town's life and development can best be treated in a purely monographic way, which should

* 'The Memorial History of Boston, 1630–1880. Edited by Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard University. In four volumes. Vol. i. The Early and Colonial Periods. Issued under the business superintendence of the projector, Clarence F. Jewett.' Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1880. 4to, 625 pp.

disregard the divisions that the political life necessarily imposes. Then, again, events and characters lap over these boundaries, and supplemental and even complemental aspects fall into later divisions, and the whole needs to be surveyed to make the impression perfect. The subject already mentioned, the Mathers, is peculiarly an instance. We find them portrayed in this volume as Mr. Barrows measures them in his chapter on Dorchester, as Mr. Foote finds them in the contest with episcopacy, as Mr. Winsor gauges them in their literary relations. The next volume must give Mr. Whitmore an opportunity to present Increase Mather as a consummate man of affairs in his diplomatic visit to London; Mr. Poole, the chance to show how far Cotton Mather was responsible for the hanging of witches, and, finally, Dr. Dexter, in a chapter on the influence of the family, which we observe is promised, to sum up and render the verdict as he believes it should be.

The book certainly goes back far enough to get a good start for its historic treatment. Professor Shaler opens with a careful and lucid sketch of the geology of the Boston Basin. The indigenous animals and plants get similar treatment from Mr. Joel Allen, of the Zoölogical Museum at Cambridge, and from Dr. Asa Gray, and what Harvard could do for the scientific branches of the subject in the present volume is thus early and satisfactorily done. The next of the main divisions is given to the "Early History." Here Mr. George Dexter epitomizes what is known of the first explorations of this part of the coast, during which Viking, Norman, and many other Europeans may have trod the islands of Boston Harbor. Mr. Winsor, the editor, in the next chapter traces the Cartographical History of the Bay down to the coming of the permanent settlers; and then Mr. Charles Francis Adams, jr., in a very readable paper, goes over the story of the early "planters," or, as we might now say, "squatters," who fixed their lone abodes about the harbor before there was any organized government over the region.

The Colonial period begins the proper history; and who so well as the venerable librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, Dr. Haven, could trace the rise of the New England polity in the career and development of the Massachusetts Company? The story, which he brings down to the eve of the departure of the colonists from England, is taken up next by Mr. Robert C. Winthrop in a considerate and graceful narrative, covering the field which he has so made his own, the history of the young town under the sway, benign and yet authoritative, of its founder, John Winthrop, whose statue was so fittingly set up at the recent commemoration in one of its public squares. Col. Higginson carries the story on to the outbreak of Philip's war, the narrative of which, so far as Boston took part in it, comes from Mr. Edward E. Hale. The conclusion of what may be called the general political history is embraced in the extensive and very able monograph contributed by Dr. Charles Deane on the long struggle which the colony maintained with the Crown, to keep off the dreaded day when it should become a royal province. Apart from this procession of incidents, various other chapters take up the parallel flow of events in matters less strictly political. It were hard, however, to separate, in a theocracy, the story of the Church from that of the State, and it needs the chapters we have already enumerated to be set beside a very just and helpful one on "The Puritan Commonwealth" to make them and it mutually significant. No one has given more attention than the writer of this section, Dr. George E. Ellis, to the whole question of the religious controversies, and of the intolerance of the Puritan settlers. His ripest judgments are here rehearsed, and praise and blame, the incentives and the palliation, are set forth calmly and with little occasion to provoke the disagreements of even the prejudiced. Another important subject has fallen to the same pen—the treatment of the Indians, and the reciprocal gains and losses to them and to the colonists which came to these neighbors on the soil. This is another of the special fields in which Dr. Ellis has earned the commendations of historical students. The interesting story of the lingering, and sometimes tumultuous, introduction of episcopacy in Boston is given separate treatment by one whose studies have been for some years devoted to it, the Rev. Henry W. Foote, of the King's Chapel. Two matters have been treated with due thoroughness and discrimination by Mr. Charles C. Smith—one the relations of Boston to the other towns of the colony and to the Colonial government, and the other its relations to the neighboring jurisdictions, whether of the English or other races; and this last involves the story of that romantic episode of Boston's history in which La Tour and D'Aulnay figure. What may be called the outlying fields are then explored in succinct accounts of the history of Charlestown, Roxbury, Dorchester, Brighton, and Chelsea (for Suffolk County is included in the general scheme), each by a local historian. A few specific chapters close the volume—one on the literature of the period, by the editor; one on the books printed in the aboriginal dialects, by Dr. Hammond Trumbull as a matter of course; a third on the life and manners of the time, gracefully grouped and treated by Mr. Horace E. Scudder; a fourth on the colonial landmarks, with their associations, graphically rendered by Mr. Edwin L. Bynner; and, finally, we have the grouping of fifty of the most prominent families of early Boston society, their relations to one another, and an account of the older records upon which our acquaintance with them rests. This comes from Mr. William H. Whitmore, the Chairman of the Boston Record Commissioners.

These are the literary materials of a volume sumptuous to the eye, filled as far as subjects for engraving existed with illustrations of landmarks and portraits of the old worthies, fac-similes of their manuscripts and autographs, and reproductions of their maps. For a frontispiece there is a map of the old and new Boston. Upon a modern projection of the present territory of the original peninsula—if what is no longer such may still be termed so—the old town is laid in colors, showing the space it occupied by comparison, the quagmires and hillocks and hills which have given place to broad streets and what may now be more properly termed "rising ground," so dwarfed have its eminences become.

In less than nine months this volume has been projected, written, illustrated, and printed—a speed which would not have been possible on any other plan, and which seems to have been quite compatible in the hands which have undertaken it with maturity of judgment, shapeliness of proportions, and thoroughness of research. Its ornamental adjunct is an historical poem by Whittier, typical of the spirit that the volume embodies, and the subject is very fittingly the cessation of the persecution of the Quakers, following upon the royal mandate which the King sent over in 1661. Whittier appears here at his best, and the contrast of the Puritan capital and the Boston of to-day is sufficiently gratifying to the venerable poet, when he makes Upsall, of the Red Lion Inn, exclaim:

> "I see the vision of days to come,
> When your beautiful City of the Bay
> Shall be Christian liberty's chosen home,
> And none shall his neighbor's rights gainsay;
> The varying notes of worship shall blend
> And as one great prayer to God ascend;
> And hands of mutual charity raise
> Walls of salvation and gates of praise."

KINGLAKE'S INVASION OF THE CRIMEA.*

THE Crimean War grew out of the English "craze" about Constantinople. The ostensible pretext, it is true, was a desire to defend the "sacredness of international law." But if the English had not been entirely dominated by their "craze" they would not have failed to detect the gross absurdity of entering upon a crusade in defence of law in the company of such allies as the Sultan of Turkey and the hero of the massacres of the Paris Boulevards. The nation rushed into the war with a light heart. They remembered the glories of the Peninsular war, and delighted in the prospect of their repetition. But they had forgotten the terrible cost at which those glories were purchased. They understood nothing of war beyond its superficial glitter; and hence the consternation and the clamor when they stood confronted with its dismal realities during that terrible winter when a handful of British troops, scourged by sickness, cold, and privations of every kind, were encamped upon the bleak hills of the Chersonese. There was nothing in such a spectacle and in such a period of acute suspense and anxiety to recall the glories of the Hundred Days.

It is to these "winter troubles" that Mr. Kinglake has devoted his sixth volume, or, to speak more accurately, made a show of doing so. For, as a matter of fact, a very inconsiderable part of the volume deals with the Crimean War at all. Mr. Kinglake's method of writing history is special and peculiar, and the contents of the present volume are partly psychological and partly taken up with historical retrospection. Thus, the first hundred pages are filled with what he calls "A Retrospective Enquiry" into the war administration of Great Britain during the Wellington period and up to the opening of the Crimean campaign. Then, for a brief period, he transports his readers to the Crimea and allows them to learn something of the "winter troubles"; but subsequently he is hurried back to England, and in a long chapter, entitled "The Demeanor of England," we have Mr. Delane, the *Times* editor, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Panmure, Mr. Roebuck, and other prominent men of the day psychologically analyzed. Mr. Kinglake dissects the inner life of these gentlemen much as Mr. Browning has dissected Bishop Blougram, or Sludge the Medium, except that he does not make them give out their sentiments in the first person. But he rivals the poet in the intimate knowledge he has of those sentiments:

> "To his deep glance their souls, at large display'd,
> Shew all their mingled mass of light and shade."

When one ponders calmly over these amazing revelations it is impossible not to regard them as largely fanciful. But Mr. Kinglake goes through his task with such consummate gravity as if, beyond a question, he was inspired by a spirit of divination denied to ordinary men; and the analysis, whether true or not, has so much of verisimilitude and is so admirably well done, that the imagination, while reading, willingly yields itself to be cheated. Here, for example, is a portion of his picture of the late editor of the *Times*:

"Deriving from nature large gifts, and by circumstances clothed with vast

* 'The Invasion of the Crimea. By A. W. Kinglake.' Vol. vi. The Winter Troubles. London: Blackwood & Sons. 1880.

means of acting upon the volitions of men, and sometimes even ruling events, Delane, as may well be supposed, did not show the real eagerness of his nature in the weak, bustling way of people reckoned for nothing, whose time is of scarce any worth; and, indeed, he had the outward composure, the air of power not yet put forth, that becomes a strong man of action; but it always could be seen that his energies were rather compressed than lulled—that the furnace, if so one may speak, had its fires 'banked up' in the day-time, yet still was always aglow, always ready to blaze into action an hour or two before midnight. When already in his carriage, and moving to the scene of his midnight labors, kind nature used to grant him some minutes of sleep, upon which, because giving fresh strength, he used to set a great value; but from the moment of his entering the editor's room until four or five o'clock in the morning the strain he had to put on his faculties must have been always great, and in stirring times almost prodigious. . . . These were the hours of the night when often he had to decide—to decide, of course, with great swiftness—between two or more courses of action momentously different; when, besides, he must judge the appeals brought up to the paramount arbiter from all kinds of men, from all sorts of earthly tribunals; when despatches of moment, when telegrams fraught with grave tidings, when notes hastily scribbled in the Lords or the Commons, were from time to time coming in to confirm or disturb—perhaps even to annul—former reckonings; and these, besides, were the hours when—on questions newly obtruding, yet so closely, so importunately, present that they would have to be met before sunrise—he somehow must cause to spring up sudden essays, invectives, and arguments which only strong power of brain, with even much toil, could supply."

Mr. Kinglake, as all the world knows, holds a brief for Lord Raglan. The task he has set himself to do is to clear the memory of the British general from any responsibility for the misfortunes of the British army in the Crimea. It is impossible for even Mr. Kinglake's zeal and ingenuity altogether to accomplish this. On his own showing, Lord Raglan, in his anxiety to preserve cordial relations with the French generals, carried acquiescence to the point of culpable weakness. The celebrated "Flank March" was a grievous error. It was weak in Lord Raglan—a weakness for which both armies had to suffer grievously—that he did not persevere in his determination to carry Sebastopol by storm instead of deferring to the dilatory counsels of Marshal Canrobert. But so far as relates to the winter sufferings of the small British army on the Chersonese Heights we consider that Mr. Kinglake's vindication of his hero is complete and unanswerable. The British public, when they learned the dire tale of suffering, were urgent for the hanging of somebody; but as Mr. Kinglake shows, with great fulness, there was nobody deserving of hanging, unless it was the nation itself. The nation rushed into the war, blindly confident that what they had achieved in Spain in 1809–13 they were capable of achieving in the Crimea in 1853. But the circumstances were altogether different. Up to the year 1809 the military expeditions of Great Britain had been little more than a steady series of disasters. Behind every such expedition there had been, in England itself, no properly organized department of war to replace the waste of war, to see that the troops in the field were properly supplied with food, transport, and all the other numerous wants of an army on active service. The consequence was that after a short raid on hostile soil—perhaps a brilliant action in the field—the expeditionary force had always had to beat a hasty, and generally a disastrous, retreat to the point from which it had begun operations. The organizing ability of Wellington, and the ascendency he acquired over both British royalty and the British Government, enabled him to bring about the construction of a war department without which his victorious campaigns would not have been possible. But at the close of the war this roughly-built-up war department was broken up as being no longer needed, and at the opening of the Crimean War the administrative work of the British army was carried on by a machinery as feeble and inefficient as that which had brought about the long series of disasters of which the campaign of Talavera was the last and not the least. There was then no war department, all the various forces of which could be set in motion in obedience to the impulse of a single will, but a vast number of offices, each possessed of its own limited area of independent action, each attached by peculiar ties to other offices either above or below it; and it was only by circuitous and tedious processes that the machinery of these isolated offices could be set in motion at all. The army itself was subject to a divided authority. By a constitutional fiction it was supposed to be, in a sort, the private property of the sovereign, and during peace time was, as a matter of fact, very incompletely under the control of Parliament; but on the breaking out of war it was the rule that the sovereign should formally abdicate his privilege in favor of Parliament and a responsible ministry. Mr. Kinglake's description of the administrative chaos resulting from all this is excellently written and very instructive.

The truth is, that when Great Britain rushed into the Crimean War she had no army in any proper sense of the word. She had a certain small number of magnificent soldiers actually under arms, and that was all. There were no reserves, no commissariat department, no medical department, and, above all, the country was absolutely unprovided with an army transport corps. To crown all, the administrative staff, such as it was, in the British army, had had no experience in the conduct of large operations in the field. The great Indian campaigns on the Sutlaj, in the Punjab, and elsewhere had been carried through by the administrative staff of the Indian army; and in those days Indian officers ceased to have any military or other official rank as soon as they entered the confines of Europe. Consequently the Horse Guards in London deemed themselves forbidden to supply their own lack of experience by drawing upon the rich stores of it that were to be had in British India. The Crimean campaign was itself an after-thought. Originally, the combined French and British armies had been cantoned in Bulgaria, with the purpose of compelling the Russian armies to evacuate the Danubian provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia. This, in consequence of Austrian intervention, the Emperor Nicholas did; and then, had there been any common sense left in the British nation, there would have been no war. The object for which troops had been collected had been achieved without fighting. But the British nation was under the domination of one of its periodical "crazes"; and a war with Russia, if not on this pretext then on that, it was determined to have. All the Jingos of that time set to work, vociferating that a blow must be given to Russia such as should effectually hinder her from again disturbing the peace of Europe, or, in other words, that peace was to be preserved by plunging into war. It was in vain that Bright and Cobden, and a few other public men who had not yielded to the popular frenzy, attempted to turn the tide of national feeling. They were flung high and dry by reason of its violence, and the nation hurried on, regardless of counsel or protest, into (if an unjust and unnecessary war is to be regarded as a crime) one of the least defensible of the crimes which are recorded in its annals.

At the head of the vociferators for an invasion of the Crimea was the *Times* newspaper. The Aberdeen Ministry, reluctantly and with many misgivings, yielded to the violence of public sentiment. Lord Raglan, a soldier of vast experience, saw with what inadequate preparation the army was being forced into an undertaking of extreme peril and difficulty, and ventured upon remonstrances, but these were promptly thrust aside, and for a time all seemed to promise well. So confident, however, were both the nation and the authorities of the speedy fall of Sebastopol and the collapse of Russian resistance that, despite Lord Raglan's warnings, hardly any preparations were made for a winter campaign until winter had fairly assailed the allied armies on the bleak heights of the Chersonese. Then, in England, there began a reaction of despair as extreme and irrational as had been the sanguine hopes which heralded in the war, and led, of course, by the *Times*, the nation demanded that Lord Raglan should be offered up as a sacrifice, because the British army was in want of the food and forage, tents and warm clothing, which ought to have reached them from the mother country. The story has often been told. In his present volume Mr. Kinglake tells it once more after his own minute and analytic fashion. It cannot be denied that not unfrequently the reader is sorely wearied by his unnecessary prolixity. But the picture takes shape, brightens, and vivifies unceasingly; and there is so much of intellectual stimulus in the author's style, so much of keen insight and happy satire in his descriptions of men and things, that few will lay aside the book until they have read it to its last page. The following can hardly be called a legitimate interpolation in a book styling itself "a history," but it is excellent reading none the less. The "Crimean Army Fund" had sent out to Balaklava a huge supply of winter necessaries for distribution among the soldiers. This supply was entrusted to the care of Messrs. Tower and Egerton—the former a man of devouring energy. He had twenty Asiatics placed at his disposal for the landing and carriage of his goods. These Asiatics, in camp parlance and with a sublime indifference to facts, were known as "Croats," and it is thus that Mr. Kinglake describes Tower's operations:

"Soon beside Kadikoi, on the road between camp and port, there sprang up wooden storehouses, and stocks of bales and chests, and there, too, men observed as they passed that, under some motive force newly reaching Crim-Tartary, there had been generated a seething activity—mules, horses, carts coming in laden, and finding men to unload them; splendid sailors—the men of the yacht—bringing strength and resource from on board; men entrenching the ground to find shelter for hampers and bales; . . . and, propeller of all, his great eyes flaming with zeal, his mighty beard, laden or spangled like the bough of a cedar on Lebanon with whatever the skies might send down, whether snow or sleet or rain, an eagle-faced, vehement Englishman, commanding, warning, exhorting; swooping down in vast seven-leagued boots through the waters and quagmires upon any one of his Mussulmans who, under stress of piety (when wanting a few moments of rest), stopped kneeling too long at his prayers. If any wayfarer, passing between camp and port, sought to learn what all the stir meant, he might be told, perhaps, orientally, by some of the bearers of burdens, that 'the will of Allah—his name be it blest!—had made them the hard-driven slaves of the sacredly-bearded commander, the all-compelling, the sleepless, the inexorable Father of boxes—the Father of boxes more numerous than even the seed of Ibrahim after ninety-and-nine generations'; while the answer to any such question, if drawn from an English officer, was likely to be altogether neglectful of the spiritual element, and simply explain in five words that the cause of all the commotion was 'Tom Tower working his Croats.'"

TWO PRESBYTERIAN PROFESSORS.*

THE simultaneous appearance of the biographies of Dr. Charles Hodge and Dr. Henry B. Smith may be considered a fortunate coincidence, in view of the prominence which these men attained in the religious world, and especially in the Presbyterian Church. In many ways their lives were parallel—here and there they intersected each other at angles more or less acute—and these biographies will bring their points of agreement and difference freshly to mind, and afford occasion for some natural comparisons of their characters, and the methods of their thought and work.

Dr. Hodge was the older man by eighteen years. His biography is written by his son, whose admiration for his father is profound, and his adhesion to his theological position complete. A critical biography must not, therefore, be expected from his hand, and the assertion of a denominational journal that his book will rank with the great biographies of the time, must be taken with many grains of salt. He has, in fact, made a rather poor biography, where a good one was easily possible. In the selected correspondence there is but a pale reflection of Dr. Hodge's mind. Too many letters to Dr. Hodge, and remarks about him, are given for the praise which they contain, with little regard to the sources from which they emanated. But this is not the worst. Dr. Hodge was a Princeton professor for more than fifty years, and nearly or quite three thousand young men were subject to his instruction. Here was the principal channel of his influence; but of all this we have only the briefest mention and a single anecdote—that of the student who when Paul said "I am sold under sin" thought he meant that he was "taken in" by it. The emphasis of the biography is on Dr. Hodge's work as a writer for the *Princeton Review* and of various books. This work was important and influential, but we would fain know more about the teaching of those fifty years.

Graduated from the college at Princeton in 1815, and from the Theological Seminary, which had been established only a few years before, in 1819, his path was at once marked out for him, and after some preliminary study, including the reading of Hebrew with the points, which had formed no part of his theological training, as Dr. Alexander's learning stopped short of this, in 1822 he was made Professor of Oriental and Biblical Literature in the Princeton School. At about the same time he married Sarah Bache, a granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin. In 1826 he went to Germany to equip himself more fully for his position, and remained there two years. His letters and his journals covering these two years are the most interesting part of his biography. The celebrated Monod was his friend, and a ludicrous story is told of the surprise of a German student in the lecture-room on being informed that Hodge was an American. He had thought all Americans were copper-colored. His surprise found expression in a great oath, whereupon the excellent Monod accompanied him home and prevailed on him to be a Christian. Tholuck and Neander, Olshausen and Hengstenberg were Hodge's principal teachers at Halle and Berlin. His personal relations with Tholuck were cordial, and even effusive, but the reactionary opinions of Hengstenberg and Olshausen, now wholly obsolete, were most congenial to his mind. Hegel was then electrifying Germany, and the journal reports more or less correctly some of his theories. The freer criticism of the Germans is occasionally noted, but with a remoteness which indicates how little impression it made upon his mind. Returning to America, his life in Germany, except for certain technical results, was to him like a ship's track in the sea. Dr. Alexander had written to him: "I pray God to keep you from the poison of Neology. I wish you to come back enriched with Biblical learning, but abhorring German philosophy and theology." He had his wish. Landing in America, the young man burned his German ships. The break was almost absolute. Nothing characteristically German held over into his later life. Even the eternal friendship sworn with Tholuck seems to have survived only for the exchange of two or three letters.

In these days of flux what can be more refreshing than such a spectacle as the life of Dr. Hodge furnishes in its imperviousness to any sort of newness, its maintenance from first to last of the same set of opinions unchanged and unchangeable? Here is at least one stable figure for the eye to rest upon in the era of 'Scotch Sermons' and similar phenomena. No one will take exception to the statement of his biographer: "The consistency with which, under all changes of time and party combinations, he for fifty years maintained, without shadow of change, absolutely the same principles, was very remarkable, and without any parallel in this age. He held precisely the same doctrines in his old age as in the early controversies of his youth." These doctrines were those of the Westminster Confession in its strictest possible construction. Dr. Hodge found the "New-England theology" of Dr. Taylor sadly heretical, nor was Hopkins, or Emmons, or even Jonathan Edwards without taint. He went back of all these to John Calvin, the fountain pure and undefiled. As averse as Calvin to dancing or card-playing, he was more thoroughly possessed with the doctrine of Biblical infallibility. The Bible teaching was final for him in every case. It permitted slavery; therefore slavery was not a sin. It permitted the use of wine; therefore teetotalism had no warrant. He tells the story of the good woman who said that she would believe that Jonah swallowed the whale if the Bible said so, and he commends this disposition: let us come, he says, as near as possible to this. The system which he held so frankly and sincerely he defended in a long succession of articles in the *Princeton Review*, established by him, and notably in his 'Systematic Theology,' a ponderous work, which is undoubtedly the best modern expression of the Calvinistic creed, and free of all taint of science or philosophy. Dr. Hodge opposed the disruption of the Presbyterian Church in 1838, and with seeming but not real inconsistency he opposed the reunion in 1867. In both cases a change was contemplated, and he was always averse to change. It was his proudest boast that he "had never had a new idea."

The character of Dr. Hodge contrasts agreeably with the sternness of his creed. Though fierce in his polemics, in private life he was one of the kindliest of men, loving little children so well that he made a chink in his logic to save them from the general damnation. He had many years of suffering, bravely and sweetly borne. By his friends and students he was tenderly admired and loved. His handsome face grew more attractive with advancing years. His semi-centennial was a proud occasion. Incapable of doubt, he watched the spread of rationalistic thought, perfectly sure that his belief would finally prevail; and happy in this assurance he died June 19, 1878, in the eighty-first year of his age.

In Dr. H. B. Smith we have a man whose thought and character differed in many respects from Dr. Hodge's. Like the latter, he went to Germany to complete his studies. He encountered the same teachers at Halle and Berlin, grown a dozen years older, and his personal relations with Tholuck were as pleasant as young Hodge's. Hegel was just dead. From his widow Mr. Smith gathered a delightful impression of his character. With a strong natural bent for philosophical studies, he drank deep of the German fountains, and, unlike Dr. Hodge, he never lost his interest in German thought. Dr. Hodge prayed to be delivered from a "philosophical theology"; it was Dr. Smith's ambition to construct such a theology. The first address which marked him after his return as a man of unusual force of mind was his plea at Andover for the marriage of philosophy and theology. Theology, he insisted, must be rational. See that it is Biblical, responded Dr. Hodge, and it will be rational enough. Dr. Smith found his way into an influential position very slowly compared with the Princeton professor. A suspicion attached to him on account of his German training. Moreover, he had consorted freely with the Boston Transcendentalists and Dr. Channing; even with Theodore Parker he had some pleasant interchange of thought. His personal relationships at this time were determined much more by affinities of philosophical thought than by anything theological. A man who had studied in Germany was a great rarity in 1841. His journals and letters afford some interesting glimpses of the ferment of that golden age. But these dubious associations cost him the positions that he coveted at Bowdoin and Dartmouth. Tutoring awhile at Andover, then preaching to a little congregation in Amesbury, not till 1847 did he attain to a position corresponding to his abilities; this at Amherst, where he taught mental and moral philosophy. In 1850 he came to New York and took the chair of history in the Union Theological Seminary. Later he became Professor of Systematic Theology, and this position he adorned until by failing health he was compelled to give it up shortly before his death.

Dr. Smith's reputation is that of a man much broader in his culture than Dr. Hodge, less high and dry in his theology, and much more liberal in his spirit. The facts make good this reputation only in part. His general culture was much broader than Dr. Hodge's. He never lost his interest in philosophical studies, and an intelligent interest in these was always a passport to his regard. Some of his closest friendships were with men of liberal creeds: his friendship with Mr. George Bancroft was one of the pleasantest of these. But when we come to look at Dr. Smith's theology the difference between it and Dr. Hodge's is hardly perceptible to the man untrained in theological subtleties. The theology of the Union Theological Seminary was supposed to be midway between that of Andover and Princeton. Dr. Smith's biography is not very instructive as regards the nice distinctions of his theological position. The volume is edited by his wife, and either these things had no attraction for her or Dr. Smith was singularly indisposed to make his letters a vehicle of his thought. They abound in external details of work; they show us little of the workings of his mind. But, supplementing the present volume with Dr. Smith's collected essays, 'Faith and Philosophy' and his various reviews, notably one of Dr. Hodge's 'Systematic Theology,' the formal difference between the New York and the Princeton divine sinks "from the smallness of a gnat to air." In fact, Dr. Smith's philosophical studies seem to have left his theological system almost or quite intact; they only enabled him to dress his system in a more philosophic garb. Dr. Hodge could hardly have written a review of Renan's 'Life of Jesus' or the famous

* 'The Life of Charles Hodge, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. By his son, A. A. Hodge.' New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.
'Henry Boynton Smith: His Life and Work. Edited by his Wife.' With portrait on steel by Ritchie. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Co. 1880.

'Essays and Reviews' more completely unsympathetic than the reviews of these books printed in Dr. Smith's 'Faith and Philosophy.' Nevertheless, the broader culture of Dr. Smith was not without its effect upon his character. With Dr. Hodge theology was all in all. With Dr. Smith philosophy was much, and, as we have said, his personal intercourse was profoundly affected by his generous scholarship. To both of these men science was an unknown world, and herein is to be found the reason why, despite their difference of training, there was so much harmony of belief. It is science, not so much by its particular results as by its method, that is disintegrating the traditional creeds. Metaphysic seems to ally itself equally well with any dogma. From Hegel's armory Marheineke, Rosenkranz, and Göschel on the one hand, and Strauss and Feuerbach upon the other, drew out opposing weapons. Metaphysic will always furnish an ingenious mind a justification for its favorite creed. Science is less accommodating.

Drs. Hodge and Smith were arrayed on different sides of the great controversy respecting Presbyterian Reunion in 1867—in fact, they were the principal protagonists of their respective sides. Dr. Hodge opposed the Reunion; Dr. Smith was its most earnest advocate, and the victory was with him. No personal ill-will was engendered by this heated controversy, and at Dr. Hodge's semi-centennial the praise of Dr. Smith was as sincere as any given, and fell as soothingly upon the veteran's ear. After a wearisome sickness Dr. Smith died in February, 1877, and was buried in beautiful Northampton. Much has been said of late concerning clerical sincerity, but whatever the differences of these Presbyterian scholars, Drs. Hodge and Smith were certainly alike in a sincerity that does not admit of even the faintest shadow of a doubt.

RECENT NOVELS.*

THE literary interest of a novel by the Rev. Mr. Roe is subordinate to the interest of the sociological problem suggested by the size of his audience taken in connection with the quality of his work. A first edition of 'A Day of Fate,' for example, is, we see, twenty thousand; and yet it is of a simple character. It contains an overworked editor in search of heal h, his rival a pompous and heavy Fifth Avenue millionaire, a music teacher who is debating the propriety of accepting the millionaire, and a pretty Quakeress who stands ready to take the rejected one, whichever it may be. It is upon her father's farm that most of the action takes place. The stock includes a plough-horse, "Old Plod," which the heroine's fancy connects with her elderly lover, and on which she showers many caresses when his double's star is in the ascendant; a fiery young charger named "Dapple," which prefigures the editor and is similarly favored in turn, and a cow, whose symbolic significance is occult. The editor of course wins, which is the only immoral thing in the book. But he is a good editor, as is explained by the following illuminated placard which hangs above his desk: "The editor has exceptional opportunities, and might be the knight-errant of our age. If in earnest and on the right side, he can forge a weapon out of public opinion that few evils could resist. He is in just the position to discover these dragons and drive them from their hiding-places." After contemplating this, and after "the labor of weeks," it is not strange that he wrote an "editorial entitled 'Truth vs. Conscience'" and "shot it like an arrow into the West." This is spirited, and twenty thousand readers probably are affected by it in the same way as immature youths are by root-beer; that is to say, for a brief and blissful moment they feel as if they had experienced a sensation.

There is the familiar flavor of the German legend about 'The Hour Will Come.' The Count of Reichenberg drives his young wife from his home and his son is born on the moor, where both mother and child would have perished but for the monks of St. Valentine. The mother dies after all, and begs that her offspring be taken to Marienberg, where her brother is a monk, that by being brought up in the holy order he may escape his father's curse. Of course the curse cannot be averted, and though the father relents it is notorious that nothing comes of relenting in a Teutonic legend. The world of beauty appeals strongly to the imprisoned boy; the stern monk, who has hated him from his babyhood, counsels him to blind himself to avoid temptation; he does so, and walks over a precipice. It is not a cheerful tale, but also it is not unpoetically told.

'Mother Molly' is a "quiet" story. The little action it contains happens off the stage, and is told by the character who writes the book as if it were of the last importance, but still too well known to need more than an identifying allusion now and then, while she talks all around it. The effect is naturally unspeakably dreary to the unsympathetic reader, who will probably become too nervous to recognize the negative merits the tale possesses. These, however, are not sufficient to dispense the author from the prime necessity of being entertaining, edification being out of the question. It is an English story of how "Mother Molly's" parents died and she earned her title by bringing up her brothers and sisters, how she did this and what became of her and them, the scene being laid in Devonshire at the end of the last century, when the people were expecting a descent of the French.

'Tit for Tat' has a good scheme. A youth in Germany is victimized by a pair of blue eyes, and is ridiculed by his friend to whom he recounts his adventure. The friend has a similar experience with the same adventuress in New York, whence the title. There is, nevertheless, so much pure surplusage, and so much literary crudity about what is pertinent, that its effect is, on the whole, absurd. It would in practised hands have made a good short story, but no one could successfully stretch the same material to its present length of one hundred and ninety pages, small though these are.

'Alton Thorpe,' as a testimonial to the strength of a noble, womanly character, suffers the disadvantage of showing the said character very wilful and headstrong. She runs counter to social conventions, refuses all advice as to the management of her estate, engages herself to a man who seeks only her money, conceives and executes schemes of reform which benefit no one and which would be the despair of political economists, when, the book drawing near its end, the author brings her creation up with a round turn, reduces her to submission, and by means of a bank robbery and suicide disposes of the unworthy lover and unites the heroine to her cousin, who has loved her from the start. To do this two hundred and forty-two octavo pages, typographically close-packed, are required.

'Magdalen Férat,' though the last translated, we take to be an early work. It is long, the logic of it close, and the plot unusually compact for Zola. The last, however, only emphasizes his lack in the specially French quality of form. The ingenuity of construction which makes the typical French novel read like a play is replaced in him by a subtle study of occult and inherited causes, and one is never quite sure whether to place them in the category of pathology or that of art. The heroine here is overshadowed by a past which is the result of innocence, ignorance, and a false education. Become wise by experience and the happy wife of the man she loves, she is unexpectedly confronted by it, and, unsustained by her husband, who is morbidly weak, she falls a prey to remorse; whereupon, crazed by the denunciations of her husband's foster-mother, a religious fanatic, she poisons herself, and her husband goes mad. There is but one thoroughly healthy character in the book. The pathology seems to be quite correct.

'Can She Atone?' is an American novel on a somewhat similar theme. It is dedicated to "The Great Army of Christian Workers and Philanthropists" who are interested in trying "to rescue the perishing and raise the fallen." It is perhaps singular that subjects of this order seem to have especial attractions for inexperience, and only experts recognize the difficulty in society's laying down the precise conditions under which its own code is to be disregarded. It may be noticed, also, apropos of the truthfulness of these two books, that the sin in question is severely handled by the society commonly supposed to be lenient to it, and is leniently dealt with by that which is said never to forgive it.

'Salvage' opens well, but the statement of its "problem" is better than its solution, the notion of which suffers from its execution. A Confederate colonel who has deserted his Northern wife visits London on his return from an East Indian trip, where he hears from his lawyer, through whom he has instituted divorce proceedings, that he has a child. Determined to obtain possession of it, he starts at once for America. On his way to Liverpool he meets and recognizes his wife and child without being recognized in turn, learns that the former is to sail on the steamer on which he has engaged passage under an assumed name, falls in love with her, and determines to win her affections on the journey. She appears on board without the child, having brought it to England preparatory to fighting the divorce-suit. The voyage ends speedily in shipwreck off Queenstown, but there is time enough for many misunderstandings (the colonel's first love, a widow, being also of the company) and explanations, and some very elaborate obstacles to the course of true love; but all ends happily. The most elevated sentiments are expressed by the truly good, and very reprehensible ones by the wicked, but the author gets in the flavor of novelty by so arranging these exhibitions as to suggest that there is little to choose between the two after all. For example, a lady declaiming in public upon matrimonial obligations apropos of her own case is a novelty.

'No Relations' is rather a child's story than a novel, although we fancy that to grown-up readers much of it will prove very attractive. It is the history of a foundling brought up among peasants in France, who, after many strange adventures, discovers his birth to have been gentle and recovers his family. All the early part of the story—the description of the village of Chavanon, of Mother Barberin and her husband, and of the remarkable travelling troupe of Signor Vitalis—is excellent. The animals in this troupe are perhaps trained more highly than would seem possible in real life, but the

*'A Day of Fate. By Rev. E. P. Roe.' New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.
'The Hour Will Come: A Tale of an Alpine Cloister. By Wilhelmine Von Hillern. From the German by Clara Bell.' New York: Wm. S. Gottsberger. 1880.
'Mother Molly. By Francis Mary Peard.' New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1880.
'Tit for Tat. By the Marchioness Clara Lanza.' New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1880.
'Alton Thorpe. By Lucy N. Janney.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.
'Magdalen Ferat. By Emile Zola.' Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. 1880.
'Can She Atone? By Abby Whitney Brown.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.
'Salvage.' No-Name Series. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1880.
'No Relations. From the French of Hector Malot.' (The Monthyon Prize Novel.) Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880

exaggeration is not such as to spoil the story, and the account of their performances and of the respective fates which overtake them and their master is entertaining and interesting throughout. The melodramatic part of the novel, if we may so term the somewhat sensational adventures by which the plot is thickened and finally brought to a dénoûment, is inferior to this, though not positively bad. To call 'No Relations' a French 'Oliver Twist' would be going too far. We may best indicate its general character by saying that it would be to a French girl what 'Oliver Twist' is to an English or American boy.

About's 'Story of an Honest Man' is hardly likely to add much to his reputation as a novelist. It is a novel with a purpose, though it is rather difficult to state in a few words what the purpose is. The hero's grandfather is a volunteer of 1792 and represents the typical Frenchman of that period. His son represents the generation of Frenchmen intermediate between the revolutionary and the modern period, while the hero himself illustrates the virtues, or what ought to be the virtues, of to-day. The old generation was grandiloquent and patriotic, and the elder Dumont was known among his neighbors as "La France." The second generation was full of philanthropy and dreams of human fraternity, and the second Dumont was consequently known as "Mes semblables." In a terrible conflagration he sacrifices his life for the benefit of his fellow-creatures. The third Dumont is everything that a good modern Frenchman should be, and his life furnishes M. About with the opportunity of giving many valuable hints to his fellow-countrymen as to what ought to be done towards making France a perfect and happy country. In education we have a minute description of the whole series of reforms introduced by an Alsatian in a French grammar-school. He transforms it into something resembling an English boarding-school of the best sort. In industrial matters we have a full account of the reforms introduced into a factory which had previously been managed on an antiquated and uneconomical plan. All this is doubtless valuable and may be very profitable to Frenchmen who study it with attention, but it sadly impedes the progress of the story, the plot of which is so slight that it might easily be compressed into a few pages. It is not a novel which can be expected to arouse much interest outside of France. If it were written by anybody else than M. About or in any country but France, parts of it might perhaps be called provincial in tone.

Sketches of Army Life in Russia. By F. V. Greene, Lieutenant of Engineers U. S. Army. Late Military Attaché to the U. S. Legation in St. Petersburg, and Author of 'The Russian Army and its Campaigns in Turkey in 1877–78.' (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.)—To discuss and pronounce upon the question of the right and the wrong of the attitude of Russia in regard to the "Eastern Question" would be a laborious and difficult task. To follow and criticise her military conduct in the recent war with Turkey would require much patient study as well as much time and space. It is fortunate for the reviewer who has to pronounce upon the merits of Lieutenant Greene's book that he need do neither of these things. He may safely commend it to the general reader as a remarkably attractive and fascinating book. It seems to be accurate, impartial, and trustworthy, but whether it be so or not, it is certainly delightful. It is most agreeable reading, and not for those only who take special pleasure in military books. Whether it treats of the singular relation of the Czar to his subjects, or of his subjects to the Czar, with its strange mixture of personal trust, civic loyalty, and religious devotion; of the personal qualities of the Russian soldier; of the "moving accidents" of Shipka Pass, the siege of Plevna, or the winter campaign; of the author's singularly romantic and dramatic entry into Constantinople—or gives us a sketch of war correspondents like MacGahan, or almost incredible generals like Skobeleff—it is always gratifying to the last degree. It is most fortunate for the reputation of our country and our army that we had such an officer to send to the far-away land of Turkey in Europe, and most creditable to our War Department that it sent such a man. His book deserves to be universally read, and we are sure that no person whom these lines may lead to purchase it will fail to rejoice that they have been written.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*	
Baldwin (Rev. A. C.), Pastor's Counsels to Young Christians	(Cong. Pub. Co.)	
Chatterbox Junior	(R. Worthington)	$1 00
Cook (C.), The House Beautiful, new ed	(Chas. Scribner's Sons)	4 00
Ewing (Juliana H.), We and the World: a Boys' Story	(Roberts Bros.)	1 25
Hale (Lucretia P.), The Peterkin Papers	(J. R. Osgood & Co.)	1 00
Lankester (Dr. E.), Family Medical Guide	(E. R. Pelton & Co.)	
Martin (T.), Goethe's Faust, new ed	(Geo. Kirchner & Co.)	15 00
Oncken (W.), Allgemeine Geschichte, Parts 21, 22, swd	(B. Westermann & Co.)	
On the Rhine, and Other Sketches of European Travel	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)	3 00
On the Wing through Europe	(H. W. Derby & Co.)	
Poverina: a Tale, swd	(D. Appleton & Co.)	30
Publishers' Trade-List Annual for 1880	(F. Leypoldt)	1 50
Schliemann (H.), Mycenæ, new ed	(Chas. Scribner's Sons)	7 50
Tennyson (A.), A Dream of Fair Women; illustrated	(J. R. Osgood & Co.)	5 00
Vizetelly (H.), Story of the Diamond Necklace, 3d ed	(Scribner & Welford)	$2 25
Walton (I.), Complete Angler, new ed., Vol. I	(John Wiley & Sons)	
Williamson (A.), Sport and Photography in the Rocky Mountains	(David Douglas)	
Woodbury (J. H.), How I Found It—North and South, swd	(Lee & Shepard)	50
Wylde (K.), A Dreamer	(Henry Holt & Co.)	1 00

Le Roman d'un Brave Homme. Par Edmond About.' Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1880.
The Story of an Honest Man. By Edmond About.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.

Fine Arts.

MLLE. BERNHARDT IN "HERNANI."

THE play of "Hernani," in which Sarah Bernhardt appeared for the first time on Thursday last, occupies an important place in the history of literature and the drama. It represents the most flourishing period of the Romantic school in France and may be considered the *chef d'œuvre* of the leader of that school. It is also a most excellent acting play. The plot is melodramatic to the point of opera, and indeed it has held the stage as an opera thus far with more success than as a play. At the time of its first production it was at the most extreme remove from the plays of the Classical school, and was designed for the purpose of showing how a Romantic play ought to be written. It abounds in the most generous sentiments and the most thrilling situations. The world which it places before us is that mediæval world of romance in which love and war are the only occupations fit for men; in which woman represents the idea of loveliness, purity, and devotion, and the struggle for her affections is the main motive of the action. The Romanticists, it must be remembered, invented this world by a great literary *coup*, but at the time they believed in its reality. Well established as it is that the age of chivalry and romance never existed, it is no less a fact that in the early part of this century a large number of the strongest writers of fiction and the drama that have ever appeared either in England or on the Continent did believe in its existence, and chivalry and romance were to them more true and real than even realism has proved with us. Their movement, so far as it affected the drama, was in fact, when we compare it with the preceding state of things, a movement in the direction of realism. Their practical object was to break up the classicism of the old drama, with its iron-bound unities, and to introduce in its place that liberality as to time, place, and action which might be supposed to correspond with the actual facts of life, and which Shakspere had adopted as the dramatic basis of his system. In all this they succeeded completely: classicism was killed and the drama was liberated from the fetters of the classical canon; but reform stopped a long way short of pure realism of the photographic kind, such as the French dramatists of our day have engrafted upon the stage. "Hernani" is almost as far removed from what we regard as reality as "Phèdre" must have seemed to audiences which first appreciated the merits of "Hernani." It is, in fact, now necessary, in order to enter fully into the spirit of the play, to forget everything that has happened since—to forget the very existence of the drama to which plays like "Froufrou" and "La Dame aux Camélias" belong, and to revert to that ideal world of romance and adventure which gave "Hernani" its birth. It is necessary, too, to throw aside for a time one's sense of the ludicrous, for, judged by our present tests, the plot and situations of "Hernani" are ludicrous in the extreme. There are, of course, no characters, in the proper sense of the word, in the play. The development of character never played any important part in the theories of the Romantic school, and Victor Hugo, who is nothing if not an accomplished playwright, cares so little for this branch of his business that he is willing to make everybody in turn display the same traits in the most opposite situations for the purpose of producing a dramatic effect. At the end of the first act we have *Don Carlos* saving the life of his mortal enemy, *Hernani*, by a display of that noble generosity which he is fond of exhibiting toward the end of an act, but which he rarely shows at the beginning of one. At the end of the second act we have *Hernani* playing precisely the same part with *Don Carlos*. *Don Carlos*, however, does not hesitate to obtain an interview with *Doña Sol* by means of the basest trickery, and up to the last moment appears to be determined to ruin her happiness. Notwithstanding this, his elevation to the position of emperor, which gives him the opportunity of carrying out all his worst designs, has such an effect upon him that he gives up *Doña Sol* to *Hernani*. Meanwhile *Don Ruy Gomez*, after sparing *Hernani's* life from motives of the same exalted generosity which at critical dramatic points determines the action of all the characters in the play, and permitting him to marry *Doña Sol*, in the end kills them both, although at one period he had offered *Hernani* to give up the talismanic horn which plays the part of hostage for the hero's life. *Hernani*, who refused to take his life at the hand of his rival, because of his unquenchable thirst for the life of the king, in the end, having forgotten all the other motives which govern his action, insists on throwing up his hard-won happiness, and dying simply because *Don Ruy* still possesses the horn, which he had previously offered to give up. It is impossible to see the play without being struck by these peculiarities or noticing that what triumphs over them is the cunning art of an accomplished playwright, who thoroughly understands effective situations and climaxes.

The one consistent type in the play is *Doña Sol*, and she is natural, like so many other heroines of the Romantic school, without being essentially individual. She stands for woman, woman as understood in romance, the female ideal, the victim of fate, but rising above her fate by the nobility and beauty of her character. It was this part that Mlle. Bernhardt attempted on Thursday last, and if she did not completely succeed in it, it was because she is not essentially a romantic actress. Although we have not yet seen her in "Phèdre" or in any other play of the classical period, it is risking very little to say that with all her eclecticism the school of acting in which she is most at home and most thoroughly herself is that of the present day. The range of fashions in the drama which she attempts to cover includes all the three—classical, romantic, and realistic—but both in her virtues and her defects she rightly belongs to the last. It is not well to be very dogmatic about her acting on any point, for she is full of surprises, and her long and thorough training, as well as her familiarity with different methods of acting, enables her to appear to great advantage in almost any part. She is the most finished, if not the greatest, actress who has for a generation been seen in this country, and it is difficult to apply any test to her talent which it does not easily stand; but a comparison of her acting in "Hernani" with her acting in "Froufrou" will, we think, show that the latter dramatic creation is one which she understands far better than the former. "Froufrou" is in all respects the opposite of "Hernani." It is based, or supposed to be based, upon the real life of to-day. The romantic notions of life which form the staple of the drama as understood by Victor Hugo, have all disappeared. It deals with the ordinary sentiments, comic as well as tragic, of every-day life. It is, in fact, a tragedy of every-day life. *Gilberte* is the Parisian woman of to-day, light-hearted, amiable, frivolous, fond of pleasure, weak, charming. She is doomed to a tragic end by circumstances and her own weakness, and is, in consequence of this fact, such a character as would never have been dreamt of for a heroine of a romantic play or story. The other characters are merely introduced to heighten the effect of the tragedy of her life and death. It is characteristic of the modern realistic drama that it is to a very great extent a drama of feminine pathos. Its masters seem to take more interest in the analysis of feminine emotions than in the struggles and passions of men. "Hernani" is a man's play. The principal parts are men's parts. "Froufrou" is a woman's play. *Froufrou* and her sister are the only serious parts in it, if, indeed, anything in the play can be called serious.

In *Doña Sol* we see a great Romantic feminine type, a lady of high birth in love with a man whom she knows only as an outlaw, displaying under the influence of her love the loftiest traits of character, ready to endure privation and misery for his sake, so far elevated above the ordinary plane of life and action that temptation ceases to entice or danger to frighten. At the end she prefers to take her life rather than survive her lover. In *Froufrou* we have a weak child, married accidentally to a man to whom she is indifferent, but whom her sister loves. Then there appears a lover, who makes love to her in a frivolous way, while her sister establishes herself in the affections of her husband and child. This suddenly transforms her into a tragic character, and she abandons her home to go off with her lover, who is finally shot by her husband, after which she comes home and dies in the fifth act. It is a play in which there is no consistency or continuity, yet it abounds in telling situations, such as the scene between the two sisters, the scene in which *Gilberte* tries to prevent her husband fighting with her lover, and the death-scene. Comparing Mlle. Bernhardt in these two parts, the most striking thing about her acting of them is that they should both be so good. It is the fashion to say that she has a limited range in the expression of passion, but the limits fixed by these two plays are very wide. In the way of denunciation what could be finer than her scene with her sister in "Froufrou"? As an exhibition of extreme agony and anguish of mind, her vain entreaties addressed to her husband at Venice could hardly be better done. Her declaration of her devotion to *Hernani's* fortunes, her rejection of *Don Carlos's* advances, were equally good. We might go on almost indefinitely, and, taking scene after scene from the plays in which she has appeared, declare with entire safety that her acting was throughout admirable. It is impossible, however, to see her in Victor Hugo's play without feeling that it is really *Froufrou* acting *Doña Sol*. The romantic part is a wonderful performance; in the other she is completely at home. The very continuity and coherence of *Doña Sol's* part interferes with her acting, for it is not altogether natural to her to act coherently or continuously. That absorption in a single feeling which is the essence of the latter part, and which is the really excellent and noble thing inherited by the Romantic from the Classical school, is something which is unknown to "Froufrou" and the writers of the "Froufrou" period. *Froufrou* is the slave of the feeling of the moment, but an enduring and overpowering passion is out of the question; otherwise she would not have been *Froufrou*.

It is this lack of continuous passion which probably gives to Mlle. Bernhardt's acting that slight flavor of insincerity which at times mars its perfection. In isolated scenes and passages her expression and action are perfect, but the complete identification of the actress with her part does not last longer; by some little gesture or look, or some unnecessary by-play, the illusion produced by her marvellous acting is dispelled. This is more noticeable in such a part as *Doña Sol* than in *Froufrou*. The latter, when she is on the stage, is generally the central figure of it, and has too much to do to permit many of these relapses. *Doña Sol*, with a comparatively small part, is on the stage a great deal, and has that most difficult of all tasks, to make herself felt when she is not speaking. It is just at this point that Mlle. Bernhardt's want of absorption in the character she is playing shows itself. When she ceases to speak she ceases to be *Doña Sol*, or at any rate she does not seem to remember so distinctly that she is *Doña Sol* that she forgets everything else. Her dresses no doubt are very beautiful and her poses very picturesque, but we do not care to be reminded quite so often that they are so.

It might be expected that an actress of this sort would be most effective in scenes which make a steady and rapid advance toward, and end in, a marked climax. There is nothing which carries away an audience like this, and it is fortunate that it is so, for with an audience as plainly unfamiliar with French as those at Booth's, if it were not for the broad effects produced by climax, there would be no play at all. These broad effects are, however, only a small part of a great piece of acting.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1880.

The Week.

THE communications of Mr. Richard Smith, editor of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, to that journal from Washington City make it clear that Secretary Sherman would prefer to remain at the head of the Treasury Department rather than return to the Senate; that his personal relations with General Garfield have not been disturbed by anything that happened at the Chicago Convention, but that the President-elect prefers for some reason to wait until February before making up his Cabinet or choosing any member of it. It is a matter of doubt, therefore, whether Mr. Sherman will be Secretary of the Treasury after the 4th of March, and the doubt is to be resolved by General Garfield alone, although the contest in the Ohio Legislature may impel him to make a decision earlier than the month of February. If the state of uncertainty continues, and the contest in that body goes on, it is altogether likely that the State of Ohio will vote for Mr. Sherman's retention in the public service in the highest position at her command. Any other decision would be looked upon by the country as not only shortsighted but as an exhibition of great ingratitude. Such services as Mr. Sherman has rendered to the State, the party, and the nation, although open to grave criticism here and there, are now seldom met with in American statesmanship.

As regards the incoming Administration, it may be said that Mr. Sherman stands at the forks of the road. If Mr. Garfield retains him as Secretary of the Treasury, it will be understood that he has *not* surrendered to the Bosses. If Mr. Sherman is not retained, the sign will be equally clear that the Machine has overmastered him. The bone of contention is primarily the New York Custom-house, of which the Conkling faction are crazy to resume possession. With Mr. Sherman at the head of the Treasury their game would be blocked, as he does not stand in awe of Conkling. The predicament of the other Bosses is very much the same. All of them are anxious to resume business not as advisers but as dictators of appointments in their own States. Their rôle at the present time is that of supporters of General Garfield's nomination for a second term, the senior Cameron having already delivered himself at length upon that point, with a good deal of gush, in the columns of the Philadelphia *Press*. The junior Cameron, by the way, is reported to be at his wits' end in his endeavors to control the Senatorial election in his own State in favor of somebody who will have no opinions. Cameron himself makes no pretensions to intellectual superiority. He stands, or did stand, for an astute party manager. He staked his reputation on the nomination of Grant at Chicago and lost the wager. His prestige was badly shattered, and it is now of the utmost importance that he should make it appear that he is to control the patronage of Pennsylvania under President Garfield, or else some man of brains may be elected as his colleague in the Senate.

The question of creating life senatorships-at-large for the benefit of ex-Presidents has been much discussed during the week, apropos of the desire of General Grant's friends to provide for him a position of dignity and usefulness in the public service. We were inclined ourselves at one time to think the suggestion a good one, but the objection that the introduction of senators-at-large into the Senate would destroy the equality of the States in that body seems to be fatal. In the existing condition of human nature it would be impossible to make any man a real senator "at large." He would in fact, even if not in law, be a third senator from some one State, and would be so regarded every time he cast a vote on any question on which the country was seriously divided. Moreover, every time he voted he would diminish the weight of the vote of every senator who voted on the other side, and thus *pro tanto* deprive the States which they represented of "their equal suffrage in the Senate." It seems, if this view is sound, pretty clear that the constitutional amendment which created senators-at-large would have to be ratified not by three-fourths of the States only, but by all of them, and this puts its adoption out of the question. The controversy on the proposal has been most acrimonious. Mr. Blaine started the adverse view, and, to everybody's surprise, his old admirer, the *Tribune*, fell foul of him, and informed him that his objection was not only not "weighty" but was "moonshine." At this point the unfortunate but well-meaning *Evening Post* intervened, with what seemed to the common mind somewhat forcible support of Mr. Blaine's interpretation of the "equal-suffrage" clause of the Constitution, but, growing heated, attributed to the *Tribune* "ignorance," "dulness," and "quibbling." The *Tribune* was at first blush inclined to attribute all this to a "muddled head," but, on further consideration, concluded that it had a much more serious cause, and refused to "discuss further" with or even to "notice" a person capable of "gross and apparently deliberate misrepresentation." A more melancholy, not to say tragic, end to a great constitutional debate has never, to our knowledge, occurred before in this country.

We print elsewhere in a letter from Mr. D. A. Wells a further illustration of the kind of morality with which both parties conducted the late campaign. The Philadelphia *Press* also confesses to having been made the innocent medium of spreading a false story of a placard stuck up in Oldham, Lancashire, England, encouraging the operations in this country of the British free-traders against native industry. In fact, we presume the lying done on the stump and elsewhere on the Republican side about the tariff, after the tariff issue was taken up, was unusually great, though the circular produced by Mr. Wells is the most discreditable specimen of it. General Grant's story about General Hancock was also shocking, but it attained no currency. The Republican managers and newspapers refused to touch it after the first day, but they invited its author to take the stump, and spoke of his oratory in terms of adulation not often heard in the modern world. The Democrats prepared the way for the ruin of their reputation by putting a man like Mr. Barnum in the chairmanship of their Committee. When they do such things they forget that they have no press capable of whitewashing them and giving their rascalities a venial air.

Mr. Hewitt, from whom we have also a letter, defends himself successfully enough against Judge Davis, and gives good reason for his belief in the genuineness of the Morey letter, on the evidence of the letter itself and of his own knowledge of the drift of General Garfield's economical opinions. But he does not account for his failure to notice the suspiciousness of the circumstances under which the letter appeared—especially its first production by the proprietors of an obscure and disreputable newspaper in the very last days of the campaign—in spite of his great caution with regard to the evidence on the other side, such as General Garfield's flat denial. This denial he peremptorily rejected as absolutely worthless in his speech at Rochester, October 25, and in his interview with the *World* reporter, October 27, and in his speech at Tammany Hall, October 28. Supposing this to have been justifiable in the case of a letter produced by a known person of good character, was it justifiable in the case of a letter, the recipient of which did not appear and was not known, and the holder of which was a person of whose character but little was known and that little not good, and into whose line of business fraudulent sensational letters almost naturally fell?

We think Judge Davis should accept Mr. Hewitt's offer of the bull calf. It would be the smallest atonement he could make to him for his attack on him in court. Besides this, the Judge owes a calf, lamb, kid, or some such animal as an expiatory offering to Themis for having delivered a stump-speech from the bench, and the Hewitt calf would be a peculiarly appropriate victim.

Mr. Lanier, the Deputy Collector of Internal Revenue, editor of the *North Louisiana Republican*, and Republican candidate for Congress

in the Fifth District in Louisiana, whose troubles we mentioned last week, has replied to the charge that he was short in his accounts as State tax collector and had been more than once engaged in desperate broils resulting in death. As to the State-tax charge, he says he was "robbed" of the money while holding it unwillingly under an injunction obtained by the Nicholls government to prevent his paying it over to the Packard government; that he was tried afterwards on a charge of embezzlement, but there was a "mistrial," and the Democratic district-attorney refused to try him again and entered a *nolle prosequi*. As to the broils, he says naïvely: "I have had some serious personal encounters in which I may be said to have been fortunate, but it was only when I have been assailed, and so justifiable has been my position in these encounters that I have never been indicted by any court for what resulted from them." There is much of what Squeers called "richness" in this statement. Nothing can be happier as a euphemism than calling himself "fortunate" in order to express the fact that he had killed his man or men in several fights. But we doubt if it quite equals in assurance the deduction, that he cannot have done anything wrong in his fights, which he makes from the fact that no court in Louisiana indicted him for his manslaughters—as if it was the custom in Louisiana to indict men for participation in murderous affrays. We venture to say, however, that, bad as Louisiana may be, neither in it nor in any Southern State has any peaceable, respectable citizen fit to serve the United States Government in a fiduciary capacity been engaged in "several serious encounters." This sort of experience all the world over falls to the lot of the turbulent, disorderly, and quarrelsome, and we again call the attention of those who think the South has nothing to complain of as regards the character of the men employed to execute the Federal laws, to this Lanier case.

Whether ex-Governor (now United States Senator-elect) Joseph E. Brown, of Georgia, is a man devoid of scruple, a "political acrobat" who profited by Reconstruction and still knew when to return to the Democratic fold, member with Gordon of a ring controlling an infamous system of convict leases, and "true to one party and that is himself"—all this is of consequence to students of Southern politics and to reformers, as well as to the negroes who lately celebrated his overwhelming election. Still, it does not seem to us to bear on the question of the comparative sagacity of Robert Toombs and of Senator Brown, or the advantage to the State of the triumph of ideas as to material development, the education of all classes, and political justice to the blacks, such as the latter has just avowed before a picked assemblage at Atlanta. If there exists in Georgia a Bourbonism indissolubly wedded to the *status quo*, and unreconciled and unreconcilable to the Constitutional Amendments, and on this account chiefly opposed to Mr. Brown, we cannot for our part doubt that, though the hand which guides it may be selfish, the driving deep of the share is for the immediate and ultimate good of the State. We have felt and said the same thing in regard to General Mahone in Virginia. The hope that "no white man would do this," or "no gentleman do that," is based in the first place upon a childish conception of human nature, and especially the nature of demagogues, and in the second upon a surprising unconsciousness of the decay of the machinery by which public sentiment, or the sentiment of a small class controlling the mob, used to be enforced.

What, let us ask any determined opponent of Messrs. Brown, Gordon, and Colquitt, ought to be the penalty for the Vicksburg *Herald's* denouncing the recent frauds in counting the ballots cast in the Mississippi "Shoe-string District" by which Chalmers has been returned to Congress and Lynch defeated? The ballots were rejected wholesale on account of a typographical embellishment such as good taste dictates to every printer—simple dashes separating the classes voted for on the same ticket; "distinguishing marks," they were called, to bring them technically within the scope of the law. The *Herald* is a Democratic paper, but it says this has not been "done in the interest of the Democratic party," as alleged, "or the best interests of the people; and the party, the officials, the district, and the State should positively refuse to countenance it." The defence will probably be set up that only a resort to such methods can avert the return of the carpet-bagger. It may even be said that they are no worse than the methods of the Louisiana Returning-Board in 1876. Still, this leaves the question untouched: Is the *Herald* right or wrong in reprobating them? If right, ought not every respectable white voter to side with it? If wrong, is there any power now which can make it hold its peace; and if it is not silenced, what hope is there of indefinitely maintaining the color line?

The press and the pulpit have been considerably agitated for a week or two over the threatened production at Booth's Theatre of a version of the "Passion-Play," and the manager has concluded to withdraw it out of deference to public opinion, which, it appears from his exposition of manager's ethics, he has "no right" to ignore. It was to have succeeded the engagement of Mlle. Bernhardt, we believe, and elaborate preparations had been made for its presentation. The author, who has published an indignant but dejected card since its withdrawal, says his work is very different from the "crude show-piece" enacted at Ober-Ammergau, and is "a solemn, moral, religious, well-digested, devout, and instructive composition, intended to live the life of all classical literature" and "composed for the advanced age we live in." If there is anything else it is probably that too. He is going to read it in public and demonstrate this. To a reporter he further said that before writing it he had spent "five and a half years in the monasteries of Palestine, in filth and vermin," had "delved down into old manuscripts that had not been disturbed for hundreds of years," and found what he was shocked to find new, and charmed to find true, concerning the life of the Redeemer. The result was something it was a pity to have the children miss, as they could never get it from the Bible. He had read it to a clergyman, who wanted to confute Bob Ingersoll with it, and to a company of actors, who appeared as if they were at a funeral. He added incidentally that the only fairly correct Life of Christ was Beecher's, which was, nevertheless, incomplete compared with the play. In any event, however, this card came too late to have effect. The papers vied with each other in ingenious reconciliation of abstract free-speech and the concrete suppression of this outrage—all, that is to say, except John Kelly's organ, as the *Herald* pointed out. There was, of course, a flood of letters from "the people"; rival managers were unanimous in saying that no amount of money could tempt them to produce it; and the ministers of the different denominations preached against it, from a Jewish rabbi to Talmage, who felicitously took as his text "They crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh." The labored and groping attempts to show the essential logical difference between the Ober-Ammergau performance and the one proposed have been very amusing, but in most cases instinct worked out a very fair result.

Foreign specie of the value of about three and a half millions of dollars arrived during the week, and the Treasury bought about $300,000 of the 6 per cent. bonds which mature at the end of this year. Notwithstanding these accessions to the resources of the banks, the loan market gradually became stringent, and the reserve of the banks fell below the 25 per cent. limit. Appearances indicate that several large stock speculators who control many millions of dollars threw their influence on the side of stringency. So large is the mercantile demand for money, and so wild is speculation becoming not only at the Stock Exchange but at the Produce and the Cotton Exchange, that the present lending facilities of the banks are fully extended, and arrivals of foreign specie become a prime necessity even to support the present volume of bank credits. In a few weeks, however, the corner, so to speak, will have been turned, and a very easy money market is inevitable. As this is generally understood, speculative holders of securities cling tenaciously to them and contentedly pay commissions for money to carry them from day to day. The Clearing-house exchanges last week exceeded in extent anything on record; and conservative interests would undoubtedly be promoted if the volume of speculation should be reduced before the close of the year.

The Irish state trials are said to be likely to begin towards the end of December. The indictment charges the defendants with "seditious conspiracy," which is defined by Mr. Justice Stephen, in his 'Digest of Criminal Law,' as "an agreement with one or more persons to do any act with a seditious intention common to both or all of them," and a "seditious intention" as an intention "to raise discontent or disaffection among her Majesty's subjects, or to promote feelings of ill-will or hos-

tility between different classes of such subjects." The offence is set forth as a misdemeanor in the criminal information which starts the prosecution, partly in order to be able to obtain a special or struck jury, and partly to deprive the defendants of the right of peremptory challenge, which does not exist in cases of misdemeanor. Challenges for reasonable cause in reasonable number will, however, of course be allowed on both sides. The chances against an agreement of any jury that can be fairly impanelled are so great, however, that the trials are likely to end in something like a triumph of the defence, particularly as it will be able to produce numerous admissions from members of the Government of the existence of real cause for discontent. The mere introduction of the Disturbance Bill, which the Lords threw out, is a very powerful piece of evidence on this side. On the other hand, the murders and outrages, some of them very brutal, continue, and the horror they excite is likely to tell against the Land-Leaguers. But it seems to be settled that, as we said last week, the Government will not at present ask Parliament for any extraordinary powers of repression, and is confining itself to heavily reinforcing the police with troops, so as to make anything like an organized revolt or a riot on a great scale impossible. The police, however, seem to have no detective capacity whatever. None of the murderers is caught, or even traced. The best thing the Ministry could do now would be to borrow Mr. Gowen of Pennsylvania and his Coal and Iron Police, who hunted down the Molly Maguires in that State, and brought twenty of them to the gallows. A correspondent calls our attention to the fact that it was Lord Denman who made the remark about the probable result of jury-packing in Ireland which we erroneously attributed to Lord Cottenham.

The latest support of the case of the Irish tenantry has come from some very powerful letters in the *Daily News* from Mr. Russell, Q.C., one of the leaders of the English bar, but an Irishman and a member of Parliament for an Irish constituency. They are but an amplification of the propositions laid down by Professor Thorold Rogers, which we quoted last week. We would strongly advise those who are discussing the subject on this side of the water in the pulpit and elsewhere, and are disposed to settle it out of hand by ascribing the present turmoil to the character of the Irish peasantry, and particularly to their improvidence and laziness, to read more of the evidence about it. The land question in Ireland in no way differs from the land question everywhere. No race has ever submitted long to the tenure under which the Irish peasantry live; and it is as true of them as it was of the French people in Sully's day, that their turbulence and mutiny are due not to natural perversity, but to "impatience de souffrir." The wildness and absurdity of their political aspirations must not blind us to the evils of their economical condition—evils which really make them seem under the circumstances remarkably thrifty and industrious. The "natural perversity" theory has been for ages a favorite defence of bad government, but we believe it has never yet stood the test of experiment. No race which has left the savage state has ever yet failed to labor and save when certain of security and justice.

The French papers received by the last mail are filled with accounts of the expulsion of the religious orders from their houses under the decrees of the 29th of March. More comic reading than most of it is it would be hard to meet with. Many of the societies barricaded themselves in their buildings as if prepared to resist a military assault, and were surrounded by a considerable body of troops, and only surrendered when their defences were forced. In one case the premises were blockaded with the view of reducing the brethren by famine, but one door was inadvertently left unguarded and the place was carried by a *coup de main*. Some of the monks threw themselves on the floor, and had to be removed by main force, singing psalms lustily while the police carried them out by the arms and legs. In some cases the Superior excommunicated the commissary of police, and in one this officer, being a wag, promptly gave a written receipt for the excommunication. The Chartreuse has been spared, the manufacture of liqueur not being considered dangerous to the state. There seems to have been little popular interest in the matter, the sympathizers with the monks who appeared on the scene being principally men and women of the upper classes.

The decrees were not enforced until after the decision of the Court of Conflicts, that the courts of law had no jurisdiction of the matter. This decision illustrates one of the most curious and interesting differences between French and American or English jurisprudence. In the United States and Great Britain officers of the law, like everybody else, are answerable in the courts of law for their acts. In other words, the courts and the courts alone decide whether in any given case they have gone beyond their powers. In France, however, the administration and the judiciary are treated as separate and independent powers, and if an officer of the administration denies his legal liability, the question is passed upon by a semi-political tribunal, in some sort representing the Government, and called the Court of Conflicts. If this tribunal says that the act complained of was an administrative act, he can only be called to account before a board composed of his official superiors, or, in other words, of the persons under whose orders he acted. The religious orders tried to get their cause into the courts of law, as a question of property, but the Court of Conflicts ruled that the courts had no jurisdiction.

The French Radicals have sustained a severe blow in the conviction of two of their principal editors, Laisant, of the *Petit Parisien*, and Rochefort, of criminal libel in charging General de Cissey, now a Senator and formerly Minister of War, with gross jobbery and malversation when in office, and in communicating information and giving an interest in fraudulent contracts to a Madame de Kaulla, who was his mistress and a German spy. On the trial they were unable to furnish any proof whatever of their charges, which appear to have been made in sheer wantonness, and they were accordingly convicted and fined; but fined only, though imprisonment is almost always inflicted in such cases. The lightness of the sentence is said to have caused great dissatisfaction in the army, but is defended on the ground that the courts wished to give Radical editors a warning that this sort of thing would not be permitted, but without converting them into martyrs. Laisant is a deputy, and there is a movement in favor of compelling him to resign his seat.

The Gladstone Ministry has achieved a great and well-deserved triumph in the occupation of Dulcigno by the Montenegrins, which has at last been brought about by the energetic action of Dervish Pasha, who superseded Riza Pasha as soon as it became plain that England at least, if not all the rest of the Powers, was in earnest. Earl Granville in a recent speech has explained how it came about. After the Porte had sent out the extraordinary circular despatch in which it declared that it would not surrender Dulcigno unless the Powers abandoned the naval demonstration and promised never again to resort to anything of the kind, and that even in that case it would only withdraw from the place and would not hand it over to the Montenegrins, England proposed to seize the customs duties at Smyrna and hold them until the Sultan came to his senses. Most of the Powers, if not all, declined to share in this operation, but England determined to act alone. News of this reached Constantinople, and "the Palace" was so frightened at the prospect of losing so much good money that a promise to deliver Dulcigno unconditionally was promptly made, and Dervish Pasha, who is noted for his determination and had had some experience in dealing with Albanians, was sent to command the troops outside the place. He accordingly called on the Albanians to withdraw, and on their refusal attacked and dispersed them, and then formally surrendered the town to the Montenegrin commander. This leaves the field now open for the settlement of the Greek question; but this will probably not be taken up before spring, inasmuch as there seems reason to look for active cooperation from France after the next general election, which will take place in March or April. It is believed that when the new Legislature meets, if the election goes to his liking, Gambetta will no longer refuse to form a ministry, and that when he does he means to begin his administration by making French foreign policy a little more self-asserting. Greece offers a field in which this change can be made with the least possible damage to German susceptibilities. But in any case he is committed to stronger action on behalf of the Greeks than France has yet taken. Whether the Greeks will be able to wait so long with their present large force under arms is another matter.

THE DEMOCRATS AND CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

THE sudden beginning of an agitation for civil-service reform among the Democrats since the late election is a phenomenon which is furnishing the Republican press with food for a good deal of ill-natured mirth and satire. The fun they are making of it is not by any means unfair. The sincerity of the post-election interest of the Democrats in a subject which they never mentioned before the election, is naturally and justifiably open to suspicion. But it would, nevertheless, be very unwise for those whose interest in the subject is real to enquire too closely into the motives of such politicians as take it up in either party. We suspect there is not much to choose between them on the score of sincerity. The Republicans have been recommending the reform in their platforms ever since 1872, but they have been careful never to allow it to be brought forward on the stump, and have been as contemptuous as the Democrats in their treatment of it in Congress. They have gone even further than this, in withdrawing all support from the head of their own party, Mr. Hayes, and loading him with contumely because he to a certain extent took the recommendation of the platform on which he was nominated, with regard to the mode of appointment, as seriously meant. We have little doubt, too, that any one who brought up the question of civil-service reform in a circle of working politicians would find himself even more respectfully listened to by Democrats than Republicans. No subject excites at this moment more disgust and annoyance among "the men inside politics" in the Republican party than this one. The account given in 'Democracy' of the feelings with which Senator Ratcliffe regarded Mr. French, the Connecticut Congressman who ventured to broach it in his presence, is but a faint picture of the way in which one of its advocates would be regarded by a Republican Boss and a party of henchmen in a hotel parlor. The mixture of loathing, contempt, and amusement he would excite in them would make all discussion with him impossible. But this does not indicate that the moral condition of the Republican politicians is any worse than that of the Democrats. The greater sensitiveness of the former on this subject has just the same source as that of the slaveholders'—viz., their personal interest in and responsibility for the abuse which is assailed. Most of the leading Republican politicians now on the stage have come into prominence under or through the abuse. It is associated with all their triumphs and struggles. It has helped them into and kept them in place and power. They are familiar with and skilled in its working. They cannot imagine politics without "spoils" to reward the "workers" after the victory, any more than the Duke of Wellington could see "how the king's government was to be carried on" without the rotten boroughs. A permanent civil service, with no assessments, and no "claims," and no officeholders to run the primaries and the conventions, seems nearly as strange and odious and fantastic to them as the notion of a State with negro citizens would have seemed in 1860 to a South Carolina planter.

The Democrats do not labor under this impediment in approaching the subject. It is true they originated the "spoils system," but they originated it in the day of small things, when the Federal patronage bore about the same relation to the Federal patronage of to-day as the plunder of a country grocery would bear to the "loot" of the Chinese Emperor's Summer Palace. What they have suffered during the last twenty years in seeing so many offices distributed and so much money handled by the enemy is probably beyond description; it has certainly never been and never will be described. To have planted such a system and watered it, and then see others gather the increase, is an ordeal such as in all probability no other political party has ever passed through. They have striven hard to regain possession of it every four years since they lost it, but without success, and the result is that they have now lost all sense of responsibility for it, and can talk about it with a calm and absence of emotion of which hardly any Republican politician is capable. A Democrat may not agree with you when discoursing civil-service reform to him; he may even be secretly amused by your earnestness and hopefulness, but he will not be irritated by them, or feel, as the Republican is apt to feel, that there is a personal point in your remarks. His position towards the spoils system now is, in fact, very like that of the Northern Democrat in old times towards Southern slavery. The Northern Democrat believed in and defended slavery, but he did not defend it as the Southern slaveholder did, with the passion and vehemence of a man who is defending his property and the social system under which he was born. So also the Democratic politician may believe firmly in the beauty and propriety of treating the public offices as the personal perquisites of the leading politicians of the party in power, but this beauty and this propriety cannot come home to him with the force and persuasiveness with which they come home to the Republican politician who has passed some of his happiest hours in administering the system, and who has owed to it much of what he most values in his public life. In attacking it in his presence you are, as it were, criticising his furniture and his wife's dress, and the manners of his children, and the wrinkles of his aged mother.

The motives of the Democrats in starting the agitation now are probably mixed, as party motives usually are. The late election has impressed on most of the intelligent men of the party, as it was never impressed before, the necessity of offering something positive to the small body of uncertain voters who now in all the doubtful States turn the scale. Hitherto the party has totally ignored this class. Its platforms and speeches have been addressed simply to the main body of the faithful, who are sure to vote the regular ticket without regard to the platform. By the discontents of the undisciplined Republicans, and by the new aims and expectations of the generation which has come on the stage since the war, it has not sought to profit. Moreover, it has not had in its immobility the Republican resource of "pointing with pride." It has nothing very creditable to point to within forty years, and its exploits of the earlier period have distinctly passed into the history which is read but not felt. What is still more unfortunate, the one or two novelties it has added to its collection of attractions have been things like the paper-money craze, which its older men cannot produce without hanging their heads for shame. It has relied, in 1876 and this year, mainly on a carefully edited story of Republican rascalities, we fear mostly true, but which, as long as the Democratic policy is veiled in obscurity, produces comparatively little result. The Republicans have been able to neutralize its effect by the proffer of reasonable certainty with regard to the future.

This alone might not lead the Democrats to take up civil-service reform as a desirable "new feature," such as newspaper publishers offer their subscribers at the beginning of the new year. But civil-service reform has attractions besides the chance it offers of winning over a small body of Republican independents and malcontents. There can be little doubt that the enormous advantage the "spoils system" gives to the party in power, in meeting all attempts to dislodge it, has at last made some impression on the Democratic mind. It is becoming clearer than it has been that a large and growing civil service used vigorously and remorselessly as an electioneering machine, and compelled to place its salaries at the disposal of the party in power, furnishes that party with a defence which no Opposition can in ordinary times, without the help of some great wave of popular excitement, hope to overcome, and which no ordinary scandals or maladministration can neutralize. The mere contribution of such a body to the campaign fund is of itself a very formidable obstacle to any attack on the Government, in these days when campaign expenses amount to as much as the revenue of a large State. Taking the officeholders' salaries at $20,000,000 in the aggregate, even five per cent. of assessments—the rate in this last canvass is said to have been higher—would put $1,000,000 in the party treasury, and against this the Opposition has to fight with the aid of volunteer contributions only. Of course there is no doubt that the Democrats have ever since 1868 been hoping to get hold of this admirable machine themselves, and if they did get hold of it would work it with zeal and efficiency; but it is more than probable that they have made up their minds, or are making up their minds, that they have little or no chance of the Government with the machine, and are reaching the conclusion that the Government without the machine would not be a bad thing, and at all events would be better than nothing, and if lowering their demands will help them to get it are ready to lower them.

Those who attach supreme importance to the reform will, of course, welcome help from any quarter without enquiring too curiously into the motives of those who offer it. The day is probably far distant when it would be possible to construct a party which could get into power on

the civil-service reform issue alone. It is not broad or deep enough to build a party on. It has very wide bearings, but it is after all a question of improvement in machinery, the object of which is to leave legislators more time for their proper work, and to give public opinion free play upon the Government, and to provide for the more careful and efficient transaction of the public business. It is not a question on which men will be divided by those general ideas on the function or province of government out of which parties grow and by which they are maintained. A man may be a free-trader or protectionist, a strict or a loose constructionist, a Democrat or a Republican, in fact, and yet be a civil-service reformer just as readily as he may be a friend of book-keeping by double entry, or of a good system of steamboat inspection. The reform, whenever it comes, will, therefore, probably have to be made by one or other of two great parties which more fundamental questions have created, and it makes not the slightest difference by which it is made, or whether by one or both. Democratic arguments or votes in its favor are, therefore, just as good as Republican arguments or votes, and it is of no sort of consequence what the motives of either party in carrying it may be. If it has to wait until it can command a majority of pure and disinterested members of Congress who will support it simply from a profound conviction of its importance, it will wait for something to which no reform the world has yet seen has owed its success. In politics we have to allow men to do the right thing without furnishing proof of a change of heart, or even being able to clear themselves of the charge of hypocrisy and time-serving. Nor must we be affected too much by the Republican taunt that the Democrats have had a chance of reforming the civil service in this city, but have never done it. This is true; but if they had reformed the civil service in New York, with the kind of constituency they have here, in the teeth of the example the Republicans were setting them everywhere else, they would have displayed an amount of virtue and of capacity of which there has hitherto been no example in American history. Republicans may on this as on other subjects reproach them with not coming up to the Republican standard, but not for failing to rise higher. It is lawful to encourage one's neighbor to live better than one's self, but it would be ridiculous to make his failure to do so a cause of furious censure.

THE SIGNAL-SERVICE SUCCESSION.

THE public apathy on the subject of the future management of the Signal Service affords a striking example of indifference to public questions which, in the parlance of the time, "have no politics in them." Next in importance to the great financial, commercial, and educational concerns of the country we may fairly place those interests which are to be promoted by the meteorological reports of the Signal Office. It is of the greatest importance to every farmer within reach of the telegraph and to every shipowner in the country that the organization which is to issue these reports shall be as efficient as possible, and especially that every available means that science can suggest for securing the certainty of the predictions shall be intelligently utilized. It depends altogether on the future management of the office whether its activity shall be confined to a lifeless routine without any attempt to make new discoveries or introduce improved methods, or whether it shall be animated by that progressive spirit which will not be satisfied until every man within reach can be informed of coming meteorological changes as long in advance as it is possible for them to be foreseen.

Of the importance of a correct policy in this respect no two opinions can be entertained. The great mistake which is at the bottom of the popular and official apathy on the subject is that of supposing that a system of scientific improvement is a mere matter of administration, which can be carried out by any officer of good sense. The question is supposed to be that of a few professors or other experts studying the weather-maps and working out the results to order. The professors are supposed to be so ready to engage in this work that the Government has nothing to do but to avail itself of their labors, without the exercise on its own part of any but the most every-day management. As a consequence of this view not one of the persons prominently mentioned in connection with the management of the greatest meteorological system in the world has any pretensions to a knowledge of the subject, or to any such acquaintance with scientific principles and scientific men as might enable him to go intelligently to work. To see what a mistake is here made we have only to look carefully at the situation. So far as administration and organization are concerned, the meteorological service was wholly the creation of General Myer. Scientifically there was nothing new to originate. Years before, Professor Henry had exhibited a daily weather-map at the Smithsonian Institution, made up from telegraphic reports from a number of stations through the country. In 1869 Professor Abbe established at the Cincinnati Observatory the daily issue of a printed weather-map from reports furnished by the telegraph companies. This was accompanied by a forecast of the probable weather in Ohio, and was, so far as we are aware, the first attempt in this country to issue a regular daily announcement of coming meteorological changes. When the Signal Service was organized General Myer transplanted Mr. Abbe and his system, the latter enlarged in the ratio of the resources at his disposal to those of the Cincinnati Observatory. The leading feature of his policy was to avoid all association with other agencies which might in any way interfere with the complete independence of his operations. He made no attempt to secure active scientific co-operation in the conduct of the work, holding that the office could not make the advance of meteorological science any part of its functions. This course was not so unwise as it might at first sight appear. He had the good sense to see that scientific results could not be ground out by mere administrative machinery. In a country like ours, where there is no great scientific centre of opinion in which the work of individual investigation can be criticised and examined, the danger of charlatanism is great, and the temptation in this direction is especially strong in a Government office, where a newspaper reputation can be secured with such ease. We may lay it down as a safe rule that no difficult scientific investigation can be conducted except by or under the direction of a few of the ablest men. Now, General Myer made no pretensions to an acquaintance with meteorology as a science, or with the branches of physics essential to it. He was a fairly educated man, who had the genius to see that in apprising the public of the motion of storms by a telegraphic system a great field of usefulness was opened, and who was possessed of the organizing ability to put his views into a practical form. It was not at all discreditable to him that he shrunk from attempting what might have proved a failure, and confined himself to making the best use of what was already known of meteorology.

Now, if the public are to be satisfied with a continuance of the present system, if the office is to be confined to a mere routine without any attempt to improve the methods of prediction, then it makes very little difference who is put in charge of the work. One man can run the machinery about as well as another. But it would be discreditable to our enterprise and our scientific spirit to rest contented without a decided effort at improvement. At the present time meteorology is hardly worthy the name of a science, for the reason that the materials for studying it in a scientific manner have never been at the disposal of investigators. It comprises little more than a few practical rules, of uncertain application, and a great mass of disconnected facts which no one knows how to handle. But there is no good reason why this state of things should continue. The observations of the state of the weather at intervals of eight hours over a large extent of country, continued through ten years, now afford a mass of material for the study of meteorology and its reduction to a science such as has never before existed. The question is, whether we can now gain such a knowledge of the laws which govern the wind and weather that the public can be notified of coming changes not merely a few hours in advance, as at present, but one or more days. This question can be attacked only by the Office itself. It requires the co-operation of men of every degree of ability, and therefore cannot be undertaken by a private individual, even if he has the time and inclination. Under the most experienced scientific head it would be a most difficult undertaking to organize a scheme of intellectual labor of this kind. The experimental physicist and the mathematician must unite their powers before any results can be obtained. What a problem is before the head of the service when he proceeds to select his scientific workers! It may be safely assumed in advance that every applicant who presents himself is unfit for any but

the most subordinate position, no matter how highly he may be recommended. The men who are really wanted are either fully occupied already and above seeking a Government position, or they are lying hid in obscure corners entirely unknown to men engaged in public affairs. They must be sought after with a skill and diligence akin to those of the prospector for a silver-mine. Then, when men are set to work, who shall judge whether they are doing the right thing? No one but the head of the Office himself. If he is not a man experienced in scientific affairs the chances that anything of value will be done are too small to be worth considering.

The great fallacy which men in political life fall into in connection with this subject is that of thinking that science, like politics, is a subject on which one can count upon co-operation in anything he may undertake, and can select his colaborers without any special exertion on his own part. As there is an unlimited supply of clerical ability seeking employment, and needing only to be selected, so, in the view of the politician, there is any quantity of scientific talent needing only the word to go to work. Not only is this a complete fallacy, as we have sufficiently shown, but the work of putting a scientific bureau into operation is one requiring as much experience in scientific affairs as the organization of an administrative department requires in business affairs. If an inexperienced man attempts it we may be sure that one of two things will follow: either nothing at all will be done, or what is done will serve no more useful purpose than that of furnishing paragraphs to the newspapers.

Closely connected with the question of the scientific administration of the Weather Bureau is that of preserving its connection with the Army. We regard this question as a subordinate one. If a proper administration cannot be secured under military auspices, this will afford a conclusive argument in favor of some other organization. How this may be will depend on what sort of a military man is placed in charge. While it is good general policy to leave well enough alone, the objections to a transfer are far less formidable than commonly supposed. The importance of military discipline in the conduct of its operations has been greatly exaggerated. The failure of any subordinate to perform his duty would be no more disastrous than in any other public or private business. When we hear intelligent men comment upon the danger that observers would not make their observations or send in their reports if they had not the fear of a court-martial to spur them to their duty, we wonder how they would account for the regular appearance of a daily newspaper. There are numerous similar, though less completely organized, services in Europe, and in none of them has a military organization been found necessary. The only result of association with the Army which has any significance is that more than half the expense of the work is borne not by direct appropriations, but by the Army itself. The pay and allowances of all the observers, some three hundred in number, are met from funds appropriated for pay of the Army, while the commissary and quartermasters' departments are called upon to supply the service as fully as they would supply an army in the field. The annual appropriation for the Signal Service is $450,000, the greater part of which is expended for telegraphing, preparation of bulletins, and office expenses. The value of what is annually furnished by the Army is variously estimated at from $500,000 to $1,000,000 or more. Of course the cost to the public treasury would be the same whether the whole sum necessary to the maintenance of the service were directly appropriated or whether it were maintained from the Army appropriations, the main difference being that in the second case the facts of the case are partially concealed. Few will contend that this indirect support is right in principle. If the Signal-Service observers were really a part of the Army, temporarily detached for this special duty and liable to take the field whenever their services were needed, something might be said for the plan. But such is practically not the case, however it may be in theory. The expenses of the Army are actually increased by the whole cost of everything furnished the Signal Service, and it is not in accordance with a frank and just policy to charge the Army with money which is not expended for the Army at all. This position granted, it becomes of little importance what department is charged with the work, the main object being to secure a head with the requisite scientific experience to ensure a successful management.

Correspondence.

MR. HEWITT AND THE MOREY LETTER.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: When Judge Davis was forced to retract the false statement upon which he had founded an extra-judicial attack upon my private character, his partisan animus was demonstrated and his power to injure me was destroyed. There could no longer be any issue between him and me, but the controversy was transferred to the bar, whose traditions he had outraged, and to the press as the guardians of the public, whose rights he had violated.

But while I am thus relieved from the necessity of replying to his personal strictures on my course in reference to the "Morey letter," I am perfectly aware that his abuse of judicial privilege forms no justification whatever for any mistakes or errors of judgment which I may have committed during the progress of this unfortunate affair, and I am fully persuaded that some further explanation is needed from me in order that my motives and action may be properly understood, and the just measure of my responsibility be estimated. I shall limit this explanation to two points, in reference to which it seems to me I have been misapprehended.

It was assumed by Judge Davis that my conduct was open to censure because of the "friendship" which is alleged to have existed between General Garfield and myself. Even on the supposition that there was a warm friendship between us I am at a loss to conceive how the expression of my belief in the authenticity of the signature attached to the "Morey letter" in any way violated its obligations. The sentiments expressed in the letter are not dishonorable, but, although open to dispute, are held by the doctrinaires in political economy to be incontrovertible. They teach that the right to buy in the cheapest and to sell in the dearest market is as applicable to labor and capital as it is to commodities. General Garfield has been a careful student of political economy, and the expression of these familiar views seemed to be the most natural thing in the world for a man who professed to accept theoretical principles as the guide to legislative action. So far as I had knowledge of his opinions, and especially as tested by his votes, I supposed that the letter expressed his real sentiments, so that it never occurred to me that my opinion as to the signature did him the slightest personal injustice, and if I had been his next friend I should not have acted otherwise than I did.

But as a matter of fact we were not and never had been "friends" in any proper sense of the term. We met for the first time at the opening of the Forty-fourth Congress. I soon learned to admire his intellectual ability, his wonderful force in debate, and his unrivalled power of statement, especially on financial questions, where, as a rule, our views were in accord. This admiration I frequently expressed, but there was, in fact, an insuperable bar to the formation of any friendship between us from the outset, and this bar never was, nor by any possibility could ever have been, removed. For four years we were near neighbors; we both kept house, and my mode of life was such as to bring to my table for social intercourse the prominent men of both parties. General Garfield never crossed my threshold, nor did I ever enter his door. If we had been friends such a state of things would have been impossible.

But although we were not friends we were not enemies. As I have stated elsewhere and now repeat, our relations were always pleasant, but they were the pleasant relations of political opponents and not of personal friendship. This statement is only made because it is necessary for my justification, and no doubt it will be confirmed by General Garfield. If any further evidence, however, be needed on this point let your readers refer to my speech in the *Congressional Record* of February 24, 1879, by which it will be seen that even if the tie of friendship had ever existed it must have then been sundered; and good reason will appear why I was not prepared to accept as conclusive the mere verbal denial of General Garfield, when his sworn testimony on a previous memorable occasion had failed to satisfy his own party associates, his neighbors, and the very newspapers which have reflected most severely upon me for my want of confidence in his unsupported assertion.

Judge Davis does, indeed, in violation of all propriety, refer to the contents of the letters which I produced for comparison only, in order to prove the signature of General Garfield, as the evidence of friendship between us. If Judge Davis had known the circumstances under which I presented to General Garfield a trivial gift which led to this correspondence, he would scarcely have made this fanciful excursion into the regions of "mistaken phraseology"; but I cannot better demonstrate the absurdity of the conclusion that it was any evidence of friendship than by the offer I now make to Judge Davis of a similar gift of the masculine gender, the acceptance of which, as all breeders of unregistered Jersey cattle know, will relieve me from an encumbrance for which even the butcher is not a profitable refuge.

The unfounded charge of treachery to a friend being thus disposed of, it only remains, before giving an explicit answer to the questions propounded in

your last number, to explain the circumstances under which I happened to express any opinion at all upon the letter. That the letter was ever submitted to me was purely accidental. If I had not been detained at my house two hours later than usual on the day of the publication in *Truth* (October 20) I should have departed from the rooms of the National Committee long before Mr. Hart came with the letter, of which I had no previous knowledge whatever and in regard to which no meeting of the Committee had been called, or was, in fact, held. Mr. Hart came with the letter just as I was on the point of leaving, and it was not shown to me at all until after it had been pronounced genuine by Mr. Randall, Mr. Barnum, and Mr. Fox, all of whom had served in Congress with General Garfield. When it was submitted to me I gave it, as is my wont in such cases, a very careful examination, so much so that Mr. Hart characterized it in his testimony as "captious." He has since declared that he was not guided in any degree by my opinion, being convinced by that of the other gentlemen, and that he should have published the *fac-simile* even if I had pronounced the letter to have been a forgery. But I came to the conclusion that it was genuine. There was nothing in the appearance of the letter to excite suspicion. It was written on the regular Congressional paper, with which I was necessarily familiar. It was not at all fresh in appearance, and the handwriting of the body of the letter did not seem to be an imitation of General Garfield's. The signature alone seemed to be his, and so far as the dot over the letter *r* in lieu of the letter *i* was concerned it served to strengthen my belief in its genuineness, because a counterfeiter would have been careful to put the dot in the right place. The opinions expressed in the letter, as I have already stated, were in entire harmony with the sentiments which I had always supposed General Garfield to hold prior to his letter of acceptance, when the Morey letter bore date. And so, not having any suspicion of forgery, I came to the conclusion that the letter had been written by an amanuensis and signed by General Garfield. But, for greater caution, as soon as I reached my office I took from the files three letters which I had received from General Garfield shortly after the Morey letter was dated, and thus refreshed my memory as to his signature. These letters I subsequently compared with the photograph which meanwhile had been taken of the Morey letter. This comparison did not leave a doubt in my mind as to the signature, and hence I decided to refer to the letter in my speech, and accordingly did so in what I then regarded and still regard as cautious language. If these facts, which were substantially embodied in my testimony, convict me of having formed too hasty a judgment I must accept the censure due to an unintentional indiscretion.

But the question is no longer whether a forgery has been committed, but whether at the time when I examined the letter, when the later developments had not been made, the presumption of authenticity was fairly deducible and fairly deduced. I think it was, especially in view of the fact that on the Philp trial the testimony of the experts left the authenticity of the letter in so much doubt that even Judge Davis was obliged, as he says, to resort to "extrinsic facts" in order to make up his mind on this point.

This brings me to the questions which you proposed in your last number. You ask, first, "Did Mr. Hewitt advise it (the publication of the Morey letter) in good faith and believing the letter to be genuine?"

I answer that I gave no advice whatever either to the publisher of *Truth* or the National Committee in regard to the publication of the letter, which had, in fact, already been published before I first saw it. But I did believe it to be genuine, and referred to it accordingly in my speech at Chickering Hall on the very evening of the day when I first saw it in print.

To your second question, "Did he advise its publication and circulation for the purpose of damaging General Garfield while himself holding the opinions which it attributed to General Garfield?" I answer that I quoted the letter not for the purpose of injuring General Garfield personally, but for the purpose of showing the hollow nature of the claim made by the Republican orators that they were in favor of protecting American labor against lower rates of wages. And I further answer I did not and do not approve of the doctrine with which the letter closes, as will appear by the following extract from the contemporaneous speech delivered at Chickering Hall, when I did not suppose there would be any controversy as to the authenticity of the letter:

"Now, I have no wish to play the part of a demagogue in this matter, but of one thing I have been persuaded ever since I began to observe the structure of society, and that is that the first object and the highest duty of statesmanship is to secure for the mass of the people the highest possible standard of comfort. This standard cannot be maintained without good wages, and is higher in the United States than in Europe because labor is better paid and can earn more here than there. I shall rejoice if the European standard can be raised, but I do not wish to see our standard lowered. This is no new doctrine with me. It is announced and defended at great length in my report on the French Exposition of 1867, and the interest I have taken in freeing our commercial legislation from its restrictive features is because I believe that labor will be the principal gainer by striking the shackles from trade as fast as it can be done without disturbing existing interests; but I would sacrifice my views and any existing interest if I supposed that this course would diminish and not increase the rewards of labor.

"Hence I do not desire to see *our manufacturing interests conserved in the matter of labor* by any cheaper labor than the workingmen of this country have to dispose of in order to get a living for themselves and their families."

With this statement I submit my conduct to the candid judgment of your readers, but not without expressing the deep regret which I feel that unlucky chance should have brought me where my opinion was asked in regard to the authenticity of a letter which, so far as I was concerned, was a matter of profound indifference, and in regard to which I never supposed that any controversy could arise. This regret is intensified by the fact that I, rather than General Garfield, have been the victim of the forgery, for he has, notwithstanding, been elected President, while I have had the singular experience of a denunciation from the bench in a case to which I was not a party, in which I had no hearing, before a judge who seemed to confound the witness with the alleged criminal. I have, therefore, more reason than General Garfield "to hunt the rascal down" and to insist that due punishment shall be meted out to those who have violated the law. ABRAM S. HEWITT.

NEW YORK, November 24, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the final judgment which is to be passed on this miserable affair, and on those who are responsible for it, it is necessary to consider what would have happened had the votes of the States influenced by the forgery turned the scale of the election. This is, of course, the vital point of the whole matter, and cannot be kept too steadily in view.

The official returns show that the Democratic electors chosen in California received majorities varying from 63 to 143, which last is the highest majority obtained by any of them. It does not admit of a doubt that the number of votes influenced by the Morey forgery largely exceeded these small figures. It is also quite probable that the letter changed the vote in New Jersey, and almost certain that it did so in Nevada. In New Jersey the large (proportionate) difference between the votes cast for Garfield and those for Mr. Potts seems to indicate the Morey letter's influence. And it seems not unreasonable to suppose that at least a small proportion of those influenced to change their votes for President carried this change also into their vote for Governor. If even only one in three or four of those influenced did this it would explain the loss to the Republicans of both the President's and the Governor's vote in New Jersey.

Even independently, however, of these very probable suppositions the case is a clear one. If the Democrats had carried New York the Republican electoral vote would have been reduced to 178, lacking 7 of a majority. Of the three Northern States carried by the Democrats any two would have given more than the needed 7 votes.

The Republicans then would have found themselves in the position of having been choused out of their success by a *proved and admitted fraud*. This, it is to be observed, is a widely different matter from being defeated by a fraudulent election, because if in an election the fraud can be proved the election can be set aside; but in a matter like the forged letter the evil done is irreparable. The letter has been pronounced a forgery by the courts, but its work cannot be touched: the vote of California will be counted for Hancock, and would have been even if it had been in a position to turn the scale.

Supposing, then, the vote of New York to have been cast for Hancock, the Republican party would have found themselves defeated by a very narrow vote obtained by the other side through a confessed forgery. Would they have submitted or resisted? Probably they would have submitted, but it cannot be certain. With the certainty that their candidate should have been chosen with a decided majority of the popular vote, with a President of their own in power, and with Republican governors in all the more powerful States, the temptation to resist villany by force would have been enormous.

This much, at least, is certain, that the country would have been kept in an uproar from election day to March, with a possibility of civil war to follow. There would have been at least a prostration of every business interest in the country, and a discussion and consideration of violence as a remedy for wrong, such as would in itself have been an evil of great magnitude.

This, then, is the result which Mr. Hewitt and his friends labored to bring about. If it is not now upon us it is only because their efforts were but partially successful. The Morey letter, given to the public by a low newspaper, amounted to but little; vouched for by Mr. Hewitt and the National Democratic Committee, it necessarily had immense weight. The one thing which it essentially needed was the firm support of a man like Mr. Hewitt, in whom his adversaries (his friends did not need to be influenced) might place confidence. How entirely this support was given and resolutely maintained *after* Mr. Garfield had positively denied the authorship, every one knows.

No one not belonging to the highest class of politicians, and possessing a reputation such as Mr. Hewitt had until lately, could have gained credence for this forgery. Being willing to avail himself of that reputation for such purposes, he must submit to the judgment on his conduct which has been

formed by honorable men of all parties. It is, in fact, difficult to know which most to condemn—the object sought, or the means employed to compass it.—Very truly, M. C. L.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 29, 1880.

MORE MORAL LESSONS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As a further contribution to the moral history of the recent political campaign I desire to call attention to the following publication, which in the form of a card was issued from the Republican National Headquarters in New York, and distributed by thousands in New York City, Brooklyn, and probably other places during the week prior to the election:

"*From a Pamphlet issued by*

"THE FREE-TRADE CLUB OF LONDON.

"'Let it be understood once for all that the salvation of England depends upon the destruction of American manufactures, and that the only possible way in which American manufactures can be destroyed is by free-trade. This can only come through Democracy, and Democracy can only secure control of this Republic by the votes of Irishmen. How England must laugh in her sleeve as she sees the men who left their homes vowing vengeance serve her interests by working for a party which, if it gets control of the country, will inevitably carry out the policy she most desires.'"

It seems hardly necessary to assert that this alleged extract was never extracted from anything, and that the whole publication was a fraud, and as much a forgery as the Chinese letter attributed to General Garfield. The intrinsic evidence to this effect is alone sufficient to establish the truth of this assertion, for no person or paper really favoring free-trade would ever be foolish enough to indulge in utterances so stupid and untrue, and so likely to be used to the prejudice of the very object which it was desired to promote. But, apart from this, the direct evidence is complete, for there is no organization publicly known as the "Free-Trade Club of London," and what does not exist and never has existed of course could not have issued any pamphlets. If the author of the forgery meant in using the term "Free-Trade Club of London" to designate thereby (as he probably did) the Cobden Club of England (which, by the way, is not exclusively devoted to the advocacy of free-trade), then I simply deny that this organization has ever made or authorized any such publication, or that there is anything in any of the numerous economic essays which it has published that is characterized in even the remotest degree by sentiments akin to those expressed in the card in question.

Under these circumstances it is somewhat difficult to see wherein the wrong and immorality of this forgery differ in either kind or degree from those involved in the forged Chinese letter, which the whole community is very justly called upon to reprobate and punish. The animus in both cases was the same—namely, to deceive intentionally with the expectation of influencing votes—with this difference: that the Chinese-letter forgery was probably the work of confessed rascals, while the "Free-Trade Club of London" forgery was, with equal probability, the work of men who would scorn to be characterized as other than gentlemen. Furthermore, there is every reason to believe that ten voters were influenced by the latter fraud where one was imposed upon by the former. But it makes an amazing amount of difference in politics as well as in farming whose bull does the goring.

DAVID A. WELLS.

NORWICH, CONN., Nov. 22, 1880.

MARCH OF REFORM IDEAS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your correspondent who objects to my suggestion that voters should sometimes "disfranchise" themselves in the interest of civil-service reform should remember that it was made four weeks ago, and in expectation of an eight years' fight. But the matter has grown eight years in those four weeks, and the suggestion which might have been proper then is out of place now.

Four weeks ago the feeling in favor of reform in the civil service was mainly confined to the readers of a few large journals. Other voters were carefully instructed by their newspapers of both parties that this was a cry raised by a few doctrinaires, undeserving of any serious reflection. You do not know, but some of your correspondents know, the flat impossibility of obtaining even a discussion of the question in local papers. In other respects, contributions, with a free choice of subjects, were eagerly accepted; but that subject was *tabu*. And so the mass of the people knew nothing about it. Now you can hardly open one of the brighter and stronger Democratic papers without finding all the ridicule of the editorial shaft expended, not on civil-service reformers, but on the stupid persons who cannot see that civil-service reform is the one burning need of American politics. The door, which seemed shut for years to come, is wide open at last, when and where it was least expected; and I hope never to have to "disfranchise" myself again.

T.

Notes.

R. WORTHINGTON will publish Mr. Swinburne's new volume, 'Studies in Song'; 'Pictures and Painters'—lives of the chief artists of the English school; and a new edition of a work out of print, 'Pompeii, its Remains and Re-Discovery.'——New stories by Mrs. Burnett and Mr. Cable will be begun in the February *Scribner's*. The publishers of this magazine are bringing out for the holidays a new portfolio of proof impressions from the cuts in *Scribner's* and in *St. Nicholas*. The edition will be limited to 1,500 copies.——Professor R. B. Anderson's 'Norse Mythology' is being translated into Italian for publication at Milan next year.——The J. B. Burr Publishing Co., Hartford, have completed, by the issue of the second volume, their American edition of Smith and Cheetham's 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities,' of the merits of which we have already spoken in No. 603 of the *Nation*. We observe that the present volume bears an American copyright, owing to the collaboration of American scholars. The more important of its articles are Lectionary, Litany, Lord's Day, Holy Orders, Monastery, Money, Music, Names, Obsequies of the Dead, Parish, Penitence, Pope, Slavery, Social Life, Tombs, Wonders, and Years.——A new revised and enlarged edition of Marion Harland's 'Common Sense in the Household' has been printed from fresh plates by Charles Scribner's Sons.——D. Appleton & Co. publish a 'Brief Synopsis of the Collection Laws of the United States and Canada,' whose utility is obvious. Twenty set questions are asked and answered under each State in turn; an arrangement far better than tabulation.——A novel and very convenient 'Conspectus of the History of Political Parties and the Federal Government,' compiled by Prof. Walter R. Houghton, of Indiana University, has been published by Granger, Davis & Co., Indianapolis. The form is folio. The text consists of a brief summary of Colonial, Revolutionary, and Confederation issues and parties, with the chief political events, followed by short accounts of each administration since 1789, and the main statistics of each Presidential election. This is succeeded by the full text of party platforms (including the famous Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798–9), and by lists of governors. From the 'Census Atlas' is borrowed the graphic colored chart of revenue, expenditures, and public debt; there is a colored political map of the United States, showing party preponderance in each Congressional district; and a folded chart showing the development and course of parties, in snake-like forms, the complexion of each Congress and the length of its session, and much other information ingeniously stowed away. We have noticed a slight error in the account of the rise of the Liberty party, but on the whole this 'Conspectus' is to be recommended for reference.——The Navy Department has, since its determination of West India longitudes by telegraph in 1877, continued the work, and now issues a set of determinations for the east coast of South America by way of Lisbon, Madeira, and Cape Verde Islands. Pernambuco, Bahia, Rio, Montevideo, Buenos Ayres, and Pará are the stations described.——The *American Art Review* for November opens with an interesting account of several Cincinnati artists—Farny, Duveneck, and Drake—of whose works several samples are given. The American etching, "November," is by Samuel Parrish, and in feeling and design well accords with its name. The foreground is least successful in execution. Mrs. Clement traces the career of the Belgian painter Wiertz, and there is the usual miscellany of news, correspondence, and bibliography.——The *Harvard Register* will either be suspended at the close of the present year or be converted into a magazine at a higher price. We trust it will find the requisite support. Two articles in the November number merit special attention: that describing the new debating society called the Harvard Union, and the list of female benefactors to the college from its inception—a list which may be expected to lengthen as the Annex prospers.——The issue of the Boston *Medical and Surgical Journal* for October 14 is called an "educational number," and, in fact, gives a large amount of useful information about the chief medical schools of this country and of Europe, and two original articles on "American Anatomy Acts" and the "Regulation of the Practice of Medicine in the United States."——The current number of the *American Naturalist* announces the consolidation of the *American Entomologist* with that journal, in which it will be represented by a new department under the conduct of Dr. C. V. Riley. This seems to be a wise step. The leading paper of this number, copiously illustrated, is on the "Extinct Cats of America," by Prof. E. D. Cope.——In the September-October number of the *Library Journal* the most suggestive paper is perhaps Mr. S. S. Green's on the "Relation of the Public Library to the Public Schools." The report of the Edinburgh meeting of the United Kingdom Association fills 25 pages. The *Journal* states that Poole's Index is nearly ready for the press, and that a publisher has been found for it.——The first Bulletin of the Institut Géographique International announces the details of an Italian expedition to the South Pole, under the auspices of Commander Cristoforo Negri and Lieut. Bove, a companion of Nordenskjöld's in the voyage of the *Vega*. The

expedition will leave Genoa by the end of March, 1881, and will be absent three years.——The sixth volume of the annual 'Almanach des Spectacles' comes to us this year later than ever. It is still the same succinct account of the *faits et gestes* of the French stage, and the same beautiful specimen of book-making: type, paper, and presswork are all well-nigh perfection. The frontispiece this year is a portrait of Mlle. Jeanne Samary etched by M. Lalauze. The little volume resembles its predecessors in all respects save that it contains an interesting and instructive table of the gross receipts of the chief Parisian theatres for each of the past nine years.——The Cofley Medal of the Royal Society of London has been given to Professor J. J. Sylvester, of Baltimore. The medal was founded upon a bequest of Sir Godfrey Cofley in 1709. It was first awarded by the society to Dr. Benjamin Franklin in 1753. In recent years it has been given to Louis Agassiz and J. D. Dana in America, and to Darwin, Helmholtz, Bernard, Clausius, and others abroad. Former mathematical medallists have been Waring (1784), Ivory (1814), Gauss (1838), Sturm (1841), Chasles (1865), Plücker (1866).

—"Our Monthly Gossip" in the December *Lippincott's*, by a happy coincidence with *Scribner's*, takes up the subject of the Civil-Service Reform Association by way of directing attention to a paper in the number entitled "Will Democracy Tolerate a Permanent Class of National Office-holders?" It is urged that what the agitation needs and hitherto has lacked is a reflecting opposition which will create and enliven discussion, and so annihilate the apathy of which the people are accused. This is possibly true, though an intelligent and sincere opposition to the reform it seems a trifle chimerical to hope for. It is hardly possible to object to it on theoretical grounds: *à priori* the case seems pretty clear. Empirically it is even stronger, and only vague and sentimental considerations can be urged with much sincerity. The writer of the article referred to uses such, but not as strongly as he should, we think, if he is to provoke discussion; indeed, his not signing his views, considering what the latter are, and how many shrewd young reformers there are just now, almost throws suspicion on their genuineness. For example, he uses "politics" in the sense of office-*getting* entirely, so far as we can see; deplores the "political" stagnation that would follow the destruction of the spoils prize-system; deplores "a permanent" class as such, and as he would a bogy, without showing logically or by illustration the evils inherent in "permanency" and explaining why he does not also object to the permanent class of bank clerks, say, or clergymen; and, finally, cites the local "political activity" in Pennsylvania, where eighty thousand men fill or seek township and other offices as—if we make him out—a wholesome state of affairs which permanent *national* office-holders would somehow stab in the back. Positive propagandism seems more promising to us, we confess, than the discussion which this could lead to. There are two short stories, of which one is good; two illustrated articles, of which Mr. Richardson's "Our Grandfathers' Temples" is interesting, as naturally it could not fail to be; "Adam and Eve" concludes in a *diminuendo* of merit; Dr. Wood's last paper on "Automatism" is excellent popular science; and Mr. J. Brander Matthews furnishes the literary article of the number in some historico-critical *causerie* concerning "The Authors of 'Froufrou,'" that is lightly written (which of course the character of its copious information does not prevent), and has possibly the additional attraction of being pertinent to the Bernhardt season.

—In the *International Review* for December the Rev. R. W. Dale, of Birmingham, repeats the warning about the Roman Catholic danger to our public schools which he first uttered some two years ago in his 'Impressions of America.' His concern seems to have increased in the meantime; he thinks we are curiously blind to peril that is at least possible. "If nothing else will arouse you," he has the air of saying, "think of this argument": "What would happen if any of the more powerful of the Protestant churches—the Presbyterians, the Methodists, or the Episcopalians—began to establish schools of their own, and joined the Catholics in demanding aid from city and State funds?" "If the idea once took possession of a few strong and fervent men belonging to any of the great Protestant churches," he goes on, "that the day-school might be made a powerful auxiliary of the Church," they might make a determined effort to get public funds for their own schools, and then, the principle being admitted, it can readily be inferred what would follow. Mr. Dale is a good friend of America, but superficially it seems the act of an enemy to put such ideas into the heads of our strong and fervent Protestants. Hitherto they have apparently been innocent of such, and Mr. Dale himself observed in his book about America that they are not as militant as their English analogues and "live at home—not in a camp." Indeed, we cannot help thinking that to this paper (which for the rest gives some blue-book information about English elementary schools) some remarks made in an article by Mr. Edward Atkinson further on might be found applicable, though Mr. Atkinson strikes us as rather too abrupt in manner to be effective in winning over an adversary. He entitles his article, "A Reply to Professor Bonamy Price," who recently in this *Review* ascribed our depression after 1873 to our consumption rather than over-production, and he sets out by saying bluntly that among British anomalies "we may name a certain insularity or narrowness of thought on economic questions, accompanied by a world-wide practice in the economic field of commerce." Professor Price's paper he thinks is an apt illustration, and Mr. Atkinson himself is sure that the whole trouble lay in the irredeemability of our currency. January 1, 1879, witnessed a complete change, but all that had really happened was that "the lawful money of the country had ceased to be a lie." Nothing whatever is said about Providence and the crops, which will disgust the pietists and please Mr. Sherman, but we don't doubt Professor Price's remaining as obstinate as ever. Dr. Felix Oswald discusses "The Drink Problem" from the *obsta principiis* stand-point, tea, coffee, and paregoric being *principia*, we infer; Mr. D. G. Thompson writes, with all the competence which thorough acquaintance with his subject affords, of "English Philosophy and English Philosophers," and is as complimentary to Plato and Aristotle, to whom he has frequent occasion to refer, as is consistent with justice to the superior "concrete results" of Mill, Bain, and Spencer; "Alexander von Humboldt in Politics," by Karl Blind, is good enough to witness that it might have been a great deal better; "Bush Life—I.," by Walter Chamberlain, M.P., of Birmingham, is much more than a mere account of Australian adventure, though it is that too. The "Contemporary Literature" (its last appearance, we understand) cannot be said to go out in a blaze of glory.

—American astronomy has sustained a severe loss by the sudden death of Prof. James Craig Watson, Director of the Washburn Observatory at Madison, Wisconsin. Professor Watson first became known more than twenty years ago, while a pupil of Dr. Brünnow at Ann Arbor, by his computations of cometary and planetary orbits. In 1863 he succeeded Dr. Brünnow as director of the Observatory of the University of Michigan. For some years he devoted much of his attention to the search for small planets, and introduced such improvements in the method of search that for a while he was the most successful observer in the work. In 1868 he was elected a member of the National Academy of Sciences. In the same year was published his treatise on 'Theoretical Astronomy,' probably the most extended work on the theories of the celestial motions that has yet been produced by an American author. In 1874 he was chief of the American party to observe the transit of Venus at Pekin, and signalized his stay in China by discovering a new planet with the telescope which he took out for his observations. In 1878 he observed the total eclipse of the sun in Wyoming, and there made his celebrated observations on supposed intra-Mercurial planets, which have since been the subject of so much discussion and such diversity of opinion among astronomers. Notwithstanding the curious coincidence that the distance and direction of his supposed planets corresponded closely with two well-known stars in their neighborhood, he firmly maintained the reality of his discovery, and the last few months of his life were devoted to the design of an instrument for making farther searches. About a year ago he removed from Ann Arbor to Madison, where he had been charged with the direction of the new observatory now approaching completion. His robust health and physical and mental energy gave every promise of a long and active life, and his death at the age of forty-two is a surprise to a wide circle of acquaintances at home and abroad.

—No holiday publication of the present season will, it is safe to say, surpass in extrinsic or intrinsic qualities Prof. Georg Ebers's 'Egypt, Descriptive, Historical, and Picturesque,' of which Cassell, Petter & Galpin have begun the issue in thirty monthly parts. So noble a work could not remain hidden in the German tongue in which it was written, and Miss Clara Bell's translation now places it within the reach of all readers, if not of all buyers. Dr. Birch furnishes an introduction, which will apparently be printed with the latest part, and notes. The size is folio, and the wood-engravings, of which there are to be some eight hundred, are of the first order. These illustrate the scenery, the inhabitants, buildings, statues, coins, relics, etc., etc., and are in the highest degree artistic and authentic. Not that some of the designs are not imaginative restorations; that was to be expected in the work of an author so saturated with his subject that he has produced several historical novels relating to Ancient Egypt. For the rest, the text, while thoroughly popular, and as readable as a novel, reposes upon the sure scholarship and research of Prof. Ebers, one of the younger but also one of the foremost living Egyptologists. In short, in whatever aspect this work is considered, it completely satisfies the ideal of book-making. The narrative opens pleasantly at Ancient Alexandria. Another literary undertaking of magnitude is the 'Hundred Greatest Men of History,' compassed in eight folio volumes, with biographical letter-press and more than a hundred portraits. The American publishers, Fords, Howard & Hulbert, have just brought out two, the first with an introduction by Matthew Arnold, who defends the selection of the poets for the leading division, because they represent what is most solid and enduring in human interest—more so than the plastic arts, or science, or philosophy (Goethe as against the shifting German philosophic systems since his birth), or religion as commonly conceived (Shakspere against the Thirty-nine Articles), though not more indestructible than that religion which is "morality touched with emotion." M. Taine's introduction to the

second volume (of artists) is given in French as well as in English, and is a sort of rhapsody on the way in which the great masters have interpreted the races to which they belong. Mr. Emerson will have the American introduction, and so on. As to the choice of the hundred men, it would be idle to criticise it, for a single criterion is not applicable. It is enough to say that Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson are the three Americans admitted to the sacred company—certainly a fair proportion for a society less than three centuries old. Of the portraits there seems just ground for complaint that they are so largely taken at second hand, from engravings or sketches in black and white, when in the case of all the antiques the original busts could as well have been photographed, and in most others the original paintings. This neglect to go to the sources both weakens the authenticity of the portraits and gives an air of cheapness to a rather costly enterprise.

—Boïto's "Mefistofele," which was performed last week at the Academy of Music for the first time in this country, opens a new era in the history of Italian operatic music. Boïto does not follow in the footsteps of Verdi, who, in his last works, "Macbeth," "Don Carlos," and "Aïda," broke away from the traditions of the past, but has created a school of his own. If the influence of any other composer can be recognized in this extraordinary work it should be Liszt's, whose manner of instrumentation and construction seems to have made a stronger impression on the Italian master than that of anybody else. To begin with, the choice and arrangement of the libretto form a revolution in the accepted Italian style. Boïto has attempted to compass within the narrow limits of an evening's performance some of the principal situations of both parts of Goethe's 'Faust,' which to those acquainted with the poem gives a perfectly clear idea of the Faust legend, though to others it must be a mystery how *Margaret* is transformed into *Helen* of Troy, and old mother *Martha* becomes the beautiful *Pantalis*. The opera consists of a prologue, four acts, and an epilogue. The prologue corresponds with the "Prologue in Heaven" of the poem. Boïto's representation of this scene is exceedingly impressive. The stage shows a background of clouds from behind which sound the voices of the heavenly choir. *Mephistopheles* appears, and in a highly dramatic recitative asks leave to lead *Faust* in his own way to taste the fruits of sin. The dialogue is an almost literal translation of the German poem. After *Mephistopheles* retires a magnificent ten-part chorus, consisting of the angels and earthly penitents, is heard. The finale of this scene, with the full orchestra and harp arpeggios supporting the swelling notes of the chorus, is one of the most effective that have ever been heard on the operatic stage. The first act leads us to the meadows outside the old city of Frankfort, where all classes are assembling to greet the first day of spring on the beautiful Easter Sunday morning. The scene is delightfully bright and full of life, and the music of the choruses of students, soldiers, and citizens with their families is admirably expressive of the merrymaking of a light-hearted crowd. *Faust's* entrance, "Al soave raggiar di primavera," accompanied by reed instruments and harps, is a lovely and singular piece of melody. The appearance of *Mephistopheles* in the garb of a gray friar is marked by a gloomy harmony of horns and bassoons. While the merry strains of the chorus die away in the distance *Faust* and *Wagner* leave the stage, with the evil spirit following in their wake. The next scene brings us to Faust's laboratory. His entrance, "Dai campi, dai prati" is perhaps the most melodious number of the opera, and was sung by Signor Campanini with great fire and expression. *Mephistopheles* enters. His pact with *Faust* is a wild rhapsodical dialogue. Boïto calls in the help of bells and cymbals to give effect to this weird scene, which ends with the triumphant cry of the fiend carrying *Faust* away on his outspread cloak. The second act presents *Margaret's* garden, where she meets *Faust* for the first time. Signor Boïto does not know how to make love, for this pretty scene, so charming in Gounod's treatment of it, is dull and unsympathetic compared with other parts of the opera. His *Faust* is a cold lover and his *Margaret* an uninteresting girl. The finale of the scene, a quartet by *Faust*, *Margaret*, *Martha*, and *Mephistopheles*, is the redeeming feature of the act. The third act is the Walpurgis Night on the Brocken. If we shut our eyes to the absurdities that are going on on the stage—witches and hobgoblins dressed like Sioux Indians or Spanish gipsies—one can enjoy the strange music answering to the witches' sabbath in the Hartz Mountains. The next act takes place in *Margaret's* prison, and two numbers of it deserve particular mention for the unusual beauty of their melody and harmony: *Margaret's* song, "L'altra notte," and the duet with *Faust*, "Lontano, lontano!"—two remarkably touching situations. But the crowning point of the work is the fourth act, the Classical Walpurgis Night, in which Signor Boïto reveals the most delightful qualities of his genius. The serene loveliness of Grecian beauty, compared with the fiendish brutality of the Northern sabbath, is exquisitely expressed in every bar of this great act. The opening duet, *Helen* and *Pantalis*, "La luna immobile," the quartet, "Forma ideal," and the finale, "Amore misterio," are unsurpassed in delicacy. The epilogue, Faust's Death, reintroduces some of the leading subjects of the former acts, and is rather weak after the transcendent effects of the previous scene. To sum up: "Mefistofele" is a work of the highest dramatic interest, with not a dull moment, nor a vulgarism, nor a platitude in it. The hearer is spell-bound from the mighty angelic chorus of the prologue to the closing scene, where a shower of roses hides the dying *Faust* from the eyes of the tempter. The instrumentation is brilliant throughout, and Boïto gives ample proof that he is a master not only of melody but of dramatic recitative.

—In Germany the two most important musical events up to date have been the production of two new operas—Theodore Henschel's "Lancelot" in Leipzig, and Rubinstein's "Daemon" in Hamburg. "Lancelot," in a review of recent musical events in Leipzig in *Unsere Zeit* for November, is even called the best work yet produced by the young Wagnerian dramatic school. Although by no means a mere echo of Wagnerian ideas and style, it yet in every way shows the influence of that master. This is indicated by the very title, the subject being derived from the same mythical source to which Wagner owes several of his works. The writer considers the *ensemble* parts to be the best features of the opera, the chorus being managed after the style of "Lohengrin." The solo parts he considers less good, while the instrumentation again is subdued though effective. The reception was favorable, but as the work is pronounced far superior to Goldmark's "Queen of Sheba," it will, in accordance with a well-known law of human nature, require a longer time to reach other cities than that pompous but superficial work, or the inane operas of Ignaz Brüll. This same law has prevented Rubinstein's "Nero" from being accepted by the various German capitals. After its immense success in Hamburg last year, as shown by the numerous repetitions and the commendations of Hans von Bülow and other critics present, one would have thought that at least Vienna, Berlin, Leipzig, and Munich would immediately secure it for their stage; but although at first there was some talk about its being under consideration in Vienna and Berlin, nothing has been heard about it since. In Berlin it has been laid aside for the ostensible reason that Niemann, the tenor, is unwilling to shave off his beard! M. Pollini, the manager of the Hamburg opera, who by his enterprise and keen artistic perception of what people want, has in a few years raised that institution into the front rank, has again secured the gratitude of Hamburg music-lovers by following up last year's triumph with Rubinstein's "Daemon." Rubinstein is an immense favorite with the Hamburgers. He is reported to have said that his treatment in Hamburg fully atoned for the insulting attitude of the Berlin authorities, and has expressed his willingness to assist in the production of a new work of his in Hamburg at any time, whatever his engagements or whereabouts. In accordance with this promise he was on the ground in due time to direct the last rehearsals and first three performances of the "Daemon." H. Ehrlich, the Berlin critic, went over to Hamburg, and gives in the *Tageblatt* and the Vienna *Freie Presse* an amusing account of a little bit of "human nature" which Rubinstein betrayed on the occasion of the first public performance. The first act, which is quite inferior to the other two, was somewhat coldly received by the audience. The second has a magnificent duet and many other fine passages, so that at the end there was a perfect storm of applause and calls for Rubinstein, which lasted fully ten minutes. But the Russian lion, spite of all entreaties of manager and artists, refused to appear before the curtain, because the audience had so coldly received the first act. Instead of obeying the calls of the people he spent the interval in remonstrating with the *régisseur* because the ballet-dancers did not have Siberian fur-caps on their heads. At the beginning of the last act hisses were heard, as a sign that the audience were not quite satisfied with the behavior of their spoiled child. Of the opera itself Ehrlich says that though dramatically inferior to "Nero," musically it ranks higher. The subject itself is thoroughly Russian, and will never appeal to Germans as strongly as to the people of the Russian capital, where it has for many years been a popular opera. As in most of Rubinstein's larger works, the lyrical and oratorio spirit rules supreme. But it must be remembered that in his successive stage works Rubinstein has acquired more and more dramatic skill, and though the Semitic spirit, which is essentially undramatic, may prevent him from reaching the highest perfection of dramatic art, yet his works serve as an agreeable change from those of Wagner, which, as the writer in *Unsere Zeit* above referred to justly complains, are threatening to assume a complete monopoly of the stage in Germany.

—The long and impatiently-awaited results of the *Challenger* circumnavigating expedition finally begin to make their appearance. The first volume of the zoölogical reports, prefaced with a "general introduction" by the director of the civilian scientific staff, Sir Wyville Thomson, and containing memoirs by Brady, Davidson, Günther, Kölliker, Moseley, Parker, and Turner, is now ready for distribution, and three more volumes of equal magnitude, according to Professor Huxley (*Nature*, Nov. 4), are still to appear in the course of the current year. At this rate of progress the completion of the work may be looked for in about four years. It is now more than four years since the *Challenger* returned from her celebrated cruise and nearly eight since she started from Sheerness, but with the exception of the information received through the various abstract papers scattered in the transactions

of learned societies, and the more or less popular narratives of Sir Wyville Thomson, Moseley, Spry, and Wild, the scientific world has hitherto been kept in pretty thorough darkness both as to the absolute and the generally systematic results of the expedition. The apparently unavoidable delay in the publication of the results is no doubt due to the vast amount of material acquired during the voyage and to the difficulties which attach to the conscientious elaboration of such a heterogeneous store. In the period of three years and six months the *Challenger* traversed a distance of more than 68,000 nautical miles, and the officers of the ship during that time collected zoölogical specimens which fill alone, in alcohol, 4,019 glass jars, large and small, 1,860 glass tubes, and 176 tin cases; the non-alcoholic specimens occupying 22 casks and 180 tin cases. The apportionment of this biological invoice among the recognized chiefs in the various special departments of zoölogical research on the Continent and in this country, as well as in Great Britain, bringing into active co-operation many of the most eminent scientific investigators of the day, though there is ample precedent for it, has been severely commented upon by a portion of the British press, and has given rise to considerable controversy, and still more bitter feeling, between the defenders of this course and those native naturalists who feel their dignity wounded by the preference shown to foreign competitors. It appears to open a question as to what constitutes the national "rights" of scientific men; and although it has, we believe, received the disinterested approval, among others, of such men as Darwin and Huxley, and conversely has incurred the interested attacks of Professor Duncan, ex-President of the Geological Society, it may yet be doubtful whether it would not have been judicious to attach greater national importance to an enterprise upon which the British Government so lavishly bestowed its favors. There is good reason to believe that, as it is, scientists will not be disappointed as to the results obtained, whether directly or indirectly, by the "best-equipped voyagers who ever left the shores of England for the purpose of enlarging the bounds of natural knowledge."

—In the *Fortnightly Review* for November a contributor discusses the future of Switzerland in a novel and startling manner. He charges the Swiss with relying for defence almost exclusively upon the guaranty of neutrality they have received; and what is true of them in this respect is, we suppose, still more the case with the rest of the world, which deems the position of Switzerland settled for all time. The writer has no difficulty in showing this assumption to be unwarranted, and he expects that a result of the next war in Western Europe will be the partition of the country among its four great neighbors. The French and Germans, he says, have so fortified their frontier that it will be impossible for either of them to get at the other except by a flank movement—*i. e.*, by passing through either Belgium or Switzerland. Military as well as political reasons would prevent their choosing the former country, while the latter has everything to recommend it as a theatre of war—wealth, railways, natural advantages, and an open frontier. "It is now well known," our writer asserts, "that in 1870 General Bourbaki had orders, as a last resource, to cross the frontier, and lead his army through Switzerland into Southern Germany." One would like chapter and verse for this statement, but the further assertion that the French offensive in the next war will begin by this movement is by no means improbable. Owing to the entire absence of fortifications and a trained army, the Swiss would be as little capable of defence as they were in 1798; and after the country had once more become the battlefield of Europe, it would be impossible, the *Fortnightly* thinks, to give back to its inhabitants the neutrality they are unable to defend. Besides this, the conditions are now much more favorable to partition, and the temptations greater. The only great Powers uninterested would be England and Russia; but England is too far away, and Russia hates Switzerland for its harboring revolutionary propagandists. This dangerously favored region would then no longer excite, by its example, discontent at home; the great railways would fall into the hands of the Governments whose subsidies have built them; and, owing to the differences of language and religion, there would be no dispute about the division of the spoil. Our author does not mention it, but it is interesting also to remember that the nominal and, to a large extent, the real reason for the partition of Poland was its inability to prevent the passage of belligerents.

—The mail brings us intelligence of the death, in Christiania, of Magnus Brostrup Landstad, one of Norway's greatest poets. He was born October 7, 1802, and died on the eve of completing his seventy-eighth year. Landstad was a priest of the national church, and as such enjoyed a wide reputation, but his enduring fame rests upon his important contributions to the literature of his country. He was reckoned one of the twelve great Norwegian poets of this century. He was a fine psalmist, and in this capacity he published a hymn-book which, in 1869, was authorized to be used in the public religious services, and has since been introduced into nearly every parish in Norway. In 1853 he published his collection of Norwegian ballads ('Norske Folkeviser'), a work of the highest rank, filling more than 900 large octavo pages. It is fully interpreted and annotated, and reveals a poet thoroughly in love with his subject. Landstad did for Norwegian ballads what Asbjörnson in Norway and the Grimms in Germany did for *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*—rescued them from oblivion. His lyric poems constitute a small but very attractive volume.

STEWART AND LONG'S PLUTARCH.*

IN November, 1765, Thomas Hollis, "an Englishman, an Assertor of Liberty, Citizen of the World," writes from Pall Mall, London, that he "is desirous of having the honor to present to the Public Library of Harvard College, at Cambridge in New England, *Plutarch's Lives*, a work which, at school, he read avidly at times he might have slept, and to which he afterwards became indebted for the honestest and finest dispositions of his mind." He sent the "Dryden Translation," in the revised edition of 1758, which, as revised and corrected by Clough, and published in Boston in 1859, still remains the standard translation of 'Plutarch's Lives.' We agree with Mr. Stewart in thinking that "no apologies are needed for a new edition of so favorite an author." Indeed, in view of the many excellent friends of classical learning whose only bond of union with Greece and Rome is their English Plutarch, it is quite time that there should be a translation of the famous Lives which, without sacrificing the sprightly flavor of the old translations, should yet answer the demands of modern scholarship more fully than these in accuracy of thought and expression. The lack of such an English version, however, is one which Plutarch still suffers in common with both Plato and Aristotle.

Mr. Stewart now gives us the first volume of a new translation, undertaken by him "by way of complement" to the translation of thirteen Lives made by Mr. Long in 1844. To determine the absolute as well as the relative value of the new work, we must compare it not only with the Greek, but with Clough's revision of the "Dryden" Plutarch. We have turned first (quite at random) to the beginning of the Life of Solon. In the first chapter we notice that about one-third is omitted. Perhaps this is no loss; but some warning of such expurgation should be given, especially as Mr. Long tells us in his preface (p. xvi.) that he has attempted to give all Plutarch's meaning, "and neither more nor less," and that he has "not intentionally added to it or detracted from it." Here Clough has given the general sense of the whole chapter. In chapter ii. Clough's version: "It is certain that he was a lover of knowledge, for when he was old he would say that he

"'Each day grew older, and learnt something new,'"

is surely better and much nearer the original than Stewart's: "He was, indeed, eager to learn, as he wrote when an old man,

"'Old to grow, but ever learning.'"

Just below, Clough's six lines give little more than we find in the five and a half verses of Solon quoted by Plutarch, which Stewart's three short lines translate very imperfectly, omitting silver, horses, mules, shoes, and a young child, which appear in the original, and adding wine, which is not found there. In chapter iii. Stewart makes Solon say, "The base are rich, the good are poor"; Clough, "Some wicked men are rich, some good are poor"; Solon wrote "*many* wicked" and "many good men." In the same chapter Clough correctly translates: "In philosophy, he chiefly esteemed the political part of morals." Stewart gives us: "Of ethical philosophy, he was most interested in that branch which deals with political obligations." In chapter v. Stewart gives as Solon's words: "Men keep covenants, *because* it is to the advantage of neither party to break them"; where Clough translates correctly: "*when* neither side can get anything by the breaking of them." In chapter vii. (bottom of p. 134) Stewart has "at the loss of their child," where Clough and the Greek have "when a child . . . is sick or dies." At the end of the chapter Stewart twice has "we do not" for "we should not," where Clough is correct. At the end of the same sentence Stewart omits the words "but (we should guard) by reason against them all," in which the chief point of the remark lies; Clough has, "but by morality and reason." In chapter viii. Stewart has: "Solon sailed to Koilias with Peisistratus, *taking with him* all the women of the city to perform the customary sacrifice to Demeter." Plutarch says: "*Finding there* all the women performing the sacrifice," etc., which is given in Clough. In chapter x. Stewart gives: "There is an Athenian tribe which claims descent from Philæus, to which Peisistratus belonged." Clough gives the correct version: "and they have a township of Philaidæ, to which Pisistratus belonged, deriving its name from this Philæus."

In the same chapter we find a more serious mistake, where Stewart gives the following as Solon's argument for the Athenian claim to Salamis:

"For the Megarians bury their dead looking towards the east, and the Athenians towards the west. *More conclusive even than this* was the fact that each Athenian *had* a coffin to himself, while the Megarians *place* two or three bodies in one coffin. *Besides this*, Solon supported his case by quoting certain oracles," etc.

* 'Plutarch's Lives. Translated from the Greek, with Notes and a Life of Plutarch. By Aubrey Stewart, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the late George Long, M.A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.' Vol. I. London: Geo. Bell & Sons. 1880.

The argument is here utterly perverted; but it is plainly and correctly given by Clough:

"Solon took a further argument against the Megarians from the dead bodies, which, he said, were not buried after their fashion, but according to the Athenian; for the Megarians turn the corpse to the east, the Athenians to the west. *But Hereas the Megarian denies this, and affirms that they likewise turn the body to the west, and also* that the Athenians have a separate tomb for every body, but the Megarians put two or three into one. *However*, some of Apollo's oracles . . . made much for Solon."

This ancient custom of burying the dead with the face towards the west strikingly confirms the opinion expressed in the *Nation* of Feb. 14, 1878 (No. 659), p. 117, that the bodies found by Schliemann at Mycenæ with their feet towards the west were really buried in a sitting posture with their faces to the west, and that the (generally sloping) stone walls by which the tombs were artificially shortened were built to support the head and shoulders, and were not (as Schliemann and Gladstone have imagined) the final outrage and insult of Clytemnestra to the bodies of Agamemnon and his friends.

In chapter xii. of the new translation the account of Cylon's conspiracy is confused and inaccurate. When the Cylonian suppliants were descending from the Acropolis, clinging to the cord which connected them with the temple of Athena, we read that "the string broke, and Megakles and the other archons, thinking that the goddess no longer protected them, seized them." Plutarch is careful to say that the string broke "accidentally" (this being a disputed matter), and he says that on the breaking of the string the archons alleged that the goddess *refused* to accept the Cylonians as suppliants. This is all included in Clough's version. Stewart further translates: "some were stoned to death outside *the city*"; where it should be "out of sanctuary," as the next words show. Again, Stewart says that the survivors of Cylon's party "continued their intrigues against Megakles and the archons." Plutarch says "the family of Megacles," referring to the line of Solon; and all the following references to the Alcmæonidæ and their banishment from Athens at the motion of Solon are confused by such expressions as "those magistrates who were called accursed" and "the archons." When Stewart gives: "the archons were found guilty, and forced to leave the country," it should be, "the accused were found guilty, and as many as were then alive were banished," as we find it in Clough. In the same chapter both Stewart and Clough make Plutarch say that Anacharsis is reckoned among the Seven Wise Men of Greece "by those who do not admit Periander into their number." This should be "by *some of* those who," etc., Plato and Plutarch himself being among the exceptions!

In chapter xiii. "personal security" is hardly the same as "giving their persons as security"; and "to set free all debtors" (Stewart) is very different from "to liberate the condemned debtors" (Clough), and the context shows that those who had been taken as slaves for debt are meant. The verses of Solon at the end of chapter xiv., showing what (according to the vulgar) a "man of high spirit" would have done in his place, still need a translator. Stewart's line:

"Though the next day he and his into oblivion were thrown,"

is tame enough by the side of Clough's (unfortunately translated from an amended text):

"I would give my skin for flaying, and my house to die away."

The words literally rendered are: "He (Solon) would have been content (in the case supposed), after gaining power and acquiring unbounded wealth, and being tyrant of Athens but for a single day, then to let himself be flayed alive and his race be exterminated."

It is but justice to Mr. Stewart's translation to say that the fourteen chapters here examined, although chosen by chance, are hardly a fair specimen of the volume. At least, we have examined passages in the lives of Theseus, Lycurgus, Themistocles, and Pericles, without finding so many points to criticise in the same space. Still, there is always a feeling of uncertainty in treading ground where we are never safe against pitfalls. We point out a few of these, which may serve as a general warning.

In the Life of Themistocles, chapter xix., we read in Stewart that "the Thirty Tyrants *destroyed* the bema, or tribune, on the place of public assembly, which was built looking towards the sea, and *built another* which looked inland." Plutarch merely says that "the Thirty *turned round* the bema in the Pnyx, which was built to look towards the sea, so that it should look inland." As this passage is an important document in the Pnyx controversy, we must protest against an alteration of it which seems to be made in the interest of one party. In the next chapter we have the familiar story of Themistocles confiding to Aristides (by order of the people) his secret plan for burning the Greek fleet at Pagasæ. But the answer of Aristides, that "no proposal could be more politic nor more villanous," is given by Stewart, "that the proposal was a most infamous and villanous one"! In chapter xii. the order of Xerxes to his commanders the night before the battle of Salamis, "to surround the straits on every side" with Persian ships, is omitted; and thus one of the most important movements of the Persians, without a knowledge of which no correct idea of the great battle can be formed, is struck out of the story. In the first sentence of the Life of Theseus: "As in books on geography, Sossius Senecio, the writers crowd the countries, of which they know nothing, into the furthest margins of their maps," the commas enclosing the relative clause are rather severe on ancient geographers. In the Life of Pericles, chapter ix., we find: "These offices [those of the various archons] were by ancient custom obtained by *ballot*, and it was only through them that a seat in the Senate of the Areopagus could be obtained." Plutarch says: "These offices had from ancient times [*i. e.*, since Cleisthenes] been conferred by *lot*, and through them those who had approved themselves in the discharge of them were advanced to the Areopagus." In all the passages mentioned in this paragraph Clough's translation is essentially correct. We have looked in vain for passages to offset those above quoted, in which the advantage should be decidedly on the side of the new translation.

Apart from the faults we have noticed, the new translation is generally excellent in its style and clear in its expression of Plutarch's meaning. If Thomas Hollis had sent it to America in 1765 it would have been a great blessing, but after a hundred and fifteen years we feel that we are entitled to something better.

FOWLER'S LOCKE.*

MORE than half of this little volume is biographical, and for this part of it the author acknowledges his obligations to Mr. Fox Bourne's recently published life of the philosopher. Only a single chapter of twenty-five pages is devoted to the 'Essay,' while others are occupied respectively with Locke's opinions on religion and morals and his theological writings; the 'Thoughts on Education,' and the 'Conduct of the Understanding'; and works on government, trade, and finance. Almost no attempt is made to estimate Locke's indebtedness to thinkers who preceded him, and but a few pages are given to describing his influence on subsequent thought. The author has evidently read even the less known of Locke's writings with care, quotes him judiciously, seems generally in sympathy with him, and has written an extremely readable book; but he apparently abandoned at the outset the idea of saying anything new about his subject, and thus rarely comes into close quarters with it, while occasionally there is a certain reticence which savors of constraint, and which is in unfavorable contrast with Huxley's treatment of Hume in the same series.

Half-a-dozen pages of criticism of the 'Essay' constitute the most interesting part of the book. Locke derived all knowledge from the experience of the *individual*, and could give no other account of the "inherent faculties" needful to acquire it than that God had furnished or "endued" us with them. Kant well said that the problem of the origin of these faculties could not be left here, but, although he attempted an analysis of the *à priori* element of knowledge, he attempted no explanation of its origin. Fowler admits that this "mystery is removed at least several stages back" by applying the principle of heredity, or, "in one word, of evolution. This explanation may have its difficulties, but it is at any rate an attempt at an explanation where no other such attempt exists." Locke's peculiar contributions "consisted in his skilful and popular delineation of the *à posteriori* element in knowledge, and in his masterly exposure of the insufficiency of the account of the *à priori* element as then commonly given." The other defect pointed out in the 'Essay' is the "tendency to bring into undue prominence the passive receptivities of the mind, and to ignore its activity and spontaneity." But now "a more scientific psychology than was possible in Locke's day comes to our aid, and shows, as is done by Mr. Bain and other recent writers, that the nerves, stored with energy, often discharge themselves of their own accord, and that movement is at least as much an original factor in animal life as is sensation, while sometimes it even precedes it in time." With far greater propriety than Descartes, Locke deserves to be called the first to apply the introspective method, while, by his frequent references to the mental processes of children and savages, the comparative method is also suggested.

This is good and true as far as it goes. The earliest questions in mental philosophy were those concerning the essence, constitution, seat, origin, and future state of the soul. These, however, are purely metaphysical questions, which stand behind psychology, and may have perhaps a sort of ulterior justification, but are as unscientific now as if physics, instead of confining itself to the specific phenomena of light, heat, sound, electricity, etc., should squander its energy in reasoning about the ultimate constitution of matter and the nature of force, thus beginning where it should end. This is the old deductive method of the so-called "rational psychology," an example of which we have in this country in Dr. Hickock's well-known text-book having that title. The simplicity, immateriality, unity, and indestructibility of the soul are assumed at the outset, and psychic phenomena are derived from such hypotheses and presuppositions. It is, as Wundt has somewhere observed, because psychologists assumed this method and sought so long for new stand-points and new ideas,

*'Locke. By Thomas Fowler, Professor of Logic in the University of Oxford.' New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

hoping that some of them would shed sudden light or bring sudden order into a dark chaos of miscellaneous facts, that psychology remained so long stationery, and, more than any other scientific field, was crowded with prejudices and presuppositions. The great significance of Locke's work is, that it is a standing protest against all forms and applications of this method. It is still profitable reading wherever the insidious old method is yet in vogue. By insisting that the fundamental ideas of the soul were products of experience instead of being innate in the old sense, Locke took the first great step toward making psychology at the same time a natural science and central and fundamental among the mental sciences; for, in proportion as it has been more and more clearly seen that philosophy must rest on experience, like other sciences, psychology has received more attention and acquired greater significance, till, for those who can follow Wundt, "it is scarcely too much to say that all our philosophy is at present psychology." Professor Fowler seems more in sympathy with Locke's own limited views than with those larger historic motives which centre in and were mediated by him.

Again, Locke was only a pioneer, or at most the first-fruits, of a true psychology. His was the introspective, or, as it has with but partial justification since been called, *empirical* method. But self-observation can at best give us but a few of the manifold facts of consciousness. It cannot analyze them into their unconscious elements and causes. It can give them no objective certainty or warrant. Its emphasis is only the casual, relative, and variable one of subjective feeling, interest, etc., so that it is peculiarly liable to the errors of dogmatism and individualism. Introspection can never be relied on to give the true organic connection between its so-called facts of consciousness, and it was for this reason, as it is now commonly said in Germany, that the fashion arose of regarding the various forms of psychic activity as due to distinct, arbitrarily assumed mental powers or faculties so loosely connected that Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, and their followers readily built them, each in its distinct place, into their vast ideal systems, giving them a factitious logical unity, ignoring their real connection in experience, and almost forgetting that there was such a thing as psychology, because they had assumed that knowledge had no limits and its origin was of no consequence. Locke must take his share of responsibility—not a very great one—for such abuses of his method. His mind was, as Schwegler well says, more acute than profound. He did not see very clearly that introspection is only one of the Baconian methods of induction. The necessity of an experimental psychology, now so well established and so universally recognized in Germany, which thus more than atones for its long neglect or disparagement of Locke, we think would have met with a more cordial recognition from him than it seems to from Professor Fowler, who entirely ignores it, and whose psychologic ken does not range beyond Spencer and Bain. It is much for a professor at conservative Oxford—whence Locke was so unceremoniously expelled two centuries ago—to admit, with however much qualification, that psychology is or can become a natural science. It is this and more. Its facts cannot only be observed, they can be controlled, so that it rests on a basis of experiment. Psycho-physic methods have resolved our sensations into their elements, designated the neural centres and conditions for many processes, measured the time of nearly all the simpler psychic operations, established in tangible neurological terms the difference between normal and pathological action, brought a large number of questions but lately thought to be unanswerable within the range of possible experiment, so that the study of mind is just now the most hopeful and promising of all the departments of science, and greatly improved our conception of such fundamental ideas as time and space, as well as of attention, memory, association, etc. How Locke would have welcomed all this! His soul was too profoundly religious to have shared the shallow fear of materialism, for he even held that God might have, and possibly though not probably had, endowed matter with the power of thought.

Locke is thus the intellectual father of all those who believe that the nature of our faculties is the first and fundamental problem of philosophy, and that psychology relegates most speculative systems to the same limbo to which the earlier theories of vision and audition are consigned by physiological optics and acoustics. Leibnitz, and even Kant, who started from the same assumption as Locke, clung to the belief that there were in knowledge elements of a universality and necessity not to be accounted for by experience or association. What the doctrine of innate ideas was to mind the notions of evolution and heredity now are to character. Children, so it is commonly stated, inherit their fundamental traits, dispositions, etc., from the experience of countless ancestral generations, so that these are irreversible. The child must be instructed rather than trained, and allowed and encouraged to develop his bent freely and without restraint. But not only the exceptional non-development and helplessness of the human infant, but also the long period of growth, immaturity, and teachableness, indicate plainly enough that individualism in this sense is very liable to be only the product of caprice or accident. Against this notion Locke's 'Thoughts on Education' is the most able of protests. Virtue, practical worldly wisdom, good breeding, and last, "though this may seem strange in the mouth of a bookish man," learning, as something which may be easily and incidentally had "into the bargain," are the objects of education in the order of their importance. To this extent character is the product of education, as knowledge is of experience, so that here again Locke is most modern and most German.

BUTLER'S TRANSLATION OF DANTE'S PURGATORY.*

IT is not likely that we shall ever have a final version of Homer or Dante. With the steady change in the use and associations of words, and in the approved poetic diction, a fresh translation will from time to time be required that shall represent the old poem on the terms of the new age. Cary's translation of the 'Divine Comedy' suited the somewhat artificial taste of our grandfathers, Longfellow's answers much better to our modern demand for a less rhetorical and more exact rendering; and since its fidelity to the original is achieved with little sacrifice of grace or dignity of English idiom, it will be long before his work becomes antiquated. The difficulty of making a prose version is hardly less than of one in verse. The late Dr. Carlyle's prose rendering of the 'Inferno' is correct, scholarly, and readable as an English composition, but it not infrequently misses the tone of the original, and, though literally exact, fails in equivalence of style. Here is, indeed, the crucial point. A good translation is a matter not of grammar and dictionary, but of feeling for language, of poetic tact, of apprehension of qualities of style; it requires the art to reproduce subtile distinctions of tone, to preserve the sympathy of word and meaning. And, after all, the best translation is but as the plaster cast to the marble: there are the same forms, but the light is absorbed and reflected by them in different degree.

Dr. Carlyle's version is on the whole so good that Mr. Butler, even had there been no other motive for so doing, was wise in taking the translation of the 'Purgatory' for his task. He has aimed, he says in the Preface, "at the production of a 'crib' pure and simple," and he adds, "where a question has arisen between a literal and an elegant rendering, I have preferred the former, my object being, as I have said, not to attempt an addition to English literature, but to aid beginners in understanding that of Italy. Also, wherever it seemed possible to render an Italian word or idiom by a *cognate* form in English, I have not scrupled to do so, even at the cost of an occasional archaism." Now, this aim is not only a low one, but Mr. Butler's professed method for its accomplishment is a mistake. A good "crib" must be more than a literal rendering. The letter kills in this as in other instances. Munro's translation of Lucretius, to which Mr. Butler refers, does not afford the justification which he seeks in it. It is much more than a literal version; it is the work of an English not less than a Latin scholar, who knows that cognate forms are often far from being equivalent in significance, and recognizes that qualities of style can only be reproduced by obedience to the genius of the language in which the translation is made. Mr. Butler's performance is superior to what might be expected from his statement of its object and method, and deserves more serious attention from the student of Dante than he has claimed for it.

A protest, however, must be entered against the notion of "'a crib' pure and simple" for the 'Divine Comedy.' Doubtless the poem is often used, or, rather, misused as a text-book for beginners in the language, but the object of those who appreciate Dante's work should be to prevent, much more than to promote, such use of it. The 'Divine Comedy' should be reserved for readers who have made sufficient progress in the Italian tongue to allow them to give their attention chiefly to its poetic significance and its moral intention, while its linguistic elements should occupy them only so far as these serve to illustrate its poetic style and the mental characteristics of the poet. It should be given to read only to such youth as have already gained, through some experience of life and feeling, and through some acquaintance with history and literature, the capacity to recognize, in part at least, its supreme quality, and to find in its difficulties only a stimulus to their own exertions; to such, in fine, as can understand, in part at least, the truth of Mr. Butler's own assertion, that "it is not too much to say that there is no one work of human genius which can equal it as an instrument of education, intellectual and moral."

Although Mr. Butler's translation cannot be read with pleasure as an English composition, he has studied the poem with such care that his interpretation of disputed and obscure passages may often be consulted with advantage. He has not shirked the difficulties of his task. His notes are for the most part scholarly and intelligent, but they are not always to the point, and they would frequently be improved by the pruning away of what seems like youthful pedantry and conceit. There are few verses of the poem that have given occasion to more, or more diverse, commentary than two which occur in the famous interview, in the twenty-fourth canto, between the poet and his predecessor, Bonagiunta da Lucca. The passage is of such interest as a piece of poetic criticism of permanent significance that we cite it in full. "Ma di'," asks Bonagiunta:

* 'The Purgatory of Dante Alighieri. Edited, with Translation and Notes, by Arthur John Butler, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.' London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1880. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii.-458.

49. " 'Ma di' s'io veggio qui colui che fuore
Trasse le nuove rime, cominciando:
Donne che avete intelletto d'Amore.'
Ed io a lui: 'Io mi son un che, quando
Amor mi spira, noto, ed a quel modo
Che detta dentro, vo significando.'
'O frate, issa veggio,' disse, 'il nodo
Che il Notaro, e Guittone, e me ritenne
Di qua dal dolce stil nuovo ch' i' odo.
Io veggio ben come le vostre penne
Diretro al dittator sen vanno strette,
Che delle nostre certo non avvenne.
E qual più a riguardar oltre si mette,
Non vede più dall' uno all' altro stilo.'
E quasi contentato si tacette."

This is translated by Mr. Butler as follows:

" 'But say if I see here him who drew forth the new rimes beginning, *Ladies who understanding have of love.*' And I to him: 'I am one who mark when love inspires, and in that fashion which he dictates within, go setting it forth.' 'O brother, now I see,' said he, 'the knot which held back the Notary, and Guittone, and myself, short of the sweet new style which I hear. I see well how your pens go along straitly after him who dictates, the which surely did not happen to ours. And he who sets himself to look beyond this, sees no more from the one to the other style.' And as though satisfied he held his peace."

This is a tolerable version, though much force is lost by using the words "him who dictates" instead of "the dictator," and the final words of Bonagiunta are not easily intelligible. On these words and their various interpretations Mr. Butler gives a long note at the end of the canto, concluding with a suggestion of an unauthorized and needless emendation of the text. In the course of this note he says, "Benvenuto, Buti, and the Ottimo give, indeed, various explanations which greatly need explaining themselves." Now, it happens that we do not possess Benvenuto's explanation, the professed Italian version of his comment, made not many years since, having been shown, shortly after its appearance, to be utterly untrustworthy, and only fragments of the original Latin text having been published; while, on the other hand, the explanation given by Buti is not only perfectly intelligible, but affords a simple and satisfactory significance to the verses that have excited so much dispute.* The main intention of the whole passage is clear enough. Dante is setting forth the ground of the superiority of his poetry to that of his predecessors: it is in his closer following of the dictator, his truth to the spirit of Love speaking in his own heart. It is the same lesson that Sidney in one of his noble sonnets represents his Muse as giving to him, when his "words came halting forth" and he was helpless to win his lady's ear:

"Biting my truant pen, beating myself for spite,
Fool! said my Muse to me, look in thy heart and write."

Bonagiunta at once admits the solution of his own inferiority and that of the other early poets. "I see," he says, "that our pens did not follow the dictator closely as they ought," and then he adds, in the verses which have been generally regarded as obscure, and almost always misinterpreted, "and he who sets himself to look for other reason than this will find no other difference between the old and the new style, between our verse and yours," or, literally, "and he who sets himself to looking further sees nothing more 'twixt one and the other style." This is Buti's explanation: 'Non vede più di differenzia dal tuo modo del dire al nostro, che quel che ditto è, che tu vai stretto al movimento dell' animo, e noi larghi." There is no better interpretation than this. Of Mr. Butler's six notes on this passage (not including the long one already referred to) two are needless, one is erroneous, and one suggests an unnecessary alteration of the text.

Mr. Butler is, indeed, much too inclined to propose emendations in the text. The poem has come down to us on the whole in a remarkably pure condition. The good manuscripts of it are numerous. It is not like a classic work of which there may be but two or three manuscripts, and those written carelessly and long after the date of the original. There are many manuscripts of the 'Divine Comedy' written during the century after Dante's death, and it may be safely asserted that where there is a general agreement in their reading of the text, no emendation, however plausible, can be admitted.

There are many points in Mr. Butler's work that tempt to minute criticism and discussion, but matter of this sort is fitter for other columns than ours. If we have dwelt rather upon the faults than the excellence of his version, it is because we trust that Mr. Butler may be led to give it a thorough revision, and make it, as he is capable of making it, not merely an aid to reading the poem in Italian, but an addition to English literature.

Uncle Remus: His Songs and his Sayings; The Folk-Lore of the Old Plantation. By Joel Chandler Harris. With illustrations by Frederick S. Church and James H. Moser. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.)—Slavery takes its turn with other fossil remains in adorning our cabinets of curiosity and of science, and in being studied under the microscope. Already the negro "spirituals" of the forced-labor plantation, with their characteristic and often beautiful melodies, have been pretty thoroughly explored and published, and, likewise since the war, the hardly less interesting and ethnologically valuable animal fables once current among the slaves have, through various mediums and at various times, found their way into print. The present volume bears to the latter series the same relation in point of fulness that the 'Slave Songs of the United States' does to the former. Mr. Harris, however, unlike his predecessors, is a literary artist, and his thirty-four tales concerning Brer Rabbit, Brer Fox, Brer Tarrypin, and the rest are ingeniously and charmingly set in an episodical narrative, in which "Uncle Remus" figures as the *conteur* and a little boy as the rapt auditor. This arrangement not only relieves the baldness of the several anecdotes, but gives Mr. Harris an opportunity to display still further his mastery of the negro dialect, of which probably no better representation has ever been given, though when he says of it that "it is at least phonetically genuine," he does not mean that he has used Mr. A. J. Ellis's Glossic, or that the same letter has always the same vowel or consonant sound—for instance, the *g* in *tergedder, sludge-hammer, suvvigus'* (savagest), *ingun* (onion) *sets*, etc.; or the same sound the same letter, as *kaze* and *kase*, *him* and *'im*.

It was, we remember, within a year or two after the founding of the *Nation*, that we received from an old gentleman in South Carolina a transcript of several of these animal stories; but, though intended for publication, they were given in the language of Addison rather than of Cudjo, and the flavor of them was hopelessly gone. This was our first knowledge of any such African folk-lore. In November, 1868, and March, 1869, eight or nine of the fables (only two of which are repeated by Mr. Harris) were printed in the *Riverside Magazine* as "taken down from the lips of an old negro, in the vicinity of Charleston." Variants of these have appeared in the New York *Independent* (Sept. 2, 1875) and in other papers, and Mr. Harris says in his preface that he has had a great number to choose from. Presumably his stories are all of Georgian origin, though he cites a variant from Florida; and he gives no proof of his statement that "they have become a part of the domestic history of every Southern family." However widely they may have been spread, through our domestic slave-trade, we regard it as highly probable that the Sea Island neighborhood from South Carolina to Florida was, as in the case of the slave-songs, the focus of the animal fables; an hypothesis which finds its support in the reference of both to an African and heathen origin. Mr. Harris notices, from somewhat imperfect data, the coincidence between his tales and the Amazonian tortoise myths, as pointed out in these columns upon the appearance of the late Professor Hartt's monograph. In this aspect his book is a serious aid to the study of primitive folk-lore. It would have had a greater etymological and phonetic value if he had been less sparing of explanatory notes. Words like *mon*, *soon*, and *haslett* have escaped our most diligent scrutiny.

The work has five divisions: the fables; plantation proverbs; Uncle Remus's songs; a true story of the war; and Uncle Remus's sayings. The last two may be called contributions to the history of reconstruction. The songs are what the Sea-Islanders designate as "seculars," and it is a pity that no music accompanies them. "The Plough-Hands' Song" is the most poetic of the six. The proverbs are capital: "Save de pacin' mar' fer Sunday"; "Crow en corn can't grow in de same fiel'"; "Rails split 'fo' bre'kfus' 'll season de dinner"; "Hog dunner w'ich part un 'im'll season de turnip salad"; "Winter grape sour, whedder you kin reach 'im or not"; "Kwishins on mule's foots done gone out er fashun"; "De howlin' dog know w'at he sees"; "Looks won't do ter split rails wid"; "Ef you bleedzd ter eat dirt, eat clean dirt"; "Moon may shine, but a lightered knot's mighty handy"; "You may know de way, but better keep yo' eyes on de seven stairs"; etc., etc. To quote at length from the infinitely-amusing fables is out of the question here. We can only give the opossum's excuse to the coon for his non-combativeness on a critical occasion (p. 28):

" 'Dat's des w'at I wuz gwineter tell you 'bout,' sez Brer Possum, sezee. 'I want no mo' skeer'd dan you is right now, en' I wuz fixin' fer ter give Mr. Dog a sample er my jaw,' sezee, 'but I'm de most ticklish chap w'at you ever laid eyes on, en no sooner did Mr. Dog put his nose down yer 'mong my ribs dan I got ter laffin, en I laft twel I ain't had no use er my lim's,' sezee, 'en it's a mussy unto Mr. Dog dat I wuz ticklish, kaze a little mo' en I'd e't 'im up,' sezee. 'I don't mine fightin', Brer Coon, no mo' dan you duz,' sezee, 'but I declar' ter grashus ef I kin stan' ticklin'. Git me in a row whar dey ain't no ticklin' 'lowed, en I'm your man,' sezee.

" 'En down ter dis day,' continued Uncle Remus, watching the smoke from his pipe curl upward over the little boy's head—'down ter dis day, Brer Possum's bound ter s'render w'en you tech him in de short ribs, en he'll laff ef he knows he's gwineter be smashed fer it.'"

Les Femmes qui Tuent et les Femmes qui Votent. By Alexandre Dumas, fils. (Paris: Calmann Lévy; New York: F. W. Christern. 1880.)—M. Dumas's position as a dramatist is well known. As a sociologist, although he has been at great pains to take a prominent part in social discussions of a certain limited class, his fame is not, perhaps, so securely established. Those

* Mr. Butler has made very little use of Buti's comment, referring to it only three or four times. But among the commentators of the fourteenth century, whose nearness in time to Dante gives a special value to their work, Buti is the most important both by reason of his general good sense and of his superior culture.

who have read his very entertaining prefaces know that he has long since, in his own opinion, sounded the depths of various important questions touching the relations of the sexes. In fact, his prefaces are, in a certain sense, manifestoes of his opinions and views as to these relations, as his plays are a dramatic embodiment of them. In his present treatise he goes further than he has ever before attempted to go, and boldly attacks the question of woman suffrage. Any one who can invent or suggest a new reason for the introduction of a reform, *ipso facto* entitles himself to a certain claim upon our attention and interest, and it is very certain of any argument of M. Dumas's that it will at least be novel. He is a firm believer in the necessity of woman suffrage, and as far as we understand his argument, it is that if women are not allowed to vote they will continue, as at present, to assassinate people with poison and daggers. Stated in this concise form the reasoning is not very convincing, but a little elaboration will show the method by which M. Dumas arrives at his conclusion. Women in our highly civilized and artificial society occupy a position fixed by laws over which they have no control. Consequently in many cases they find themselves forced to choose between misery and degradation or a self-acquired freedom through violence. If they were allowed to vote, if they had an open career, the painful necessity of this choice would not be presented to them. In other words, crimes of violence committed by women are a sort of measure or test of the unfair pressure bearing down upon them through the present system. Of course this does not apply to all crimes of violence. Even M. Dumas would not go so far as to say that woman suffrage would put an end to all crimes of this class committed by women. It is probable that jealousy, envy, and other passions known to exist in the female breast would, even if every man and woman in the world voted every month, still lead to occasional acts of crime; but our author is clearly of the opinion that there is some relation between killing and voting, and if there were more voting there would be less killing.

It will be observed that M. Dumas reverses in his argument the order of thought which has been suggested to many conservative-minded people by the facts upon which he bases it. The conservative argument generally used on the subject is this: The strongest of all human passions is love, and this passion plays a more important and constant part in the lives of women than it does in those of men. It is, in fact, the whole of their life, while it is only part of a man's life. Woman, under the influence of this passion, is made a slave to certain other feelings, which frequently overturn her reason and sap at the root her sense of justice—even assuming that sense of justice to be, at the outset, strong. To allow women to take part in the civil administration of society—for this is what permitting her to vote means—to allow her to sit on juries, plead in the courts, decide questions of private right, is to introduce into the delicate machinery of social life certain new and tremendous forces and passions the precise effect of which cannot be very well anticipated, though their general tendency is well understood. When we see a woman mad with jealousy or slighted love put a bullet through the head of her lover, or throw vitriol in the face of her rival, what suggests itself to the conservative mind is the danger in which the social fabric would be involved if such a creature were suddenly permitted to take part in its government. According to M. Dumas, we ought rather to regard these excesses as the result of not permitting her to take part in it.

It is unnecessary to say that M. Dumas's latest manifesto is entertaining. His French is always of the best, and if his reasoning is not very clear, it generally has the appearance of being so, owing to the extreme lucidity of his style. In fact, we cannot help thinking that it is M. Dumas's great power of expression and clearness, no less than his profound interest in the subject, that have led him into the error of supposing that he is capable of reasoning usefully upon it. If any one will take the trouble to analyze the four pages in which he discusses the relation between woman and science he will find a curious illustration of this. M. Dumas first states that science is making and is about to make enormous progress in the world—a progress, from the sentimental or supernatural point of view, positively appalling; in fact, science is the religion of the future, and Comte and Littré are its prophets. This religion, like all others, must have its fanatics, its apostles, its martyrs; and *imprimis* behold Dr. Tanner! "Dr. Tanner," says M. Dumas, "if he is not an American invention, is already there to prove the truth of what I say." He cautiously adds, however, "If he is an invention, another will prove it soon, and disciples will arise. These disciples will not be found only among men, but also among women." Women are inquisitive by nature. They steal apples from the tree of knowledge; they open boxes like Pandora; they are always ready for anything new, for anything unexpected, for everything that makes them rise above their ordinary daily feminine life. Once carried away by the force of example, women will throw themselves into science as they throw themselves into everything which fires their imagination; taking their revenge for the fixity of status to which they are condemned, they will run, no matter by what roads, side by side with man; before him if they can, against him if it is necessary, to the conquest of a new world. When one remembers with what contempt of all reason and of all pain woman seeks martyrdom, with what oblivion of all shame she gives reins to her passions, one can foresee the audacity and frenzy with which she will attempt scientific investigation. She will, like man, endure the hardest labor. Like man, she will submit herself to the most painful experiments to find the answer to the riddle; to solve the mystery of lactation she will let her breasts be torn out, like St. Agatha, etc., etc. The devotional climax which M. Dumas thinks woman will reach for the purpose of proving the correctness of the Darwinian theory, we cannot very well translate.

This is not an unfair specimen of M. Dumas's logical method. In English it does not carry conviction with it. In his French it sounds less insane, and that is nearly all that can be said for it.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Angel (H.), Practical Plane Geography and Projection, 2 vols ..... (G. P. Putnam's Sons) $3 50
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Beaconsfield (Earl), Endymion: a Tale ..... (D. Appleton & Co.)
Bibliomania at the Present Day ..... (J. W. Bouton)
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Calvert (G. H.), Coleridge, Shelley, Goethe ..... (Lee & Shepard)
Chandler (P. W.), Memoir of Governor Andrew ..... (Roberts Bros.) 1 25
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Fields (Mrs. A.), Under the Olive: Poems ..... (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) 1 25
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Hall (W. E.), International Law ..... (Macmillan & Co.)
Harland (Marion), Common Sense in the Household ..... (Chas. Scribner's Sons)
Harris (J. C.), Uncle Remus: Folk-lore of the Old Plantation ..... (D. Appleton & Co.)
Haslam (Rev. W.), From Death into Life ..... " "
Hershon (P. I.), Talmudic Miscellany ..... (Trübner & Co.)
Houghton (W. R.), Conspectus of the History of Political Parties and the Federal Government ..... (Granger, Davis & Co.)
Hudson (Rev. H. N.), Shakespeare's Midsummer-Night's Dream ..... (Ginn & Heath)
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Macdonough (A. R.), Lovers of Provence: Aucassin and Nicolette ..... (Fords, Howard & Hulbert) 3 50
Morris (G. S.), British Thought and Modern Thinkers ..... (S. C. Griggs & Co.) 1 75
Newton (Rev. R. H.), Womanhood ..... (G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 25
Putnam (J. P.), The Open Fire-place in all Ages ..... (J. R. Osgood & Co.) 2 00
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Venable (W. H.), The Teacher's Dream: a Poem ..... (G. P. Putnam's Sons) 2 50
Warner (C. D.), My Winter on the Nile, new ed ..... (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) 2 00
Wright (W. A.), Shakespeare's Richard III ..... (Macmillan & Co.) 60
Zola (E.), Le Roman Experimental, 5th ed., swd ..... (F. W. Christern)

Fine Arts.

MLLE. BERNHARDT IN "PHÈDRE."

WE ventured to suggest last week that the manner in which Mlle. Bernhardt played *Doña Sol* almost amounted to proof that her success in *Phèdre* would be but moderate. Her performance on Tuesday evening of last week justified this anticipation. Her *Phèdre* was, as usual, an admirable piece of acting, but it was not the *Phèdre* of a great tragedian. Her conception of the part was, in the first place, essentially superficial. She makes the main feature of the part love-sickness, and it is by no means love-sickness which is the distinguishing mark of the character of the wife of Theseus. There have been love-sick women in all ages of the world who have killed themselves with poison, but in *Phèdre's* case this is not the secret of the play. She is love-sick because of a visitation, a fatality—the foreordained doom of Venus; and in Racine's tragedy it is the struggle of the natural nobility of her character with this external and accidental fate that makes the essential ground-work of the part.

To the intrinsic difficulties presented by the character itself must be added the extreme classicism of the play. The scene never changes from the first act to the last, the time is restricted within the narrowest limits, and the action, with the exception of the final poisoning, takes place entirely off the stage. In a modern play the simultaneous presentation of the incidents and the emotions which these are supposed to call forth greatly helps out any weakness in the acting. In a play of the school to which "Phèdre" belongs there is nothing to distract the audience, and the play consists almost entirely of what we may call pure acting. Owing to the supremely tragic character of the situation, nothing but continuous sustained power and entire absorption in the character could possibly put *Phèdre* before us, and Mlle. Bernhardt certainly does not put *Phèdre* before us. She makes, as we have said, the love-sickness altogether the most prominent characteristic of the queen. She is languishingly, amorously love-sick, and the struggle between her guilty passion and her sense of duty and horror at her crime, leaves an unpleasant physical impression upon the hearer, which it was certainly not Racine's intention to produce. It is not the passion which it is necessary to emphasize, but the guilt, the remorse, the horror.

In criticising any actor it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate our impressions of the acting from our impressions of the person who acts. In every other art the finished work of the artist is embodied in a form quite distinct from the producer, and stands or falls by itself, without reference to the character or personal peculiarities of the latter. To enjoy and properly appreciate the Fifth Symphony of Beethoven it is not necessary to know whether Beethoven was tall or short, fat or thin, or whether he had a fine or ignoble character. In judging of the merits of a work of sculpture it is need-

less to know anything about the sculptor. A fine painting is a fine painting still, though the name of the master who produced it is totally lost. When we come to literature it begins to seem more natural to establish some relation between the work and the author, but there are great works of literature, even of modern literature, which have long since established their reputation and a lasting claim to the attention of mankind, of which we hardly know more than the author's name. In dramatic art, however, all this is reversed. The actor embodies in his own person, before our eyes, the passions which he undertakes to represent; they cannot be judged apart from him. The success with which he represents them depends entirely upon his range of feeling as well as his power of expression—in fact upon his entire character. By this we do not mean to fall into the vulgar error of suggesting that in order to represent virtue mimetically it is necessary to be virtuous, or that in order to play the part of a murderer it is necessary to have murdered some one off the stage; but it is obvious that the power of expression, mimetic or otherwise, must be derived from actual feeling, and that the line of distinction between the character of the actor and the character of his acting is very often a nice one. It is, for instance, hardly possible to conceive of a frivolous person ever succeeding in conceiving a part like *Hamlet* or *Lady Macbeth*, yet we cannot infer frivolity from the fact that an actor failed in either of these parts. So in *Phèdre* it would be grossly unfair to Mlle. Bernhardt to infer from her acting of the part that she was deficient in passion, as some critics have suggested. Her passionate scenes are invariably her best. What she does lack, as we suggested last week, is sustained force of emotion, which creates absorption in her part and gives rise to a genuine illusion. This is the essence of all great tragic acting. It could be seen to perfection, even in her old age, in such an actress as Ristori. In her *Medea* she struggles with disadvantages which do not exist in the case of Mlle. Bernhardt. She played in a language less familiar to her audience than French, and she played a young part at an age when most actresses abandon the stage. Yet her absorption and sustained power were so great that in the scene with her children we certainly saw the real *Medea* before us.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1880.

The Week.

THE Message of a retiring President is interesting mainly for the information it gives. Its recommendations usually make little impression, and to this President Hayes's will furnish no exception. He opens by calling the attention of foreign nations to the fact that the American people peacefully accept the decision of the majority at a Presidential election, and thinks this will satisfy all persons at home and abroad that government based on "the free consent of an intelligent and patriotic people" is stronger than any other. He greatly weakens the effect of this spectacle, however, by going to work in the next sentence to castigate the Southern whites for depriving the colored voters of the rights of citizenship in disobedience to the Constitution; he recommends Congress to investigate thoroughly all contested elections at the South, and also to vote money in aid of popular education in the same region; and then comes to civil-service reform, to which he devotes much space. He adheres to all his former utterances about "the dangers of patronage" and appointments for partisan considerations; describes and praises the working of the system of competitive examinations in certain custom-houses and post-offices; excuses his failure to extend the system by the plea of want of money, and recommends an appropriation of $25,000 to meet the expenses of a commission to devise a uniform system of competitive examinations and supervise its application; and denounces the interference of Congress with the Executive in the matter of patronage. Towards Mormon polygamy he takes a position of unusual sternness and severity, and proposes that, as the laws against polygamy cannot be executed, owing to the sympathy of Mormon jurors with the criminals, a reorganization of the Territory of Utah should take place, by giving the government to a governor and judges or commissioners, appointed by the President; but if the existing form is upheld he recommends that no polygamous Mormon be allowed to sit on a jury. He reports the fishery dispute with Great Britain to be in a fair way to adjustment, through the British acknowledgment of our right to compensation for the Fortune Bay outrage, and assent to the proposal that the regulation of the inshore fisheries secured to the United States by the Treaty of Washington should be made the subject of conference between the two Governments. Of our relations with all other states he gives a most satisfactory account. As a means of extending American commerce he advises increased steam postal communication with foreign countries, "and the frequent circulation of naval ships in the seas and ports of all quarters of the globe." This last is the only startling piece of advice in the message, and we hope no attempt will be made to follow it without careful deliberation. As to finance, he recommends the withdrawal and cancellation of the outstanding legal tenders, and the recoinage of the silver dollar, with such addition to its weight as will make it equal in value to the gold dollar. Against the attempt to keep up a double standard he says nothing. His last important suggestion is that General Grant be made a "captain-general," with a suitable salary for life.

The most important feature of the report of the Secretary of the Treasury is, of course, his recommendations, as coming from a financier who has succeeded in his undertakings, and these very considerable ones. He estimates the revenue of the coming fiscal year at $350,000,000, and the expenditure at $301,554,722, including the payments to the Sinking Fund, leaving a surplus of nearly $50,000,000. Without the Sinking Fund the surplus would be over $90,000,000. If Congress should see in this plethora a reason for reducing the taxes, he recommends that all internal-revenue taxes except those on banks, spirits, tobacco, and fermented liquors be abolished. $687,350,000 of five and six per cent. bonds fall due or become redeemable in 1881. Fifty millions of these Mr. Sherman proposes to meet out of the surplus revenue. The remaining $637,350,000 he could meet in part by the sale of four per cent. bonds now authorized by law, and which he could sell at a large premium, but there are not enough of them. For the difference he proposes to provide by the issue of $400,000,000 of Treasury notes having from one to ten years to run, bearing four per cent. interest, and in denominations so small as to furnish a convenient deposit for popular savings; and also the issue of $400,000,000 of bonds bearing three dollars and sixty-five cents interest. This would be in all considerably more than the amount of the debt maturing next year, but the amount of either notes or bonds to be sold would be left discretionary with the Secretary.

Mr. Sherman reiterates his belief that the amount of greenbacks now in circulation can be kept redeemable at par, but he also reiterates his recommendation that they be deprived of their legal-tender quality, which he maintains adds nothing to their value. He justifies his desire to keep them afloat, in which he runs directly counter to the recommendations of his chief, by the fact that they save $7,000,000 annually in interest, and furnish a safe and convenient medium of exchange. He laments the failure of the Government to get more than 35 per cent. of the silver dollars into circulation, and repels the charge of "unfriendliness to silver" by showing that he has offered to place silver in the hands of the people throughout the country without expense for transportation. In fact, he seems to have done everything to get it afloat except to offer a premium. He now advises, as the best escape from the difficulty, the raising of the silver dollar to par with the gold dollar by putting 456.3 grains of silver into it. The effect of this measure, he says, would be to make our gold and silver coins "the best international standards of value known." He does not say, however, in what manner this would facilitate the circulation of silver. As long as the silver dollar is no more valuable than the gold dollar it will be avoided in home transactions even more persistently than it is now because of its bulk and weight. If it were made more valuable, our gold would at once take flight to countries in which gold only is a legal tender, while all the spare silver of the earth would be sent here. In fact, Mr. Sherman's way out of the difficulty has the great merit of honesty, but no other. The trouble he is likely to have in satisfying the silver-men may, however, be inferred from the fact that one of the chiefs, the editor of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, after passing a year in furious promulgation of the passionate desire of the American people for their "fathers' dollar" in daily use, and their preference of it to gold, now boldly meets the failure of silver to get into circulation by asking whether gold gets into circulation, whether there is not a great deal of *it* lying uncalled for in the Treasury vaults? With agitators of this sort it is, of course, hard for a finance minister to know how to deal.

Secretary Schurz's report is mainly devoted to Indian affairs, and inspires regret that its author is not to continue for another four years to control the experiments begun during his administration, and so full of promise and encouragement. He confesses that he at first fell into the traditional policy of keeping the Indians secluded and guarded on great reservations, but has learned that the shortest, most certain, and most humane solution of the problem lies in making the Indians self-supporting as agriculturists and mechanics, and owners of land in fee simple, inalienable, however, for a term of years; in policing them from their own number; in educating their children at distant industrial schools at the Government expense; in making them amenable to the laws of the State or Territory they inhabit, and thus giving a finishing blow to the tribal system. Most of these measures are already in gratifying operation, and Congress is urged to take up and enact bills already submitted by the Interior Department touching the ownership and inalienability of the land, and the jurisdiction of the local courts. In the past four years the agricultural labor of the Indians has been more than doubled in quantity and value, the total area under cultivation being last year 482,738 acres; the Indian freighters have employed this year nearly 2,000 freight wagons; the number of Indian youths learning trades at the agency workshops has grown in twelve months from 185 to 358. The Indian police at forty agencies now consists of 162 officers and 653 privates. Indians have been employed as brickmakers, housebuilders, machinists, and even as foremen, and show no little mechanical apti-

tude. Their anxiety to have their children civilized ensures the latter against relapsing into savage ways when they return to their homes; the old obstructive spirit has disappeared. Mr. Schurz concludes that "the Indian situation is now more hopeful than ever before." He shows the perplexities of the Indian administration by describing the two opposite currents of public sentiment—that of the Far West and the border, which holds that the Indian will not work and is an obstacle to be got rid of; that of the Far East—most remote "from the ground where the Indian problem has to be solved"—which would turn the Indian loose without further preparation. He seems to imply that the latter is the more difficult to deal with. In regard to the proper place of the Indian Bureau, he still maintains that a civil is preferable to a military management.

Nearly four million dollars of foreign specie arrived during the week, and the rates for foreign exchange at the close warranted further imports. Notwithstanding these arrivals, the New York money market was stringent to a degree not witnessed for years, as high as three-eighths of one per cent. per day, in addition to six per cent. per annum, having been paid for money by stock brokers. The banks contracted their loans nearly $8,000,000, and even then fell short of bringing their credits into proper relation with their resources by the sum of nearly $2,400,000. This condition of the money market was due indirectly to the large legitimate demand for money all over the country, the volume of business being unprecedented in amount, and to the expansion of speculation in stocks, cotton, breadstuffs, and provisions; and directly to the management of a few large Wall-Street speculators who control from ten to fifteen millions of dollars, or enough to hold the balance of power in the loan market. As a result of the stringency, there was a yielding in speculative prices all around, which in turn brought on the liquidation of speculative accounts dependent on borrowed money. The meeting of Congress, with the President's Message and the reports of the Departments, had little influence on the various markets, as the Administration and Congress are notoriously not in accord on any of the business questions subject to legislation, and the recommendations of the Administration do not, therefore, surely foreshadow what legislation will pass. On refunding, the House is understood to be in favor of a long 3 per cent. bond, while Secretary Sherman recommends short-date 4 per cent. notes or bonds and long-date 3.65 bonds. The President recommends paying and cancelling the legal-tender notes; Secretary Sherman recommends depriving them of their legal-tender quality, but keeping them as currency; while Congress is in favor of neither of these propositions. Respecting silver, the Administration recommends stopping the coinage of 412½-grain dollars, now worth less than 87 cents, or, that failing, that Congress shall put 100 cents' worth of silver, at its present price, into the dollar. It is not believed that Congress has yet fully regained its head on this question. Whether taxes should be kept up so as to continue to produce a large surplus to use in extinguishing the debt, appears to be an open question. In London the price of silver closed at 51⅛*d.* per ounce, and here the "dollar of the fathers" had a bullion value at the close of $0.8643.

The Grand Jury has found true bills against the proprietor and editors of *Truth* for the publication of the Morey letter and articles upon it. It is a pity that Judge Davis's dictum, that to ascribe to General Garfield the sentiments contained in the letter, even in a legitimate way, would be libellous, cannot be submitted to a jury. If it be libellous to say in a canvass that a candidate is in favor of Chinese immigration in order to keep wages down, editors of newspapers ought to know it. The Chief-Justice of the Irish Queen's Bench, by the way, has got himself into much the same sort of scrape as Judge Davis. In refusing an application for the postponement of the Land-League trials the contemplation of Parnell seems to have produced somewhat the same effect on him as the contemplation of Hewitt on Judge Davis. He therefore not only denied the motion, but made a ferocious attack on the defendants, and substantially pronounced them guilty of the offence for which they are shortly to be tried before him. Like Judge Davis, he looks on himself as a guardian of the public morals, and the bench as something in the nature of a pulpit. The incident has, of course, greatly helped the Land-Leaguers, and has called down on the Chief-Justice much indignation in England as well as Ireland. The worst of it is that it will help to deprive the judicial proceedings of all moral weight if the Leaguers are found guilty.

When one reads General Garfield's speech to the Ohio Presidential electors one cannot help rejoicing that the time for election oratory has gone by. The ethical notions he produced on this occasion were of the most extraordinary kind. He laid it down, among other things, that the duty imposed on the Presidential elector to vote for the man designated by the party for the Presidency was "the most solemn obligation of obedience *which can be conceived*, except that which the God of the universe might impose on him." "The God of the universe" has, however, imposed on the Presidential electors already certain obligations with which the commands of General Garfield's "august sovereign" and "omnipotent sovereign," the majority of the American people, might conflict, and in laying down the moral law of their business it would have been well to take notice of this notorious fact. The "august sovereign," for instance, cannot authorize anybody to carry out a fraud, and yet he might readily be led to try to do so. In other words, the majority is sometimes wrong both morally and intellectually, and he is not a good public servant who talks as if this were an impossibility. Later in the same discourse General Garfield talks of this "great political sovereign having laid his commands upon him, and of his being bound by his will and his great inspiration and purpose, as he could be by any consideration that this earth can impose upon any human being." We are not sure that we know what this means, but every one must regret the growing tendency of which it is an illustration to import into American politics the terms of abasement in which the subjects of Oriental despots have from time immemorial described their relations to their political ruler. No good can come to any community from any man's thinking of himself or talking of himself as the abject creature which General Garfield here describes himself. It is, however, made somewhat ludicrous by the fact that if twelve thousand voters in New York had voted the other way General Garfield's "august sovereign" and "omnipotent sovereign" would have "laid his commands" on another man, and would have refused to employ the Gene ral in any place of trust, and the latter would have been described in the newspapers as a misguided and unfortunate person, who was suffering the consequence of his own follies. These stump deities are not, after all, very powerful or trustworthy gods.

The agitation which has resulted in establishing the Civil-Service Reform Association has had its natural effect in encouraging the press to speak out boldly and sympathetically upon the subject. We see on all sides proof that the advocates of the reform in Congress will not lack outside support for any genuine enactment. Still more gratifying and unexpected was the action of two legislatures during the week, in South Carolina and Vermont—the former, by the way, leading off—by which the Senators and Representatives of those States were exhorted and instructed to promote the reform in question. These resolutions were, we believe, entirely spontaneous, and would be none the less significant even if it should appear that some one member, more zealous than the rest, was really responsible for their introduction and passage. That would show the force of the mere statement of the objects of the reform, which is in fact irresistible to all disinterested minds. There was an old custom which used to prevail fifty or sixty years ago on occasions like these, and which might usefully be revived—we mean the frequent formal transmission of the acts and proposals of one legislature to all the others in the Union, through the medium of the Governor, for the sake of a comparison of views, as, for instance, with reference to a Constitutional amendment, etc. We hope that the next Legislature which follows the example of Vermont and South Carolina, will couple its resolutions with instructions to the Governor to communicate them in this manner.

The appointment of an army officer, General W. B. Hazen, to succeed the late General Myer as chief of the Signal-Service Bureau confirms what we said last week as to the prevailing apathy on this important subject. In this apathy the President is as much involved, it seems, as the public. It is unnecessary to state that General Hazen has never been distinguished as a meteorologist or for his relations to science and scientific men, and has had no previous connection with the

Bureau which he will henceforth superintend. It will not even be maintained that his qualifications are superior to those of any candidate mentioned in the late competition. On the other hand, scientifically speaking, he is perhaps inferior to his predecessor only in experience; his executive ability remains to be proved. The motives of his selection it is needless to discuss, though the geographical are at least as obvious as any. We see what kind of influences can be brought to bear on the President when we hear credible rumors that General O. O. Howard is to displace General Schofield at West Point, undoubtedly in order to secure a "philanthropic" administration of the Academy.

Both the present Comptroller and his predecessor have testified this week before the Legislative Committee now engaged in the usual municipal enquiry. They seem to be in but slight accord, and indeed the two men differ so completely that their views of municipal administration could not be expected to be harmonious. Mr. Green was remarkable for his intimate acquaintance with his colleagues' duties and their remissness in the discharge of them, as they themselves were on all occasions ready to testify. Since his retirement his interest in city affairs, it appears from his testimony, has been maintained at white heat, and he thinks his successor spends about two-fifths too much money by employing unnecessary clerks. Mr. Kelly, on the other hand, is anything but a "marplot," or we feel sure that the *Herald*, which has for a month displayed great enterprise in investigating his character and career, would have discovered it. He is apparently entirely content with the municipal *status quo*, provided his own department be let alone, and seems to know rather less and have fewer suggestions to make concerning possible reforms in the various bureaus than an ordinary citizen. His answer to Mr. Green's charge was that when he first became Comptroller he had four months' arrears of work to get made up—which is not satisfactory. The Aldermen are not overpaid, he thought, considering the labor they perform—which sounds humorous—and the large amounts they have to pay to get elected—which betrays a kind heart but really no head for public affairs.

Mr. Robert Collyer delivered a sermon last Sunday on the "newspaper," which for some years back has been a favorite topic with clergymen, and which they usually handle in a way that calls for the unqualified approval of the editors the next day. What was most remarkable in the discourse was the indications it contained of the tendency, now not uncommon, to attribute to the newspaper some kind of mystic power, as if telling a thing to fifty thousand persons simultaneously gave it a force or value which it would not have if told to only one person—the fact being that in journalism, as in other things, no machine has more force than is put into it. If twenty men unite to publish a newspaper, their utterances will be the utterances of these twenty and nothing more, no matter how powerful the trumpet through which they shout; and it seems to us that the pulpit would in treating of the press do more good by keeping the world in mind of this fact than by spreading the belief that when a man begins to edit a newspaper any preternatural wisdom or grace comes down upon him. Journalism is a large business with much capital in it, but it is a purely human business, and is conducted on much the same principles as the dry-goods business, though supplying an article in more general and constant demand, and has nothing more sacred about it, even in its loftiest aspect, than any large publishing business. The admiring way in which many ministers allow their imagination to play around the newspaper press is, however, in a certain sense a returning of good for evil, because we doubt if anything in our day does more to bring the pulpit into discredit than the newspaper reports of sermons. Précis-writing is a difficult art, as every one who has tried it knows, and of few compositions is it more difficult to make précis than sermons. As the work is done by the reporters, it makes the utterances of the pulpit seem vapid and incoherent in a way which, we have no doubt, most ministers find mortifying and would complain of if they dared.

The Germans are still occupied with the Jewish question. The report of the debate in the Prussian Landtag on what is called the anti Semitic petition has come out, and it can hardly be said to have a serious sound. The principal figure in it was Herr Stoecker, the court chaplain, and one of the leaders of the "Christian Socialist" movement, which has for its object the reconciliation of the Socialists with Christianity. He seems to be thoroughly in earnest, and yet his speech in places sounded like a burlesque, as when he said that in carrying on his warfare against the Jews he "desired nothing but peace," and he was persuaded that the result of these debates would be peace; not the bad and doubtful peace in which they had been living in Berlin until now, pursued like wild beasts, but the honorable peace of adversaries, who respect each other and fight with arms of courtesy. As a matter of fact, nothing was brought out in the debate against the Jews except the fact that they succeed in a remarkable degree in the lawful callings which are open to every German, or, in other words, that they are very useful citizens, and for this, whatever the mortification it involves, there is of course no legal remedy to which a resort would not put Germany outside the pale of civilization. The best defence of the Jews in the Landtag was made by one of their own number, Herr Meyer, from Breslau, who attacked the Government very warmly for giving covert support to the agitation, and he met the assertion that the Jews are becoming dangerous, owing to the increase of their number through immigration, by a flat denial of the increase. He cited the statistician Neumann to show that during certain periods the emigration of Jews had been larger (in proportion) than the emigration of Christians; that the immigration of Jews has not been greater than the immigration of Christians, and that the immigration of Jews on the eastern side, that is, from Russia and Poland, is smaller than the immigration on the western and northern side. He said the number of immigrant Jews in Germany was to-day smaller than the number of immigrant Dutchmen and Scandinavians, and finally that there were now in Germany only 100,000 more Jews than there were fifty years ago. He met the complaint that Jews so seldom engage in any kind of hard manual labor by alleging that the master-mechanics refuse to take Jewish apprentices. He also warned his opponents that if the Germans made race or origin a reason for persecuting the Jews, or denying them equal chances in commercial or political careers, the same weapon might be used against the Germans who emigrate in such numbers to make their fortunes on foreign soil.

The agitation in Ireland seems to grow, and the practice of "Boycotting," or excluding persons from all intercourse, commercial or other, is spreading, owing to its success in Captain Boycott's case, and is, of course, likely to be used for worse purposes than the improvement of the land tenure, and on people less culpable than he. The organization of the Land League, too, is rapidly extending over the country, and is being turned to very practical account in uniting all the tenants on particular estates in refusing to pay more rent than would be due on what is known as the "Griffith Valuation," which was made some forty years ago as a basis for the rates for the support of the poor, and was even then confessedly much below the value of the land for farming purposes. Of course against a union of this sort the landlord has no real remedy. It is a kind of strike which he cannot meet without ruin. The rumors of dissensions in the Cabinet do not gain strength, but it is more and more certain that the Irish Land Bill to be introduced will be very radical in its character, and will lead to the most exciting debates since the Reform Bill. Mr. Parnell's talk continues to be more reckless than ever, but probably on grounds of policy of some kind best understood by himself. A movement has been started on this side of the water to raise money to send General Butler and other American counsel over to defend the Land-Leaguers in the coming trials, but we trust the poor men and women who will advance the "fund" which is to pay the expense will hold on to their dollars; first, because American counsel could not appear in the Irish courts; and, secondly, because if they could, they would do their clients no good in a legal way. Their speeches would be stump speeches which they might just as well deliver in a hall in Dublin, or even here. Whatever effect can be produced on the jury by this sort of thing will be readily produced by the Irish lawyers; while, if the jury be at all hostile, "Ben" Butler's pleasing manners and appearance would certainly not mollify them.

THE DANGER OF AN "ARISTOCRACY OF OFFICE-HOLDERS."

THERE is at last very good reason for believing that the reform of the civil service is likely to become very speedily a real question in the political arena, and that during the next four years we shall see one or other, if not both, of the political parties taking some definite ground about it, and making it a subject of discussion with a view to some action about it. There are already many signs that the Democrats will use it as an "issue," partly for want of anything better, and partly in sheer despair of ever getting back to power without depriving their adversaries of the powerful defence now furnished by the use of the Government employés as electioneering agents. The great advantage of this to the friends of the reform will lie in the fact that it will for the first time make known the exact condition of the public mind on the subject, by calling out from the newspapers and orators a statement of the objections entertained to the proposed changes, both by those who have bestowed some thought on the matter and by those who have bestowed none. Until these objections are produced no discussion of the subject can bear much fruit, for it is not less true of political than of legal enquiries that the truth is best elicited and people's ideas most readily clarified by attack and defence. Hitherto the politicians proper have either kept silent on the matter altogether or have treated it with simple ridicule as a mere dream of a few visionaries, which it was hardly worth while for persons with practical work to do to examine. The mass of the voters, on the other hand, are not much given to political speculation at all, and have not a great deal of time for even necessary political action, and are generally content to have the subjects which they have to examine and make up their minds upon supplied to them from year to year by the party managers and their newspaper organs. If civil-service reform now comes down to them from these sources, as a thing to be disposed of in some way at the polls and in Congress, there will be for the first time an opportunity of securing close popular attention for an explanation of what is meant by it, and for answers to such objections to any change in the present system as most readily suggest themselves to the mind of a plain man who has heard it more or less talked about, but has not seriously considered it.

If we may judge from such hostile utterances as have already appeared in Republican newspapers, and from the letters we have ourselves received, the objection which first suggests itself to such a man, in advance of all examination of details, is that even the modified form of permanence in office known as tenure during good behavior, which civil-service reformers insist upon, would result in the creation of an odious official class, or "aristocracy of office-holders." We cannot do better than cite from one of these letters a description of the kind of class which it is supposed this would be. "The people mean by this" (aristocracy of office-holders), says the writer, "that a continuation in office of the same set of men creates in the mind of the office-holder the idea that he owns the office, and, instead of being a public servant, he becomes a master, haughty towards those whom he ought to serve. Is it not quite a general experience with office-holders of long standing that they are apt to become somewhat overbearing? I am inclined to think that the people view it in that light, and my opinion is based upon conversation with men of ordinary position in society, who make our majorities for us, who must be educated to whatever of good there is in the reform idea, and must be consulted as to its adoption, if the reform ever becomes permanently engrafted upon our Government and administration."

That this idea is widely prevalent there is no doubt, and that it is, if well founded, a fair and weighty objection to permanence in office, we do not deny. We can well understand the state of mind which prefers the abuses of the present system to greater administrative efficiency at the hands of an insolent bureaucracy. The difficulty of meeting the objection would be very great if the American people had had any experience of such a class of office-holders as our correspondent describes. If, for instance, our present system of appointment for short terms on the nomination of the senators and representatives of the party in power, as a reward for electioneering activity, had been substituted for the system of appointment for fitness with a permanent tenure, as the result of popular irritation caused by the effect of a permanent tenure on official manners, we confess that we should not be willing to take part in any agitation for a return to the old régime. We should admit that, great as might be the abuses of the present régime, it was so clearly the one best adapted to the conditions of American society that we must make the best of it, just as we make the best of the many manifest drawbacks on universal suffrage. As a matter of fact, has the American people had any such experience? Was appointment by senators and representatives for short terms of uncertain length, as a reward for electioneering activity, substituted for appointment for fitness with tenure during good behavior, under the influence of popular impatience with official insolence? This is not a question which one needs historical lore or critical acumen to answer. The change was not made in the early days before newspapers. It took place at a period within the memory of men now living. There are in all departments of the Government officers who were appointed under the old system, so that there is not and cannot be any difficulty in ascertaining the causes which led to the change, and the precise manner in which it was brought about. There is no period of American history about which so much is known, and which is so conspicuous, except the war period, as that in which the "spoils system" was introduced. If it was introduced as a deliberate and prepared plan of adapting the administrative machinery of the Government to the natural prejudices and susceptibilities of the American people, and as a means of ridding the community of the incubus of an overbearing official aristocracy, we would certainly not waste our time or trespass on the patience of our readers by advocating a return to ways which have been tried and condemned. If the Americans of 1830 found that permanence in office produced a body of haughty bureaucrats who acted as if they owned the offices, and as if they were the masters of those whom they were paid to serve, we should not have a word more to say.

Our answer is, however, that the American people has had no such experience; that the old system did not produce an insolent official aristocracy; that it was not overthrown for any such reason, or for any fault found with the character or manners of the office-holders under it; that nobody even pretended that it was; that the history of the time contains no allusion to any such argument against it; that the people were not consulted about the change, and expressed no opinion or desire about it; that there is abundant proof that the change was, on the contrary, considered mischievous and scandalous, and was denounced as likely to have a degrading effect on American institutions and political manners, and was universally believed to have been effected for the purpose of enabling politicians of the dominant party to reward those who had served them effectively in their canvass. If any of our readers can produce any evidence, historical or other, in opposition to this view, we shall be glad to publish it.

If we are right in the foregoing assertions, the dread of a permanence in office, on the score of its effect on the manners of office-holders, and on their view of their relations to the public, must be simply an *à priori* deduction from observation of human nature, or else an inference drawn from what is known or supposed to be the result of permanence in the civil service of foreign countries. If the former, what is meant by it is that security in any position begets independence of feeling, and that security coupled with power begets insolence or "haughtiness." There is a certain foundation of truth in this. A body of office-holders holding their offices as property, as the French judges used to hold theirs, would probably soon become intolerable in any free community. But it is to be observed that the civil-service reformers do not propose any such tenure of office. They propose tenure during good behavior, and good behavior in a properly administered civil service would include civil treatment of the public, which it would be the duty of an officer's superiors to enforce. These superiors would owe their offices to election, and it would be a fair and probably strong charge against any Administration that it permitted its subordinate employés to be insolent in their demeanor to the persons with whom they had to do business, just as it is a fair and strong charge against an Administration now that it permits its employés to take bribes, steal, or loaf in business hours. But here again it is allowable to return to our former argument, and ask in what respect this guarantee for good behavior towards the public would be inferior to that which now exists? Under the present system the officer in the Federal service

is no more dependent on the public than he is in Turkey or Spain—not nearly so much so as in England, France, and Germany. In the first place, he does not owe his appointment to qualifications or achievements which the public has in any way prescribed, or which it admires or appreciates, or which it would, if left to itself, in any way reward. In fact, as a general rule, the class who now seek and get places in the public service are persons who have failed or think they are likely to fail in making their way among the people in ordinary pursuits, and the talents they bring into the commercial or professional labor market are talents for which in that market there is little or no demand. In the next place, there is no consideration whatever in making the appointment—there are, of course, exceptions to this rule—whether the appointee possesses the qualities of character and of manner which are likely to make him acceptable to the business community with which his duties may bring him into contact. The senator or representative who nominates or recommends him, or, as it is called in Washington, his "influence," does not think of these things at all in nominating or recommending him. And no complaints of his manners would, if he were valuable as a "worker," have any more effect in endangering his tenure than they would in the Prussian service. In the third place, when he is appointed every possible pains is taken to impress upon him the fact that he is not the servant of the *whole* people, but only of that portion of it constituting the party in power—at present about one-half; the remainder he is literally trained to dislike and despise, and treat as of little account. Nay, the very fact that this half complains of something in his conduct is to him a good reason for thinking it something to be cherished and persisted in. No official, for instance, in the bureaucratic countries of Europe—say Germany and France—ever considers himself the enemy of a large portion of the community with the fervor with which a Republican official in the United States to-day considers himself the enemy of the Democrats. Indeed, the latter retains so little sense of the fact that he draws half of his salary from them that he contributes more of it than he can afford to be used in helping to defeat them at elections. We have for the moment exhausted our space, but we have said enough to show that the present system, whatever its merits, has not the merit of making the office-holder feel his dependence on the people and of reminding him of the fact that he is a public servant. It seems, on the contrary, to have been carefully framed with the view of banishing his proper relation to the people from his mind—first, by the mode in which he procures his place; secondly, by the nature of the services exacted from him; and, thirdly, by the use made of the assessments levied on his salary. We shall return to the subject.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ENGLISH ON THE IRISH LAND QUESTION.

MR. CAIRD, the well-known English authority on agricultural questions, has been delivering an address before the Statistical Society in London on the English land question, which, coming from such a source, throws a good deal of light on one of the most interesting economical revolutions of our time—interesting because it really promises social and political changes of the most startling kind. He gives it as his opinion that the hopeful view taken by Mr. Pell and Mr. Read of the prospects of American agriculture—hopeful, we mean, from the standpoint of the English farmer—is not sustained by the facts; that the immense and growing volume of the American grain yield, combined with the increasing cheapness of transportation, is likely to make successful English competition in English markets impossible for a practically unlimited period. He reminded his hearers, too, that into this contest European countries enter with the burden of heavy taxation, large standing armies, and numerous differences of laws and language. They are contending with what may be considered a homogeneous people, which has no standing army, and which every year sees its taxation lightened by the mere rapid increase of population. Some of the effects of this on English land-owning, already visible, are very striking. He mentions the occurrence in September last in one district of one county of one hundred sales of farming stock by tenants who were throwing up farms containing 55,000 acres of land. In every county, he says, one meets with instances of considerable estates with six or eight farms thrown on the landlord's hands, and he says that certain localities can be named where within a mile or two of thriving towns there are hundreds of acres of clay land entirely deserted, and on which there has not been a furrow turned for two years. In fact, he sees no hope for the corn lands or the clay lands, or for inferior soils generally, except by a resort to cattle-raising and market-gardening and the like, and he alleges that Ireland, having taken to cattle-raising already, has suffered from the present crisis much less than England. Commenting on all this the London *Spectator* estimates the fall in the value of land in England at twenty-five per cent., and the fall in net incomes—after the fixed charges in the way of family settlements and interest on mortages are paid—at nearly one-half. The result is that the smaller squires have had in considerable numbers to quit their houses, and live in seclusion at watering-places or on the Continent, to cut down their expenses and stop improvements, or, in other words, virtually to abandon their place in English society. All the amusements which the land-owning class supported, such as the turf and the hunting-field, are showing in a greater or less degree the effect of the American competition. The recent fall in racing stock has astonished the sporting world.

Mr. Caird predicts not only a change in the methods of agriculture, but a great increase in the number of small proprietors and in the number of large proprietors farming their own land, and the release of the class of "life-owners," to which the bulk of English landed proprietors belong, from the legal restrictions which now prevent their dealing freely with the land, and the simplification of land transfers. If half what he predicts comes true, the change it will effect in the structure of English society will be great indeed. On this he does not touch, but the *Spectator* discusses it at some length, and comes to the conclusion that the very great proprietors will hold on to the land they have got as an enjoyable luxury, whether it pays them much or not; that the manor-houses and parks of the next class of squires will be bought by rich men from the cities merely as agreeable places of residence, while the farming lands will be sold in lots to actual cultivators; that the third class will emigrate to the colonies, and the last will either disappear altogether or become simple farmers of their own land, thinking much of their crops, but nothing of social dignity or political power, or of interest on their money.

Of course, a great deal of this prediction may turn out erroneous; but, judging from the experience of other countries, it would seem as if English observers underestimated the gravity of the change which is before them and the extent to which it will go. To the English mind for the last five hundred years "the landed interest" has seemed one of the most solid and permanent and impregnable of human institutions—something in the nature of "the bed-rock" of human society—and nobody can yet say what the effect on it will be of finding that even the land is not stable, and of seeing the heirs of long-descended estates "burst up" like stock speculators. That the strong conservatism of the British temper will resist this spectacle is something of which only the very rash will feel sure. When the opinion of small farmers begins to be felt in politics, we may rely upon it that a great deal of what may be called the splendor of the British Government will not seem by any means so indispensable to them as it has seemed to the class by which English institutions have been built up, and which is now, from all we hear, rapidly losing its hold on power, and, of course, its influence on public opinion and on the standards of public decency and dignity.

In fact, the land question, both in England and Ireland, is simply a question of cutting down what may be called the national expenses. As long as foreign competition was kept down by distance, both countries were or seemed to be able to afford the maintenance of an ornamental class, which contributed nothing to the national production beyond some very trifling superintendence of agriculture. Its services as unpaid legislators have undoubtedly been valuable, and its pecuniary independence, in spite of some periods of great corruption, has done much to make possible the present great purity of English public life. But its political services to the country have of late years, as society grew more complicated and the temptations to pleasure-seeking more numerous, rapidly declined in value, and the agricultural revolution has converted it into an unattainable luxury. In Ireland this land-owning class reached this position long ago. It may be said, in-

deed, that Ireland has not for a century been able to afford landlords. In other words, few Irish farms have been able to furnish the family of the actual cultivator with a comfortable subsistence and leave something over to be contributed to the support of another family in a certain ease. In England, owing to the greater abundance of capital and the existence of manufactures, the landlord has been compelled to put up with a smaller share, because the farmer's standard of living was higher and his traditions of comfort and respectability so strong that no landlord could compel him to lower them in order to pay a greater rent. In Ireland the landlords have had to deal with a much more dependent class, and a class with a standard of living almost as low as it was in the seventeenth century, and who, in the absence of all other resource, have always been ready to promise to pay any rent in order to escape ejectment. The result has been that, on the whole, the Irish landlords have obtained a far larger proportion of the farming products of the country than their English brethren, and thus have been much more of a luxury. The discontent of the peasantry, shocking as are some of the ways in which it shows itself, is really, therefore, an expression of what seems to be the undeniable economical fact, that most Irish farms can only maintain one family in decency, and that a great many of them cannot even do that. One of the most comic of Lord Beaconsfield's contributions to political economy was his assertion at a dinner, when this land question first began to show itself, that there was no getting rid of landlords—that they were an essential part of every system of agriculture; each farm *had* to support three persons—the man who owned it, the man who cultivated it, and the man who labored on it for hire. This was a good deal laughed at, but it was a crude utterance of an idea which until now has had a firm lodgment, in a vague shape it is true, in the minds of ninety-nine Englishmen out of every hundred. Its falsity has long been apparent here, ever since the peopling of the great West drove the farms on our eastern coast out of the grain market. Unfortunate Ireland has long furnished a terrible illustration of this falsity, but it would probably never have been recognized in England, as regards Ireland, as it now begins to be, at least by the Liberals, but for the light let in on the land problem by the American agricultural competition. It is this which is causing Irish grievances to receive an amount of thoughtful consideration in England which has never before been bestowed on them, in spite of the provocation to deafness and repression offered by the excesses and follies of the Land League. It is making Englishmen ask themselves for the first time in their history whether country gentlemen and absentee landed proprietors are things which a community like Ireland can indulge in in its present industrial condition. Of course they would not ask themselves this if they had not previously abandoned the belief that the three interests in land were part of the primordial foundations of human society.

THE DECREES AGAINST THE CONGREGATIONS IN FRANCE.

PARIS, November 17, 1880.

THE last session of the Chamber elected in 1877 has opened in a very stormy manner. The facts being known to you I will simply point out their general bearing, so that you may be able to estimate aright our present situation in home affairs, and what may be expected to ensue from it. It must be acknowledged that party spirit runs high; at times it is aroused to fury. This exasperation, which is not without danger, may be justly attributed to the execution of the Second Decree concerning the unauthorized congregations. As I have already stated, although in conformity with the letter of the French law, the Second Decree was none the less a serious political error; the feeling in all other free countries with respect to it was not a mistaken one. The French Republic had other means at its disposal of contending against Ultramontanism, preferable to such as give an appearance of persecution to its proceedings. I maintain that the best of these means was to bring forward a new law on associations, making Government authorization easily obtainable by all societies not constantly conspiring against our institutions; the Government reserving the right of preventing them from reconstituting mortmain property.

In defence of the Government, it must be admitted they could not do otherwise than enforce the decrees for the dissolution of non-authorized religious orders; only they should have hastened their execution and struck the blow simultaneously, before resistance could have been organized. They would thus have avoided the scandalous scenes which have taken place in all parts of the country. It is true this delay proceeded from honorable scruples. The Government always hoped the congregations would finally apply for the authorization required by law, for it must not be forgotten that our so-styled religious martyrs at the very outset placed themselves in an illegal position. Besides, we must not exaggerate their martyrdom: the society once dissolved, its members retain their property and enjoy all their rights as French citizens. They can perform mass in the churches near their convents, and have, in fact, been received with sumptuous hospitality by the Catholic aristocracy. Allow me to relate a familiar little anecdote which will fairly depict the situation of the members of these dissolved communities. I was lately at a Parisian hatter's who is extensively patronized by the clergy. I met there a priest accompanied by a monk. The former was buying a curé's hat for the latter instead of his Jesuit's cap, doubtless with the intention of taking him as his assistant. "That," said I to myself, "is all the efficacy of these famous Decrees of March 29." Was it worth while causing such excitement in France for a mere exchange of hats, since these monks, whether wearing a triangular hat or a square Jesuit's cap, will teach the same doctrines, with the additional prestige of a persecution more seeming than real. The scenes which occurred before the convent doors when the inmates were expelled have produced the liveliest emotion. Doors broken open by the hatchets of soldiers who were obliged to pass through crowds of excited monks forcibly led away by police agents, amidst the passionate protests of their friends—such scenes have no doubt combined to cause great exasperation, and even provoke much indignation amongst a portion of our population. I persist in thinking this is adverse to the interests of the Republic.

On the other hand, this material resistance in convents turned into strongholds is not of a nature to elevate religion in our country; it is only too evident that these religious bodies made common cause with those political parties most inimical to our institutions. How can this be called in question when in all our large towns we find by the side of these monks the leaders of the monarchical coalition, M. Buffet, M. de Broglie, and the most devoted Legitimists—all those who have striven for so many years to bring France back to the "beau régime" which unites the throne and the altar? It was a great mistake on the part of the Dominicans and Capuchins to seek support amongst the cleverest and most zealous leaders of the reactionary party. By so doing did they not show that if at the present time their allies were the most inveterate adversaries of the Republic, they had themselves been accomplices in the attempt to restore the monarchy in France? It must not be forgotten that with us Ultramontanism is never solely a religious movement, but it is at the same time invariably a political faction. Hence it would be wrong to suppose that religious liberty alone is concerned in state measures against Ultramontanism. It is no less certain that great uneasiness pervades the country in consequence of this desperate struggle between the civil power and the religious communities. Civil war was kindled in all hearts, and it was within an ace of breaking out in the streets at Lyons, while at Turcoing, in the Département du Nord, blood was shed. The most serious feature of the case is the league formed by nearly all the secular clergy in favor of the congregations; it includes the French episcopacy, and has received the approbation of Pope Leo XIII. Instead of dying out, as might have been expected after the execution of the decrees, the struggle will be renewed as ardently as before; after a brief delay, the infallible result will be to raise the question of the separation of church and state or the suppression of the "Budget des Cultes."

The session of the two Chambers was opened in a stormy atmosphere. You know that the Ferry Ministry narrowly escaped being overthrown for seeming disposed to defer the bill for the reform of the judicial bench. Many of the judges having in the matter of the decrees passed judgment favorable to the congregations, the Republican majority propose certain reforms, and, although the "Tribunal des Conflits" subsequently took from their jurisdiction the decision on acts of the Administration, the Republican majority are not satisfied; at any cost they wish to suspend the irremovability of magistrates in order to get rid of such as are attached to former parties. The Ministry was only saved by yielding to the will of the Chamber. The only chance the Cabinet has of lasting is the impossibility of replacing it if M. Gambetta intends to await the next election before taking office. One would think that the Republican majority ought to feel the necessity of union in presence of the exasperation of the Right. No one who did not witness the scene enacted at the expulsion of M. Baudry d'Asson can form any idea of the species of delirium tremens which characterizes the Monarchist and Clerical parties. M. Baudry d'Asson had been temporarily excluded from the Chamber in consequence of an insulting remark respecting the Government, the expulsion being in conformity with a formal article of the Regulations, which was ratified by vote of the Chamber. No one was surprised that this Vendean Nimrod, accustomed to chase wolves and boars, as narrow-minded as he is fanatical, should endeavor to make a futile resistance, but what exceeded all expectation was the share gentlemen bearing the highest names—marquises and dukes of the old French aristocracy—had in exciting instead of pacifying him, they themselves collaring, like carters, the soldiers in discharge of their duty.

I was present at the meetings of different clubs during the Commune, but I never heard such furious clamor as rose from benches of the Right during this wrestling match. Vainly do the Royalists try to exculpate themselves by recalling the resistance made by Deputy Manuel and the Left, during the Restoration in 1823; there is no analogy between the two cases. The vote of expulsion against Manuel was an arbitrary one, contrary to the Regulations of the Chamber. His sole offence consisted in having expressed his opinion in moderate terms. His resistance was passive, for, seated on his bench, he awaited the armed force which was to remove him. Neither he nor his friends seized the soldiers by the collar or tore off their epaulettes, as did M. Baudry d'Asson's party. This violence, perpetrated by those who pride themselves on being pre-eminently conservative, shows how deeply political passions are stirred at this moment. The discussion of M. Buffet's interpellation in the Senate furnishes us with another not less conclusive proof. M. Buffet, a serious-minded man, once President of the Cabinet Council, did not hesitate to stigmatize as a crime the application of the Decrees of the 29th of March, amidst the frantic applause of the Right, whose white hairs bristled up like so many war-plumes. Minister Ferry was hooted and almost insulted. Looking on at this outburst of pent-up feeling, one could not refrain from regretting more than ever that M. de Freycinet did not succeed in carrying out the pacific policy he expounded in the senatorial tribune in the discussion which followed M. Buffet's interpellation. One could not help acknowledging he was right when he asked the executors of the Second Decree: "What new friend have you made for the Republic?" The Ministry carried the day in the Senate as in the Chamber; but this victory is no solution of the crisis, and the country is still greatly disturbed. É.

VICTOR HUGO'S 'L'ÂNE.'

PARIS, November 12, 1880.

THE passion for books, or bibliophilism, has never been so intense as it is now in France. There is an old society, called the "Société des Bibliophiles de France," which is constituted on the same principles as the English "Philobiblion." This society of the Bibliophili "majores" is now rivalled by a new society of the Bibliophili "minores," who call themselves modestly the "Société des Amis des Livres." Both societies publish books from time to time, but the new society has devoted itself more particularly to the class of modern writers called the "Romantics," in contradistinction to the old "Classics." It has published and illustrated with much luxury Mérimée's 'Chronique du temps de Charles IX.,' Henri Murger's 'Vie de Bohême,' and a novel of Théophile Gautier's. There are only a hundred copies printed of these editions, and they are all numbered. The next volume which is likely to be published by the "Amis des Livres" is the 'Orientales' of Victor Hugo. The great poet has given his consent; the illustrations will be the work of Gérôme, or, if he cannot undertake this modest task, of M. Benjamin Constant, who has made a reputation for himself by some very remarkable pictures of Oriental life.

It is not rare to hear something of the high prices obtained in the sale of great libraries for the *princeps* editions of the old writers of the fifteenth, sixteenth, or seventeenth century, and for some of the illustrated works of the eighteenth century. Till a very recent period this search for first editions had not extended to the present century; but the "Amis des Livres" having made it their object to bring to light the first editions of the "Romantics," it was soon ascertained, to everybody's surprise, that some of these are already as rare as the rarest books of the old times. There are many reasons for it. Lamartine, for instance, when he published his first 'Méditations,' had only a thousand copies printed, as his editor, not finding the 'Méditations' *dans le goût du jour*, would not print more. These thousand copies were almost all distributed by the poet himself to his friends, the newspapers, the reviews, etc.; many copies were thrown away, many spoiled, many lost, in consequence of all which you cannot secure a good copy of the 'Méditations' in their first edition without paying a very great price for it. We call a good copy an unbound copy, with its original paper cover and with its margin entire. The paper of these first "Romantic" editions is of good quality, much better than paper nowadays, and as books these are generally good books, well printed and carefully corrected. The *fonds* of a Romantic collection will consist chiefly of the original copies of the works of Lamartine, of Victor Hugo, of Alfred de Musset; to these you may add Théophile Gautier, Prosper Mérimée, some works of Stendhal, of Balzac, and of Madame Sand.

It is incredibly difficult to form such a collection, as there is no bibliography of the "Romantics." A few catalogues of public sales can give you some data on the subject, but so far nobody has done for them what has been so ably done in the 'Bibliographie Corneillienne,' in the 'Bibliographie Racinienne,' in the description of the works of Régnard, of Marivaux. We are no longer content with a dictionary like that of Brunet; we wish to have for each great writer a complete description of all his works, in the original and successive editions, made in his lifetime and under his supervision.

It would be no small task to make this description for Victor Hugo, for instance. He has just added a new poem, "L'Âne," to the list of his works, and his poetical vein seems quite inexhaustible. Publishers have now adopted a deplorable plan when they issue a new book: they print, for instance, ten thousand copies, and on the covers of five hundred they put "first edition," on another five hundred "second edition," and so on. If you hurry to buy a new book of this sort you are sometimes offered the tenth edition on the second day of the sale. All these editions are really the same, and all bibliophiles ought to enter a protest against this method, which has been invented simply in order to make it appear to the ignorant public that a book has an extraordinary success. The work of the bibliophile will become very difficult in future if he has to take as separate editions only those in which there is a real difference in the text.

I am afraid there will never be any difficulty in procuring an original copy of 'L'Âne.' Victor Hugo has tried to do what Samson did with the jaw-bone of an ass—he has struck "a thousand men" and made a long war in verse against the Philistines. The ass is now looked upon as a symbol of stupidity and of ignorance; the ancients were more just to him. The patient animal was almost sacred among the early Semitic races; we see man changed into an ass in the old Milesian fables, and afterwards in the novel of Lucius of Patræ and in the 'Metamorphosis' of Apuleius. Balaam's ass is the only animal in the Old Testament endowed by miracle with the power of speech. We find the ass in the mystic stable where the infant Jesus is adored by the angels, the shepherds, and the magi; we find him again carrying Mary and the infant Jesus to Egypt; we find him walking on the palms into Jerusalem. The people see now in the black cross visible on the back of the ass a symbol of this triumphal entry. There is a common legend in many provinces which represents the ass conversing with the ox on Christmas night. The "Feast of the Ass" was celebrated during the Middle Ages in many churches in France—at Rouen, at Beauvais, at Autun. A great ceremony was performed, as the Passion is now played at Ober-Ammergau; a girl carried a new-born child on an ass adorned with the richest clothing; she was let into the choir of the church, and the choristers received him with the famous hymn of Peter of Corbeil:

"Orientis partibus
Adventavit asinus
Pulcher et fortissimus,
Sarcinis aptissimus."

The ass was conducted before a litter and the office was sung. At the end of the mass the priest, instead of singing "Ite missa est," had to bray three times—"ter hihinabit" says the old rubric of the feast, and the people, instead of "Deo gratias," answered three times "Hinham, hinham, hinham." Such ceremonies can, of course, be ridiculed, and to many may seem profane. There is even now every year a "Mass of Saint Hubert" performed at Chantilly, where hounds have been kept from time immemorial for stag-hunting. The master has to bring the oldest dog of the pack into the choir, where the dog is blessed.

The symbolic "ass" of Victor Hugo appears before Kant, the great philosopher; his name is "Patience." He enters into a long criticism of the science with which he has been stuffed. 'L'Âne' is a protest of ignorance, of candid, instinctive, and inspired ignorance, of holy ignorance, against a pedantic, vain, windy science. It is a paraphrase in ponderous hexameters of the beatitude, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven." Hugo's imagination is always prodigious, though it may be said of him "quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus." Fancy, for instance, with him one of those great libraries of old, in which the smallest pamphlets are to be found with the heaviest folios; there they are, like mummies in their tombs, worm-eaten and covered with dust—the great works

"D'où sortent des lueurs, des visions, des songes,
Et des mains que les morts mettent sur les vivants."

This great cemetery is suddenly put in motion; the day of the last judgment begins for all this dead thought. The little pamphlets, the small books take wings; "les livres légers aux pédants redoutables" fix their claws and throw themselves like insects on the massive works in which the theology and philosophy of the old world are buried.

"Je plains l'infortuné qu'une puce escalade,
Si la puce, agitant son stylet radieux,
Saute, atome effrayant, la largeur de la terre
Et la hauteur d'un siècle et se nomme Voltaire."

The "ass" attempts to deliver the human soul from all the knowledge which has enslaved it; he looks for the natural man under the pedant. He sings in verse the charm and purity of the child, he sings the inspired genius which is persecuted by science in authority—Socrates, Galileo, Campanella. A poem like 'L'Âne' cannot be analyzed. It is more like a dream than like anything else. It is a dream in which the notions of time and of space are abolished. My sensations when I came to the end of it resembled somewhat those of a traveller who has been in a railway carriage for three days and three nights in succession. What can remain in a mind which has been tossed for many hours on verses like these?—

"Tout marche au but ; tout sert, il ne faut pas maudire ;
Le bleu sort de la brume et le mieux sort du pire ;
Pas un nuage n'est au hasard repandu,
Pas un pli du rideau du temple n'est perdu ;
L'eternelle splendeur lentement se devoile ;
Laisse passer l'éclipse et tu verras l'étoile !"

And I have chosen from the best, the most lucid and transparent. Many of the verses of 'L'Âne' appear more like a parody of Victor Hugo than like Victor Hugo himself—those which tell of God, who

"Joint l'échelon de nuit aux marchers de lumière,"

and those addressed to the lovers of the past :

"L'ancêtre seul existe, il se nomme Passé ;
Il est l'immense chef vénérable et stupide ;
Sa barbe est la sagesse et le beau c'est sa ride."

There is a terrible monotony in this style ; the hexameter falls like a hammer on a continual antithesis. In this fashion Victor Hugo describes the science of the middle ages, and I wonder from what dictionary he has taken the names of chemists, alchemists, theologians, etc., which are accumulated in his denunciation of forgotten pedants. He has always been a lover of these past names and sounds ; in 'Notre Dame de Paris,' in his first poems, he used largely books which were quite forgotten. His poetical vocabulary was at first drawn from Ronsard. 'L'Âne' seems to me to be a sort of poetical sketch, which had long lain forgotten in some drawer. Hugo found it, and liked it, and gave it its present form, which has something too gigantic and too monstrous. But Hugo is now in what may be called his "monstrous" manner ; the old sculptor can still give life to his statues, but every muscle is contorted, every movement is fanciful ; the ease and grace of youth are gone.

Correspondence.

POE'S TALES OF THE GROTESQUE.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : In your very judicial and judicious notice of recent works on Edgar A. Poe (*Nation*, No. 803) you assume that Mr. Ingram has committed an error in stating that the two-volume collection of 'Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque' made no impression on the public, and in refutation you endorse Mr. Stedman's account of the eager admiration with which it was greeted by himself and his friends. Now, these statements are not irreconcilable, and are doubtless both true. It is perhaps forty years since I have seen the book or read the tales contained in it, and yet I can well remember the impression made on my youthful imagination by the weird and sombre effects so artistically produced in many of them. At the same time they were virtually neglected by the public at large. The book was issued by my predecessors (Lea & Blanchard) in 1839, and a reference to memoranda of that date shows that the edition consisted of but 750 copies, and that it required more than three years to exhaust it. This is certainly not the record of a literary success at a time when the first edition of a novel by Cooper used to consist of 5,000 copies, and it shows that, however much Poe may have been admired by the few who understood and appreciated him, his peculiar genius was as yet caviare to the vulgar.—Very respectfully, Henry C. Lea.

Philadelphia, December, 1880.

FRAUD AND VIOLENCE.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : What a difference it makes whether it is my ox that is gored or yours ! The case supposed by your correspondent "M. C. L."—that of the Republicans being cheated out of a fairly-won victory by gross and palpable fraud—is precisely what happened to the Democrats four years ago. If "the temptation to resist villany by force" did not then lead to bloodshed, it is no thanks to those who successfully carried through the conspiracy. If General Hancock had now been elected by the Morey fraud—as I am very glad he was not—I suppose the Republicans in their turn would have had the good sense to acquiesce. Marcel.

THE DEMOCRATS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : Do you not treat the Democrats rather cavalierly in the matter of civil-service reform ? The history of the party South and various theoretical considerations indicate that they are likely to be in favor of a tenure of office for good behavior. It was a most familiar matter before the war that the South kept their men in office as long as they did well, and sneered at the inefficiency of the extemporaneous Northern public officers. Under the Confederate Constitution the whole civil service held for good behavior, if I remember, and no provision was more applauded at the South.

The most universal political division in peaceful States is between the aggressive middle class who are making their fortunes and the rest of mankind. They grasp at the invested capital of the old, wealthy families with one hand and the wages of the poor with the other, and have them all against them. The aggressive party is, above all things, determined to have its own way, and never likes to tie itself up. The other party is generally controlled by the old, rich members of it, and is cautious, conciliatory, fond of permanent arrangements and provisions. The Republicans are the aggressive party. The Democrats would be much more likely to favor the provision of the Confederate Constitution to which I have referred.

The Democrats, of course, want their share of the offices, and would like to turn out enough Republicans to get them. That is a quite different matter from the permanent regulation of the tenure of office. President Jackson is charged with introducing the "spoils system," but a full half of the blame for that should rest with those who used the civil officers as such to defeat the old general. When that work was once begun the rotation in office was a matter of course. M.

Easton, Pa., Dec. 2, 1880.

DEPUTY-COLLECTOR LANIER.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : I like the views you take of civil-service reform and the proper course to pursue in the appointment of Federal officers, as well as to the conduct of the latter. What you say in your issue of the 25th of November as to the deputy revenue-collector in the Fifth Congressional District of Louisiana is true. Lanier, aside from the causes you mention, is one of the worst specimens of the unfortunate class of Federal officials which the conditions of the civil service as it now stands have thrust upon the Southern communities. The sequel will show this to be true.

A Native Southern Republican.

New York, Dec. 1, 1880.

CAMPAIGN BRIBERY.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : The letter of your correspondent "M. C." on the subject of "Campaign Bribery," in No. 803 of the *Nation*, ought not to go unanswered. I cannot imagine in what part of this State "M. C." lives, and therefore cannot deny his statements of my own knowledge. I can only say that my own experience has been such that those statements are utterly incredible to me.

Like "M. C.," I reside in one of the interior counties of the State, in a village of about six thousand inhabitants and a township that casts about thirteen or fourteen hundred votes. My first vote was cast in 1864 for Lincoln, "and in political faith I may style myself a 'young Republican' and a disciple of the *Nation*." So far my antecedents are a good deal like those of "M. C." But I think I am better qualified to give an opinion upon what are called practical politics than he is, for I have taken an active interest in them ever since I became a voter, always attend party caucuses, frequently go to conventions as a delegate, and generally spend election day at the polls with tickets in my hands. I do not consider myself any part of the "Machine," however, for I never interest myself in the distribution of offices, always vote a split ticket and do it openly, often work against this or that candidate of my own party, and have never held any office except the undesired and undesirable one of inspector of elections for two or three years ; but I am familiar enough with the working of the Machine to know how much truth there is in "M. C.'s" statements. I think you will see from the above that I am much better qualified to give an unbiassed opinion as to the amount of bribery that prevails at elections than he is, and I can state of my own knowledge that nothing in the remotest degree resembling the wholesale corruption he speaks of takes place in this town ; and from what I know of the State at large I cannot believe it takes place anywhere, not even in the large cities, where offences against the suffrage most prevail. There are, doubtless, more or less votes bought and sold at every election in every county in the State. I have two or three times seen transactions at the polls that looked suspiciously like bribery, but nothing that I could positively identify as such. Three or four times I have been approached by men who wanted something for their votes, the proposition usually being that I should "set up the drinks." Once at a town election in the spring, when national politics were not involved and there was a struggle between two prominent men for the position of supervisor, I heard it stated that a good deal of money was used, but it must have been done in a very quiet way and not at the polls. It would be much more easy to use money then than at a fall election, when every man's name and political preferences are down in the canvasser's book for weeks beforehand.

The nearest approach to anything like bribery committed by the regular campaign organizations of the parties in this town consists in hiring influential laboring men of large acquaintance to stand at the polls all day long and peddle tickets, receiving wages therefor. Except sometimes at town elections these always belong to the political party that hires them. At the

late exciting election in this large town, containing three election districts, the Republican party hired just one such man (a Republican) and paid him three dollars for his day's work. I can speak from authority on this subject, for I was the treasurer of the Republican organization, all the campaign funds passed through my hands, and I have receipts for all my payments, which receipts I shall be very glad to show to "M. C." or any one else that cares to look at them. If any votes were bought for our side they were bought by private individuals with private funds. But I do not believe that any such were bought.

My own private opinion is that some veteran worker, seeing "M. C.'s" greenness, has been "stuffing him," to use a slang expression. He has either been grossly imposed on himself or else he has been imposing upon you. I have in my time seen a good deal of illegal voting, or what I suspected to be such, on the part of men not naturalized, or not of age, or not residents of the district, or who had made bets on election, or who had voted before. I have once or twice also seen something very like intimidation on the part of employers. These, and not bribery, are the most dangerous offences against the election laws in this country. The charge of bribery is always made by the defeated party after election, and means merely that the party managers want to present to the public a plausible excuse for not having had votes enough.

But if "M. C.'s" statements are in any respect true, his duty is very clear. It is absurd for a reformer to sit down and whine about corruption, as he does, when the remedy is in his own hands. Let him go before the next grand jury of his county and procure the indictment of some of the offenders, or at least let him make the attempt, and then I, for one, will listen to his lamentations with less incredulity than at present. A. R.

WESTERN NEW YORK.

DR. KAPP AND THE GERMAN CONGRESS OF POLITICAL ECONOMISTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Within the last week I have received ten different American papers, partly English, partly German, which all with more or less vehemence or quite childish rage assail me for having treated the last Congress of German Political Economists, held from October 21 to 24 in this city, "to a lugubrious lamentation over the future American wheat production by saying that it must decrease to the standard of the Old World." Against this assertion I most positively declare that neither at the above-mentioned Congress nor on any other occasion have I uttered a word on the American wheat production. I think I had a right to expect that decent papers would give me the benefit of a doubt before making me responsible for such nonsense. As after my unqualified denial the matter ceases to be personal, I beg to intrude upon your kindness for the statement of a few facts which will perhaps be of some interest to your readers.

The Congress of German Political Economists, which first met in 1858, and in its majority consists of German free-traders, has greatly contributed to the late liberal German legislation from 1867 to 1878, by doing away with the usury laws, the laws binding a man to the soil or throwing impediments in the way of his removing from one place to another, by destroying the last remnants of the guilds and other mediæval rules. It has nothing to do with the politics of the day, but confines itself to the discussion of social and economical questions. In past years it has met in almost all the large cities of Germany, and this year it held its session in Berlin for a second time. Although the immediate influence of the Congress has ceased since Bismarck's new protective policy, its indirect weight in moulding public opinion and on all matters of economical and social legislation is still very great. In Berlin from 225 to 250 economists, the majority of whom were Germans, had assembled, but Austrians, Russians, French, and others took part in the proceedings. Among the topics discussed I will mention "Emigration and Colonization" and "The Supply of Western Europe with Breadstuffs," as in the telegraphic despatches to the United States they seem to have been confounded. On the former subject I had to report. The following resolutions, drawn by me, were almost unanimously adopted:

"I. Emigration is one of those great features whose influence has been felt for centuries in the life of nations, and which are sufficiently explained by the real or supposed contrast of the bodily wants and political or spiritual aims of the individual with the temporary economical, intellectual, and political condition of mankind in general. It has its origin in an impulse which has spread the blessings of civilization over uncultivated countries, and has promoted the progress of humanity. This movement, whether convenient or inconvenient to the respective governments, has made its influence more or less felt at different times, and cannot be prevented by police measures, coercion, or by difficulties thrown in its way. There is only one way to avert it—that is, by granting to the individual a space, as unlimited as possible, for the development of his intellectual and economical faculties, by making his country so dear and sacred to him that he need not turn his thoughts and steps to a strange land.

"II. In consideration of the present state of the trade of the world, which in the course of the last century has grown from narrow dimensions to great international relations; in consideration of the abolition of commercial and colonial monopolies which has taken place almost everywhere in consequence of the war of American independence; and in consideration of the free intercourse of the whole world, colonization is an anachronism which neither a momentary state of distress nor the interest of labor forces us to fall into. In our time the perfection of the system of commercial treaties is the most efficient means for the citizens of the contracting states to secure for themselves the advantages and benefits which in former times governments tried to attain by colonization. While in respect to existing laws the Imperial Government is bound to leave emigration unmolested, but at the same time to protect it against oppression and robbery, the German Congress of Political Economists does not think it admissible that, at the expense of the community at large and for the benefit of distinct classes, attempts should be made to found colonies which, however well meant, are highly expensive and offer no prospects for the welfare of the emigrant."

In the present state of our reactionary policy it was of great importance to give the right answer to the question raised by our protectionists. They allege that in the interest of the so-called "national labor" they must protect the emigrant and keep him away from the United States, where, as a tool in the hands of the "Yankee," he will compete with our manufacturers. It was not difficult to refute the nonsense of colonial aspirations in its utter shallowness and to prove that, apart from all other considerations, the United States comparatively offer the greatest inducements and the safest future to the German emigrant. For this my point of view the reactionary German press attacks me as an agent of American landowners and of purely American interests, while in your country the higher wisdom of enlightened editors first represents me as a consummate fool and, holding me up to the contempt and ridicule of its readers, finally confutes nonsense of which I am not the originator. In spite of the old Latin proverb, "Calumniare audacter, semper aliquid hæret," such unfounded attacks shall not frighten me out of my convictions or prevent me from stating the truth whenever I think it will contribute to the better understanding of both nations.

The other subject discussed on October 23 referred to the "Supply of Europe with Breadstuffs." I likewise enclose the resolutions which, having been very ably defended by Messrs. Herbertz and Broemel, were unanimously adopted. I myself did not take any part in the debate. The speakers were distinguished by broad views, great learning, and a complete mastery of the subject. Besides the above-named I may mention the speeches of Mr. Conrad, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Halle, and Mr. Rickert, member of the Reichstag for Danzig. Instead of treating the Congress to "a lugubrious lamentation," the gist of the several arguments, so far as they concerned the United States, was, that their rich harvests secured Europe against a famine; that if the over-production here and there exhausted the soil, there were for generations to come millions of acres of land as yet unoccupied and to be cultivated; that, owing to the large supply from the United States, the new German duties on breadstuffs could not and would not be of any benefit to our producers, and that the sooner they were given up the better it would be for consumers.

The last-named resolution read as follows:

"Whereas, to judge from the observations so far made, the consumption of breadstuffs in Europe is continually growing; and whereas the production of breadstuffs in western and middle Europe does not increase, but, on the other hand, agriculture seems to devote itself more to the breeding of cattle and the cultivation of plants for agricultural industry: Be it resolved, that the import of breadstuffs from other countries appears to be an urgent necessity. A burden upon it encumbers all branches of industry, the products of which make exchange in the markets of the world possible. The profit which individuals under certain circumstances can make by the duties on breadstuffs is not at all proportionate to the damage thereby done to the rest of the population."

FRIEDRICH KAPP.

BERLIN, November 20, 1880.

Notes.

HERMAN GRIMM'S lectures on Goethe, first noticed by us in No. 639 of the *Nation*, and again a few weeks since, on the appearance of a new edition, has been translated by Sarah Holland Adams, with the approval and inspection of the author, and is now handsomely published by Little, Brown & Co. The dedication is to Mr. Emerson, for whom Professor Grimm also has words of the highest respect in his letter to the translator.——A new and revised edition of a work published in 1876, but by subscription only, Mr. Charles Dudley Warner's 'My Winter on the Nile,' is brought out by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. If any one will compare the woodcut of the "Wooden Man," which here serves as a frontispiece, with that given in Oncken's 'Allgemeine Geschichte' he will have received a valuable lesson in xylography.——A. C. Armstrong & Son offer an edition of the complete works of the elder Disraeli in six volumes, well enough printed and tastefully bound in cloth, at the low price of $7 50. The set is uniform with the

same publishers' Hallam and Lamb.——Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, have published a limited edition of Father Hennepin's 'Description of Louisiana,' translated by Dr. John G. Shea, with notes explanatory and defensive, and variants. Fac-similes of the original maps and the view of Niagara Falls accompany the text.——*St. Nicholas* for 1880 has been bound in two parts for greater convenience in handling and reading. It and the bound volume of *Scribner's Monthly*, which comes to us from the same publishers, stand in need neither of description nor commendation.——Mr. Lawrence Buckley Thomas, 409 W. 20th St., New York, solicits subscriptions to the third part of his 'Genealogical Notes,' concerning the pedigrees of the Thomas, Chew, and Lawrence families.——Edwin Arnold's new poem, 'The Iliad of India,' will be begun in the January number of the *International Review*.——The indefatigable compiler of the *Nation* Index has also prepared on the same general plan and published a 'Supplementary Index to the *Atlantic Monthly*' (Bangor: Q. P. Index), and announces as in press an index to the *International Review*; in preparation, indexes to *Lippincott's* and *Scribner's*, for which he solicits subscriptions in advance; and in MS., awaiting subscriptions at $3 sufficient to guarantee the cost of printing, an index to articles on history, travel, philosophy, literature, and politics contained in the best English, German, and French collections of essays, etc.——We hope all railroad presidents will be constrained, if they are not readily persuaded in the interest of morality, to imitate the example of the New York Central Railroad Co., which has forbidden the sale of low and indecent literature on its trains, pointing out the objectionable papers by name, and intending, we trust, to keep its list revised and enlarged to meet evasions. We do not know why the great news companies are not under obligation to draw the line somewhere; and by and by we may have the police authorized to take cognizance of what is exposed at the news-stalls. ——A correspondent writes that the translation of 'The Loyal Ronins' which we noticed two weeks ago is the first made from Tamenaga's romance, and that, therefore, our comparison of it with a previous version in English is misleading. We should perhaps have stated more explicitly that the latter (reviewed in No. 575 of the *Nation*) was from the Japanese of Chikatsu Monzayemon.——Prang & Co. have issued the four Christmas cards for the designs of which prizes of $1,000, $500, $300, and $200 were awarded last year. ——Apropos of Ebers's 'Egypt,' Mr. A. J. Butler writes from Cairo to the London *Athenæum* that the engraving of the Alexandrine Pharos in that work revives his surmise that this famous structure "served as a model for Mohammedan architects," and thus became "the origin of the minaret."—— Every one interested in the solution of the smoke problem in our great cities should read Dr. Siemens's account of his device in *Nature* for November 11. ——A recent French work of some literary as well as historical importance is Paul Lacroix's 'Madame de Krüdener, ses Lettres et ses ouvrages inédits.' ——An undertaking which must attract all students of the history of French Protestantism, as well as students of history in general and lovers of art, is the reproduction in heliogravure fac-simile of the copper plates in 'Les Grands Scènes Historiques' of the artists Tortorel and Perrissin (Paris: G. Fischbacher, 33 rue de Seine). They are contemporaneous illustrations of the course of events during the persecuting epoch of 1559–1570, and are doubly memorable as records and as pictures.——Part 20 of Stieler's Modern Hand-Atlas (B. Westermann & Co.) has for its three maps Russia and Scandinavia, North America (wholly new), and Australia, which shows in a striking manner the spread of discovery and civilization since the last edition. We have received also two supplementary numbers of a splendid map of the Mediterranean, to be completed in eight sheets, and so liberally construed as to extend even to the Persian Gulf. Railroads and steamboat lines receive particular attention.——The American Water-Color Society will open its fourteenth annual exhibition at the Academy of Design on the 24th of January, and close on February 23. Works will be received from January 10 to January 12, but those in black and white are no longer invited. The Secretary is Mr. Henry Farrer, 51 West Tenth Street. An autographically illustrated catalogue will be prepared as heretofore.

—One seldom expects the text of holiday folios to be anything but subordinate to the plates, but the Rev. M. G. Watkins's 'Pictures of Bird-Life in Pen and Pencil' (Cassell, Petter & Galpin) is an exception to the rule. What the author has to say about a dozen British birds—the robin, reed-warbler, nightingale, blackbird, oriole, wren, etc.—does not pretend to be original, but is pleasantly gathered from the writings of various naturalists, checked by personal observation in most cases, and is planned to show how each bird figures in poetry, legend, and folk-lore. The designs are by Giacomelli, whose bird-drawings are well known, and are on a large scale, with usually picturesque and graceful accessories. The work is beautifully printed. Passing at a stride to less ambitious undertakings, we take up the holiday edition of Tennyson's 'Dream of Fair Women,' published by James R. Osgood & Co. Besides the heavy paper and decorated cover the special attractions consist in illustrations engraved under the direction of Mr. A. V. S. Anthony. The artists are Mary Hallock Foote, W. H. Low, C. S. Reinhart, F. Dielman, A. Fredericks, and others who present their conceptions of the various women besung. There is nothing inspired about these and nothing striking about their execution. We should say that they were badly "edited." 'The Teacher's Dream,' by W. H. Venable (Putnam), on the other hand, is more valuable for its illustrations than its poetry, which is of the simplest character. The former are by H. F. Farny, and some of them are very happy, both in design and execution.

—'Bibliomania in the Present Day in France and England' is the title of a neat brochure, translated from the French and published in a limited edition of 250 copies by J. W. Bouton. It gives an account of several remarkable book-sales in Paris and London, with prices of the most important works, and, where obtainable, the prices reached at previous sales. The French parentage of the book is conspicuously noticeable in the circumstance that almost a half of it is taken up by the Didot sales, the proceeds of which exceeded 2,250,000 francs. The larger portion of M. Didot's library (in number of books but not probably in value) is yet to come to auction. The little book under notice is one from which the amateur collector can gather instruction; nor will it fail to interest the veteran bibliophile. It is set off with a portrait of George Trautz, and contains a notice of that famous Paris bookbinder which the reader will wish had been more extended or might be extended in a second edition. Trautz was a true artist, and his binding adds hundreds, even thousands, of francs to the price of a book. He was original and inimitable; the merest tyro in binding recognizes his work at a glance. Two hundred volumes are as many as his workshop supplied in any one year; but each was impressed with something of the master's individuality, for no two of his bindings are alike. The distinction of Knight of the Legion of Honor was conferred upon him in recognition of his artistic deserts.

—A few weeks ago we printed a communication from Ann Arbor, telling of a paper on civil-service reform read by the Rev. C. G. Howland before the Michigan State Conference of Unitarian Churches, and of the steps taken by the conference to have the paper repeated as a public lecture and printed and spread broadcast as a tract. We are glad to learn from the St. Louis *Congregational Herald*, of Nov. 5, that the Missouri Congregational Association, at its session of Oct. 15, listened to a discourse from the Rev. E. B. Burrows on "The Relation of the Churches to Political Reform," for which its thanks were voted, together with resolutions which deserve to be quoted entire as an example to similar religious bodies as well as to the clergy individually:

"*Resolved*, That the Civil-Service Reform of the nation is a problem of vital and urgent interest in its relation to the public morality and honor, and to all that, as Christian citizens, we hold dear.

"*Resolved*, that we protest against the political doctrine, 'To the victors belong the spoils,' as criminal and dangerous, threatening the very foundations of our liberties.

"*Resolved*, That, recognizing the need of an awakened Christian conscience in this matter, we suggest for the consideration of our approaching National Council whether it ought not to make an emphatic utterance upon this subject, and that the delegates of this body be instructed to bring this suggestion to their notice."

—Berlioz's "Damnation de Faust," which met with such unprecedented success last season, has evidently lost nothing of its popularity, for, both at the public rehearsal and the second concert of the Symphony Society, Steinway Hall was crowded with enthusiastic and delighted audiences. The two performances were, however, in no respect an improvement upon those of last year; on the contrary, in many points they were inferior, especially in the solos, which, with the exception of Mlle. Valleria's *Margaret*, were unsatisfactory. Great expectations were entertained of Mr. Henschel's *Mephistopheles*, which made his rendering all the more disappointing when it was found that he had undertaken a part for which he was altogether disqualified. The music is too low for him, and his voice has not sufficient weight to contend against the overwhelming effects of Berlioz's orchestration. The brightest and most characteristic number of the whole work, the celebrated serenade in the third part, where Berlioz produces with the full string orchestra, in fortissimo pizzicato, the effect of a gigantic mandolin accompanying the voice, was almost spoilt by Mr. Henschel's unsuccessful efforts to make himself heard, and by the unreasonably fast tempo with which Dr. Damrosch took this admirable song. In one number only, the beginning of the seventh scene, "Fields of Roses," which is written in a gently-moving tempo, and accompanied by most delicate combinations of string and reed instruments, did Mr. Henschel have an opportunity of displaying the delightful qualities of his voice and school. Still less suited for his task was Mr. Frederick Harvey, to whom the difficult part of *Faust* had been entrusted. Mr. Harvey's voice is powerful and of fair quality, but it is entirely unschooled. He sings deplorably out of tune, his notes come from his throat instead of from his chest, his intonation is uncertain, and his phrasing inartistic. But, even if it were possible to overlook these defects, it was evident that, whatever Mr. Harvey may achieve in a different class of music, Faust, and Goethe, and Berlioz are altogether beyond the limits of his intelligence and artistic education. Mlle. Valleria sang *Margaret* with her habitual unaffected grace and

charm. She was in excellent voice, and was, so far as the soloists were concerned, the redeeming feature of the evening. Dr. Damrosch has assembled an imposing chorus of over five hundred voices. They are in an advanced state of training, auguring well for the great work which their conductor is now preparing for the musical festival to take place next May. The work of the orchestra was in most respects excellently done. The stirring strains of the old Rákóczy march, with Berlioz's wonderful instrumentation, were rendered with great fire, and the fine and delicate qualities of Dr. Damrosch's string orchestra showed to great advantage in the whisperings of the "Dance of the Sylphs" and the grotesque "Minuet of the Will o' the Wisps."

—Boïto's "Mefistofele" has been three times repeated since its first production last week, and the public interest in this remarkable work has not abated. The last performances, both as regards soloists and chorus, showed much improvement. *Mephistopheles*, not *Faust*, is the leading rôle of the opera, and Sig. Novara fills it with great effect. His voice is of considerable compass and flexibility, and fully equal to the great difficulties which the part presents. He is, moreover, an impressive and accomplished actor. Campanini and Mlle. Valleria seem to have made the characters of *Faust* and *Margaret* their own, and are as interesting in this new version as they are in the same parts in Gounod's opera.

—A St. Louis correspondent calls our attention to a singular piece of literary appropriation committed by Mr. George Meredith in the October number of the *Fortnightly Review*. Our readers are familiar, at least by our own report of it, with a little book published in Germany a year or two since, and much noticed in that country, called 'Meine Beziehungen zu Ferdinand Lassalle,' by a lady who called herself, from the name of her first husband, Helene Racowitza, born Von Dönniges. The book is a description of how she became engaged to Lassalle, how the engagement was broken, and how, in consequence of this, the lover lost his life. Its accuracy in details has been questioned; but there is no doubt that the account is substantially true, and it is so obviously the expression of passionate feeling and sense of injury, simply and tersely described, that the reader's sympathies are at once won and retained to the end. Mr. Meredith has taken this brief but pathetic and dramatic story, and, without the least acknowledgment, made it the basis of one of his fantastic tales. Not only are the numerous personages in the fiction and the memoir identical in character and in their relations to each other, but whole pages of conversation and incident are transcribed without change, except the substitution of Mr. Meredith's turgid, affected, and pedantic rhetoric for the simple narrative of Mrs. Racowitza. We can find room for but a single instance of the similarity. The original reads (Lassalle speaks): "No? A negation, then, is the first thing that I hear from you! So that's how you look, that's you? Yes, this agrees with what I had fancied; this is right." Helene then turns to look for her hostess (the scene is at a party), when he puts his hand on her arm and says: "It is unnecessary; we know each other already. You know who I am, and you are Brunhilde, Adrienne Cardoville, the fox Korff told me about—in short, Helene?" The following is Mr. Meredith's version: "'You are she! So, then, is a contradiction of me to be the commencement?' . . . She gazed for her hostess. . . . 'Why should we two wait to be introduced?' said he. 'We know one another. I am Alvan. You are she of whom I heard from Kollin: who else? Lucrezia the gold-haired, the gold-crested, wise as her sire; Aurora breaking the clouds—in short, Clotilde!'" It is small abatement of the offence that Mr. Meredith, in his second instalment, adds the sub-title, "A New Version of an Old Story," and lets it be known through the *Athenæum* whence he got his material.

—A good work has been done the past summer in the libraries of the monasteries on Mt. Athos by Professor Spyridon Lampros, of Athens. These twenty monasteries, the oldest of which were founded by Constantine the Great, have been, in times past, the residence of many learned monks. Their possessions and privileges were protected by the Turks, and the whole peninsula became a monastic republic, free from all outside interference. The spirit of learning, however, passed away, and during the first part of this century the ignorant monks repeatedly filled their purses by the sale of books and manuscripts from their old stores. With the revival of national spirit the sales happily ceased, but the jealous residents have refused to scholars even the privilege of freely examining what is left. Dr. Lampros, who had studied in many of the libraries of Europe and had brought to light some records of the mediæval life of the Greeks, was, in 1877, appointed University instructor in Greek history and diplomatics. Desiring to make a full exploration of the treasures of Mt. Athos in the interest of the learned world, he secured from the Greek legislature a vote of approval, which was followed by the promise of material aid from the Government. A hearty commendation was obtained from the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Bishop of Salonica, and other Greeks of Turkey. Three university students were engaged to join in the work, and also a Swiss artist who had been drawing-teacher to the king's children, and would aid the professor in his studies of Byzantine art. With these helpers he sailed to Athos last June and was cordially received at Karyae, the capital, by the council of deputies, who ordered for him the most ample facilities in every monastery. He improved his advantages, went everywhere, and, finding the libraries and archives in the neglected condition previously reported, he encouraged the monks to immediate reforms. Especially did he look up the manuscripts, which he cleaned, sorted, and finally labelled and catalogued. In five libraries only had a catalogue of the Greek manuscripts been attempted, and it was complete only in Batopedi. Here is found that choice codex of the geographer Ptolemy which was reproduced in fac-simile in 1867 by a Paris publisher. In the archives of the several monasteries were found the original parchments, sealed with golden seals, containing their charters and grants of land from the Byzantine emperors. Some of them may be forgeries, but even the genuine are judged by the professor of less general concern than previously supposed. The formal parts are in phrases familiar to the readers of such documents, while the mass of names of places have value only for the topography of Mount Athos, the two peninsulas to the west, and the islands of Lemnos and Thasos, where their lands chiefly lie. They may some time be printed, along with their other archives, by the monasteries themselves, when they have the means, as has been done already for the monastery of Panteleëmon by its Russian patrons. Professor Lampros's report to the Greek legislature gives only the outline of his labors, but he promises particulars hereafter. They will certainly be looked for with interest.

—An important contribution to the literature of proverbs has recently appeared in Italy. We allude to the four volumes of Sicilian Proverbs collected by Dr. Giuseppe Pitrè, and forming vols. viii.–xi. of his 'Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane' (Palermo: Pedone Lauriel), the previous volumes of which are devoted to popular songs and tales. Some idea of the extent of the work may be gained when we say it contains, in more than eighteen hundred pages, thirteen thousand Sicilian proverbs and nine thousand five hundred parallels from the various dialects of Italy. In addition to these, the collector has given, wherever it was possible, the Greek, Latin, and Biblical adages and maxims which are either the sources of the Sicilian proverbs or throw light upon them. The collection is preceded by an exhaustive treatise upon proverbs in general, with an examination of the origin and history of the Sicilian proverbs, followed by a bibliography of collections of proverbs in the Italian dialects. Besides the proverbs, which are disposed in ninety classes, there are three appendices containing three hundred proverbs from the Lombard colony in Sicily, a number of poems dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries made up of rhymed proverbs, and, lastly, popular tales illustrating proverbs. The work ends with a glossary of twelve hundred words of most frequent occurrence. The proverbs show the Sicilians to be a sober, industrious people, with an intense love for personal freedom; of political liberty they have, of course, had no experience until recently. The proverbs on women are marked by Oriental malice, while those on the priests have all the license of the Middle Ages. Pitrè has very properly, we think, confined his comparisons to Italy, but even a cursory glance will show that proverbs, like popular tales, are the same, in the main, in all lands. Embodying as they do the results of man's experience, it would be strange were they not everywhere more or less alike. Still, enough new material will be found here to render the collection valuable and interesting. The book is well printed and reflects infinite credit on the indefatigable collector and his enterprising publisher, from whose press have issued so many works illustrating the history and literature of Sicily.

—In mechanical skill our best map-making establishments show no inferiority to the best European, but, owing to the low condition of geographical science in this country, American cartography, when applied to the production of general atlases, falls lamentably short of that of the Old World. This deficiency is felt both in the family and in the school. We have before us two German works which might serve as models in point of execution and of cheapness—'Andrée-Putzger's Gymnasial- und Realschul-Atlas,' and 'F. W. Putzger's Historischer Schul-Atlas'—both published at Bielefeld and Leipzig by Velhagen & Klasing; the one costing three marks, the other one and a half—say, 75 and 37 cents respectively. The first is a narrow folio with heavy brown paper covers, embracing no less than forty-eight maps, of which more than a third it would not enter into the head of our school-geographers to introduce in their atlases, even such as the Northern and Southern Heavens, the Moon, the Earth mapped according to rainfall, Volcanoes and Coral Islands, Ethnography, Religions; and such maps as Gen. Walker's 'Census Atlas' (bettering the German example) have begun to make us familiar with, *e.g.* Density of Population, Average Temperature, etc., etc., these last being confined to Europe and Germany. There are, of course, separate physical and political maps, and if those on the smaller scales are somewhat meagre in names of places, there is a partial compensation in side-maps, with a general effect of clearness. The judicious use of colors is well shown in the land and water demarcations of Switzerland.

Some few of the maps, like those relating to nationalities and religions, need the teacher's explanation in addition to those affixed rather briefly to the color-key; nor do we contend that any of them are not susceptible of improvement. What is striking is the intelligence and scope with which the series is conceived. The 'Historical School-Atlas' covers ancient and modern times, and gives twenty-seven maps, not in any respect so remarkable as the foregoing, and having many rivals,—for example, Kiepert and Wolff's, which contains thirty-six maps and costs about 90 cents in boards. Such an atlas, however, is not, to our knowledge, employed in our public instruction at any stage, the ancient atlas being used only in connection with classical studies.

—A new geographical locality, by the way, hitherto unnoticed even by Baedeker, has been recently discovered in Germany, namely, "Funker Forg, on the Wartburg"; "at" which place, various respectable journals are now informing us, Luther made his translation of the New Testament into German. It will do no harm to repeat our announcement that this discovery found its first mention in the London *Academy*, which, a month or two ago, in noticing the interesting fact that the very copy of the New Testament on which the reformer did his work had lately turned up in an obscure German library, spoke of it as used by him "at Funker Förg, on the Wartburg." To those, however, who remember that Luther, during his hiding at the castle in question, was known by the assumed name of *Junker Georg*, "squire George," it will appear probable that the locality is less a discovery than an invention, for which the *Academy's* compositors and proof-reader are jointly and severally responsible.

TREVELYAN'S CHARLES JAMES FOX.*

I.

MR. TREVELYAN has achieved a noteworthy literary triumph. For the second time within the course of a few years he has produced the book of the day, and has made all England talk about Fox—his gambling, his escapades, and his speeches—just as a year or two ago he made all England talk about the career, the character, and the virtues of Lord Macaulay. Nor is Mr. Trevelyan's success as a man of letters undeserved. He has chosen a subject interesting in itself, which his talents enable him to make more interesting than it could have been made by any other writer of the day; for it must clearly be understood that the subject of Mr. Trevelyan's book is not what its title would suggest. His theme is not the life of Fox; and though his book contains a good deal about Fox, just as it contains a good deal more about Wilkes and about George III., students in search of information would find it as impossible to collect from Mr. Trevelyan's pages a complete account of Fox's early years as to put together from the same pages a biography either of the king or of the great agitator. His topic, again, is not a history of the transactions which marked the opening years of George's reign. The true, though not perhaps consciously avowed topic with which Mr. Trevelyan deals is the social and political life of those noblemen, rhetoricians, adventurers, and raffs who, in the middle of the last century, made up the political world of England, and devoted such moments as they could spare from drinking, horse-racing, and gambling to the government or the ruin of the British Empire. Such a society, full of talent, life, and, above all, personality, possesses, and always will possess, a fascination hardly deserved by the merits of its members. As long as England, or for that matter as the United States, endures, the pictures of the generation who for the last time governed, or professed to govern, the whole of the English race will have a strange attraction for their descendants; and among the numerous sketches of the Georgian era with which English and American libraries will soon be filled none will command more popularity than the brilliant piece of literary painting produced by Mr. Trevelyan. His gifts and his sympathies have a curious adaptation to the work he has in fact, though not in name, taken in hand. He writes in an effective, if in a somewhat verbose and pompous, style. He is himself full of life and spirit, and has the rare gift of transferring his own liveliness to his writings. He has even, in a merely literary point of view, marked defects, but he never commits the one unpardonable offence of being dull.

Yet even natural parts and command of style would scarcely have availed much if Mr. Trevelyan had not been thoroughly in harmony with his topic. If he had lacked this one quality he might have been as dull in writing of Fox as is so meritorious an author as Prof. Seeley when writing about so remarkable a man as Stein. As it is, Mr. Trevelyan exhibits at every turn his unconscious sympathy with the age of which he writes. A rhetorician himself, he delights in the rhetorical aspects of a rhetorical era. A keen politician, he enters into the feelings of men who threw themselves heart and soul into politics, just as they threw themselves heart and soul into fox-racing or prize-fighting. He, too, like the heroes whose portraits he paints, identifies politics with the party struggles of English public life, and fully shares their zest for the discussion of constitutional problems, and for the fighting of Parliamentary battles. Mr. Trevelyan is, in fact, the soundest of sound Whigs. He adores the House of Commons; he regards the beauties of Holland House as something too sacred to be fully appreciated by a thorough-going Tory such as Sir Walter Scott, and speaks of even the "Bedford gang" with bated breath. Now, whether a politician can guide himself through all the problems of modern politics by strict adherence to the traditions of the Whig party may be open to question, but no one can doubt that a writer called upon to paint English political life in the latter half of the last century gains much by being imbued with Whig sentiment. No one who hates a titled nobility can describe with effect the political struggles of a profoundly aristocratic age. No one who is not himself imbued with that love of individual freedom which was the noblest trait of the Whigs can enter into the political views of statesmen who, whatever their defects, had the great merit of offering constant opposition to every royal attempt to establish a system of personal government. Mr. Trevelyan's principles and prejudices all favor his success as a painter of political society in the eighteenth century. If, then, his book could be treated as merely a series of discursive and brilliant essays on the superficial but striking aspects of public life between 1760 and 1774, criticism would be all but disarmed. The title, however, of the work, and the whole tone in which it is written, show that its author intended to make a serious contribution to the history of the Whigs. He comes forward as what may be termed a biographical historian. It is, therefore, incumbent on any conscientious reviewer to consider carefully what rank Mr. Trevelyan can claim among historical writers, and to express his opinion with the candor and plainness perfectly compatible with keen admiration for Mr. Trevelyan's very remarkable literary gifts.

The author of the 'Early History of Charles James Fox,' if considered as an historical writer, may be described as an historian of the school of Macaulay; and it is no discredit to Mr. Trevelyan that he should show himself to be profoundly influenced by his uncle's modes of thought, principles, and even prejudices. Unfortunately he lacks a quality in which Lord Macaulay was, like all really great historians, pre-eminent: he has not the gift of narration. From one end of his last book to the other there is the most singular and distressing want both of dates and of arrangement. To narrate a series of events in a natural, simple, and clear order is no doubt a difficult task. It is certainly a task which Mr. Trevelyan has not yet proved himself capable of performing. It would be unfair to compare him with such a master in the art of narrative as his uncle. It is not unfair to compare him with Lord Stanhope, and we venture to say that any one who puts the 'Early History of Charles James Fox' side by side with Stanhope's 'Life of Pitt' will see that Lord Stanhope excels Mr. Trevelyan as much in the capacity for orderly narration as Mr. Trevelyan excels his lordship in vigor and effectiveness of style. It is, again, painfully apparent that Fox's last biographer has never appreciated the charm of simple and direct statement of plain facts. To speak of a simple thing in simple language seems almost beyond Mr. Trevelyan's powers. One may further add that of the spirit of research, such as animates the best of modern historical students, Mr. Trevelyan gives no proof whatever. He undoubtedly possesses a much more minute acquaintance with the memoirs and the lighter writings of the age with which he deals than any person can boast of who has not made the period his special study. But persons who, like the present writer, make no pretence to special knowledge, may yet venture to assert that Mr. Trevelyan has in the main drawn for his facts on authorities such as Burke, Walpole, and Boswell, whose books are the common property of educated gentlemen. To have unearthed the betting-book at Brooks's is to make a certain contribution to the stock of general information. It is the main fruit of Mr. Trevelyan's research.

A defect which lies deeper than the deficiencies we have mentioned is a want on Mr. Trevelyan's part of that sound judgment and insight into the bearings of facts which are at least as much needed in an historian as in a judge. A trifle exhibits this defect as well as, if not better than, a matter of serious import: "Mr. Parkes's memoir has," writes Mr. Trevelyan, "virtually set at rest the controversy that once promised to be eternal." The particular "controversy" referred to is the dispute as to the authorship of the letters of Junius. There are probably few of our readers who do not know that Mr. Trevelyan's assertion is opposed to the most notorious facts. Whether Francis was or was not the author of the celebrated letters is a point on which a prudent man may well hesitate to pronounce any opinion whatever. All that cautious persons will venture to say is that a somewhat better case has been made out for Sir Philip Francis than for any one of the hundred and odd claimants pitted against him. But every one except Mr. Trevelyan knows that the controversy is not closed. The publication of the very book to which he refers gave new life to a dispute which has caused more waste of time and of labor than the solution of an unimportant riddle could possibly repay. The plain truth is that Lord Macaulay attempted dogmatically to close the controversy, and, as every one except Mr. Trevelyan recognizes, the attempt ended in failure. One may add that, curiously enough, Mr.

* 'The Early History of Charles James Fox. By George Otto Trevelyan, M.P., author of 'Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay.'' London: Longmans; New York: Harper & Bros. 1880.

Trevelyan rather complicates the whole case for Francis by suggesting or asserting that George III. sent him to India without any knowledge that he was thereby putting an end to the celebrated letters. "Junius" could hardly have been silenced or bought off by the merely accidental bestowal of a good place on a meritorious clerk. The holding to the inherited dogma that Francis and Junius were without doubt one and the same man, is in itself a petty circumstance which would hardly be worth notice did it not throw considerable light on Mr. Trevelyan's mode of dealing with questions which need judgment and insight. A writer who, because he thinks that a raging controversy ought to be closed, off-hand denies its existence, is hardly competent to solve the problems presented by the character and position of George III.

Mr. Trevelyan, indeed, tries hard to be fair towards a ruler whom it is difficult for any honest man not to detest, and for any clever man not to despise, and we do not wonder that an author who is still young has failed to make intelligible a character which even Thackeray has not analyzed with success. What is to be regretted is that Mr. Trevelyan does not show any more insight into the strong points of the King's position than might have been expected from a sound Whig of 1774. Yet the lapse of more than a century ought to make many things visible to an historian which were hardly to be perceived by Fox or by Burke. George III. spent the greater part of his life in a contest with the Whig aristocracy. The struggle ended in a drawn battle. The King played, in short, a difficult game, and if he did not exactly win was certainly not the loser. The lower we rate his powers—and Mr. Trevelyan, we suspect, a good deal underrates them—the higher we must rate his advantages. If the player was a dullard and won the game, he must have held good cards. Mr. Trevelyan's book incidentally shows what some, at least, of George's advantages were. The very blunder which made him most unpopular in England must have gone far to ensure the support of Scotland. He was enabled from his position, as well as from his character, to put himself in harmony with the average sentiment of the nation. He was the natural leader of the "stupid party"; and stupidity, which naturally allies itself with respectability, is, after all, a gigantic power. The career of Chatham throws, though Mr. Trevelyan does not see this, light on that of George III. The great minister and the commonplace King had one point in common: they each appealed to what Chatham terms the "great public," and perceived that Brooks's was after all not the centre of English life. The statesman, it is true, appealed to the great side, the King appealed to the mean and commonplace side, of the national character, yet they each appreciated better than the Whig leaders the power and the sentiment of the nation. That the true course for the King was an alliance with Chatham is now clear, and it must in fairness be admitted that dimly, and sorely against his inclination, George seems to have perceived for a moment the path of sound policy. The Chatham Ministry ended in failure, and Mr. Trevelyan imputes this failure to the inherent vices of the royal policy, and states that on the accession of Chatham to power "the King's theory of what a ministry ought to be was to be tested under the most favorable possible circumstances as against the theory of Burke." If the statement were correct, the experiment might certainly be held decisive; but Chatham's illness deprives us of all opportunity of knowing whether George III. might not under the guidance of Chatham have achieved as striking a success as he later achieved by an alliance with Chatham's son. It is, at any rate, characteristic of Mr. Trevelyan not to perceive that the break-down of Chatham's health hardly proves the soundness of Burke's theories.

The instances we have given, and others which it were easy to collect, will convince candid readers that Mr. Trevelyan lacks something of those judicial qualities which are essential to historical greatness, and this want, combined with the other defects we have noted, prevent him from at present taking rank among that band of historical narrators of whom his uncle is nearly the most eminent. Yet even the necessary severity of fair criticism need not blind us to the fact that Mr. Trevelyan's deficiencies are made apparent only when he is tried, as he has a right to be tried, by a high standard. His work remains, after all necessary deductions, a brilliant sketch of an interesting society, and may be considered as a discursive introduction to that narrative of the later and more important years of Charles James Fox which English readers expect, and we hope will not expect in vain, from the pen of Mr. Trevelyan.

BEACONSFIELD'S 'ENDYMION.'*

A CONTEMPORARY of Thackeray, of Bulwer, of Trollope, of George Eliot, the Earl of Beaconsfield has always seemed to stand in a class apart by himself, and to be neither the rival nor imitator of any of them. So far as style goes, it must be admitted that he has in literature, as in politics, a distinct style of his own, although he has made use of it in a great variety of ways and for various purposes. In early life his novels were put forward with a certain appearance of seriousness, as, for instance, in the case of 'Contarini Fleming,' the statesmanship of which was evidently the result of considerable study and thought, however misapplied. In his later novels, as in 'Lothair' and now 'Endymion,' it is generally hard to say whether the observations on life and manners and government which he puts into the mouths of his characters (it is noticeable that he never advances a theory or opinion in his own person) are put forward seriously, or whether they are advanced for the author's amusement and the mystification of his audience. When, for instance, in his latest work, he makes some one say that eminent economists are generally bankrupt traders who, having failed in the management of their own affairs, devote themselves to those of others, it is impossible not to be amused at the idea, but at the same time it is difficult to see any rational basis of fact to make it more than an amusing *mot*. We may add, too, that it reminds us a little too forcibly of an older observation from the same source—that critics are generally persons who have failed as authors. The style is the man, and it is pretty well recognized now that the peculiarities of Lord Beaconsfield's style are mainly this tendency to caustic and amusing epigrammatic cynicism (the same thing has always been used much more effectively by him in his speeches in the House of Commons), and also his Semitic fondness for luxurious display, extravagant splendor, and brummagem elegance. These qualities are all to be found in profusion in 'Endymion,' but considered as making up a style they fall short. There is hardly enough material in them to fix Lord Beaconsfield's literary rank. As a novelist a man must stand or fall, in the long run, either by his plot or his characters. We leave out of view writers of pure romance, the success and lasting value of whose writing may be determined by other tests than these. Lord Beaconsfield has, of course, written both romances and novels, but it is safe to say that there is nothing in the romantic part of his writing, even in such a romance as 'Henrietta Temple' once seemed to be, which will long entitle it to consideration. He has in his old age wisely given up writing romances, and it is by his novels that he has finally succeeded in establishing himself, at least commercially, at the head of modern English fiction. In the invention of plots Lord Beaconsfield has never exhibited any strength. His present novel may be taken as a fair example of what he is willing to put forward as an entertaining story.

Endymion Ferrars, the son of a distinguished public man, begins life surrounded by luxury, and with every hope of a happy and prosperous career. His father is, however, really deeply involved in debt, and when a political crash comes is obliged to retire from London with his wife and children, Endymion and Myra, and remote from society and friends struggle along as best he may until a new turn in the wheel shall put him into power and place again. One stroke of bad luck follows another, and he dies, a ruined man, by his own hand. The life and death of the father show much more of the author's early cleverness than anything else in the book; but this is merely introductory to the adventures of Endymion and Myra. Myra becomes a governess. Here, of course, was an opportunity for strange adventures, for pathos, even for tragedy in the situations, and it is no ordinary family in which Myra obtains a situation. She goes among the Neuchatels (the Neuchatels evidently represent the aggregate virtues and wealth of all the Rothschilds), where she becomes the pet of the family and the intimate friend of the daughter Adriana, and where she leads a life of complete comfort and substantial independence. We are every now and then reminded by the author of the tragic background of Myra's earlier career, but the tragedy is kept so very much in the distance that we fail to be impressed by it. In such a household good marriages are much talked about and not seldom made, and Myra, whose sole idea in life is to advance the fortunes of her brother and rescue the family from the low position to which they have fallen since the death of her father, is very soon asked in marriage by no less a person than Lord Roehampton (Lord Palmerston). Myra immediately accepts Lord Roehampton, is shortly afterwards married to him, and for the remaining 275 pages of the book leads a life of great and increasing prosperity and happiness. She does, to be sure, in the course of it lose her husband; but as this only paves the way for her marriage with the king of France, this can hardly be regarded as a serious calamity. Her function is to assist Endymion in his rapid and certain upward path.

It is one of Lord Beaconsfield's ideas, which some people may call romantic, that men are always assisted in their rise in life by some woman, and if this ever happened to a man it certainly did to Endymion Ferrars. Not contented with making him sure of success through the help of his distinguished sister, the author also provides him with a charming friend in Lady Montfort, and a substantial benefactor in Adriana. There is, moreover, nothing about the career of Endymion which arouses our interest or sympathies. He is from the first fatally successful. The obstacles which arise in his path we know at the outset will not prove to be real obstacles, and vanish entirely at the touch of the author's magical wand. There is no real struggle, and Endymion, whether he wants money, office, or a wife, is as certain to get what he longs for as we are to turn over the pages which advance him in his happy career. He finally marries Lady Montfort, and becomes Prime Minister of

* 'Endymion. By the Right Hon. the Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.

England. The plot is undeniably flat. In fact, there is no plot that deserves the name.

The characters in Endymion are numerous, some of them being characters taken from contemporary politics, some the creations of the author's fancy. Myra and Endymion of course belong to the latter class, and Myra is really an extraordinary character. She is conceived in the author's wildest vein, a woman devoted to a single purpose in life, but without any other individuality of any kind. We first catch a glimpse of her at page 17, where the twins are thus described: "Though only eight years of age, a most unchildlike self-possession distinguished them. The expression of their countenances was haughty, disdainful, and supercilious. Their beautiful features seemed quite unimpassioned, and they moved as if they expected everything to yield to them." The scene is at the dinner-table of their parents, and these charming children were "soon engaged in negligently tasting delicacies," while Myra "seemed apparently unconscious of any one being present except when she replied to those who addressed her with a stare and a haughty monosyllable." When the Ferrars family lose everything and go down to Hurstley to live, Myra says little during the journey, "but an expression of ineffable contempt and disgust seemed permanent on her countenance. Sometimes she shrugged her shoulders, sometimes she raised her eyebrows, and sometimes she turned up her nose." When she accepts Lord Roehampton she thus explains the matter to a friend: "Lord Roehampton has every quality and every accident of life that I delight in; he has intellect, eloquence, courage, great station and power, and what I ought perhaps more to consider, though I do not, a sweet disposition and a tender heart. There is every reason why we should be happy—yes, very happy." From these little glimpses of Myra's character one would hardly suppose that Endymion's sister would display, whenever put to the test, all the most admirable qualities which can distinguish a woman. But this is precisely what she does. There is no real cohesion or consistency among the different exhibitions of her character that are placed before the reader. They are all accidental and meaningless. Endymion is the hero of romance as he was understood fifty years ago, with some slight modifications and improvements suggested by Lord Beaconsfield's experience of life. He is moved through the different stages of his career by unconcealed wires, a veritable puppet in the hands of the author. Instead of having startling adventures, as he would have had in an old-fashioned romance, he has, as we have said, nothing but a succession of brilliant strokes of good fortune, so that if he had any individuality there would be no opportunity for its display. It is hardly worth while to go through the other characters in detail. Most of them have been suggested by real people, but by means of anachronisms and the blending of the different characteristics of two people in one the author has managed to make identification in many cases difficult. Prince Florestan, with his charming manners, his fondness for amateur sorcery, his mother Agrippina and his position as pretender, is, of course, Louis Napoleon, but he is recognizable by these external accidents rather than by any development of his character. St. Barbe is the only approach to a real character in the book. This is apparently Lord Beaconsfield's revenge for "Codlingsby," and an amusing revenge it certainly is. Thackeray is dead and gone, and, though a great deal has been written about him, little is known or has been made public of his early life and private character. This fact certainly gives a splendid opportunity to an enemy. Thackeray once overwhelmed Lord Beaconsfield with ridicule in one of his Prize Novels, and now that he is in his grave and that there is no one who is likely to come forward to take up the cudgels for him, the author of 'Coningsby' comes forward to the footlights to tell us a few of the real facts about this once famous man. The facts are, it seems, that Thackeray was a hideous mass of envy, pretence, and snobbishness, and that he could not open his mouth without letting all these qualities be seen. Lord Beaconsfield has always had a great success in characterizing the weaknesses of his enemies, and he has never used his chance to a greater advantage than in the case of St. Barbe. He has of course greatly exaggerated them. In real life a man like St. Barbe would hardly succeed in associating very long with gentlemen; but as a piece of forcible exaggeration of possible traits of character the picture is well drawn.

A minute examination of the construction of this novel would show the most extraordinary inconsistency, haste, and recklessness. The events are strung along one after another, apparently in such a way as will make the narration easiest to the writer, much as they might be in nonsense verses, and the characters are introduced, without much relation to the events, for the mere purpose of exhibiting the author's stock-in-trade. The effect of such a career as Lord Beaconsfield's cannot but be to make him despise his public, and a good-humored contempt for mankind at large is transparent in all his later writing. He is, as we have endeavored to show, without any place in literature properly so called. The peculiarities of his style are chiefly defects, his characters generally libels or nonentities, his construction defective and his plots worthless, yet he has actually succeeded in making himself apparently the most popular novelist of the day. In intrinsic interest there is no sort of comparison between the novels of Lord Beaconsfield and those, we will not say of George Eliot but of Trollope. It is unsafe to predict, but in all probability Trollope's books will be taken as pictures of the English life of to-day when the very names of 'Endymion' and 'Lothair' are lost to the world. Yet the appearance of 'Endymion' is a great literary event. Keys are published of the characters, statements are made of the history of the composition of the work, and the enormous price paid by the publishers for the copyright is telegraphed all over the world as a matter of public interest only second in importance to dynastic changes and revolutionary movements of suffering populations. There must be some explanation of this, and the explanation, we fancy, lies on the surface. It is not simply that Lord Beaconsfield is the only prime minister of modern times who is also a novelist, but that he undertakes to describe in his books the interior life of an aristocracy which is still very exclusive, and whose doings and sayings, whose characters and lives present subjects of interest to a vast reading public. All the world, as it has long been known, is fundamentally snobbish, and it is to this universal trait that the late Prime Minister generously panders. The audience which has a slight acquaintance with and a deep interest in the lives and doings of aristocratic and political people in England has enormously increased within the last twenty-five years. In England a whole press has sprung up, the avowed object of which is to furnish detailed information with regard to it to the ordinary reader. It is precisely the same function which the leader of this aristocracy, if he can be called so, has taken upon himself in his later years. He has never been or pretended to be a very scrupulous person, and he has no real reason to like or admire the aristocracy which he has fought his way into with tongue and pen. They have helped him against their will to political power; there is no reason why they should not help him to other things, even at their own expense, and it is at their expense that this clever adventurer has been all his life living. People really read such novels as 'Lothair' and 'Endymion' for much the same reason that they read a "society journal." If we can imagine a "society journal" edited by Lord Beaconsfield, the parallel would be complete.

HILLEBRAND'S GERMAN THOUGHT.*

IN addressing an English audience, in its own language, the author of these lectures conciliates, at the outset, the good opinion of his hearers by pronouncing the English tongue to be the most precise and subtlest of instruments in the hands of those who inherit it as a birthright, and by conceding to Englishmen the proud position of holding, at the present time, the intellectual leadership of Europe. Those who heard him must have listened with satisfaction to the frank acknowledgment, from a learned German scholar, that the generation now on the stage is fast becoming absorbed by the current which sprang up in England twenty years ago, and that the mental atmosphere of England is the mental atmosphere of cultivated Europe. The six lectures contained in this volume make no pretension to original research, and in considerable part they have already been presented to the public in various contributions of the author to French and German and English periodicals. They do not even pretend to be a complete survey of German literature for the period which they cover. Confining himself to a discussion of the intellectual movement of Germany from the middle of the last to the middle of the present century, the author seeks simply to trace the general course of thought which the Germans have opened for themselves, and which they have combined with the whole movement of European culture. In a word, it is the intellectual standing-point of Germany, as compared with other nations, which is here brought before us. Of course, in the limits of half a dozen lectures only the outlines of the subject can be traced.

Starting with a recognition of the essential unity of mediæval civilization, the lectures give a brief but lucid sketch of the successive contributions made by different European states after national languages and national life had become discriminated. Italy first came of age in the Renaissance. Then followed the great Catholic reaction, in which Spanish influence, for a time, predominated. During the seventeenth century England led the way in the investigation of nature and her laws. As Spanish dogmatism was succeeded by English empiricism, so in turn the latter was followed by French rationalism, which, however, was less a protest against the English movement than a continuation of it. But while the French effected the intellectual emancipation of Europe, it was reserved for Germany to protest against the absolute rationalism of France, and begin the work of restoration on a sounder foundation than that laid by Spain. The great service of Germany was to introduce into European thought the idea of Organism. By this new contribution modern speculation, in every department, has been profoundly modified. It was first elaborated in Germany, and it is the principal aim of these lectures to show by whom this work was done.

The author places the beginning of the German movement at the time of the Seven Years' War, which first roused the nation to new life after the century of intellectual stagnation that followed the Peace of Westphalia. With

* 'German Thought from the Seven Years' War to Goethe's Death. Six Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain May and June, 1879. By Karl Hillebrand.' New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1880.

this date as a point of departure, the great work of restoring and advancing German culture was achieved by three generations: the generation of Klopstock, Kant, and Lessing; the generation of Herder, Goethe, and Schiller; and the generation of the Schlegels, Schleiermacher, Niebuhr, and Schelling. Since 1825 the leading schools have simply repeated or contradicted the ideas of earlier thinkers.

With this conception of the distinctive service rendered by Germany to modern thought, it followed as a matter of course that a very large space should be assigned in these lectures to Herder. The lecturer by no means overrates Herder as a writer; on the contrary, he declares that the author of the 'Ideen' was neither classical nor finished, that he was pompous and diffuse, that his composition was loose and fragmentary, that his reasoning lacked firmness and his erudition solidity. Yet after making all these deductions he does not hesitate to ascribe to Herder an importance which he does not ascribe to Lessing, or to Kant, or to Goethe. At first glance this, no doubt, will surprise many of his readers, and be likely to provoke their dissent; yet the reasons which the author gives for his opinion must be accepted as conclusive. For Herder, more than any other, was the prophet of the new dispensation. He had the soul of a seer, and it was as a seer that he worked so powerfully upon his contemporaries. By opposing synthesis to analysis, spontaneous impulse to conscious action, organism to mechanism, development to creation, he applied a wholly new principle to theology, history, and poetry. Though he remained in a certain sense always a youth, and was never able to cast his speculation into any definite form, no man ever scattered abroad a greater number of fruitful seeds. His very defects only made his influence more immediate and decisive. His unmethodical imagination reunited what the cold, rational analysis of the preceding century had put asunder. His reign, though in the strict sense not a long one, marked a revolution in thought. It may be summed up in the maxim that all the products of humanity, laws, constitutions, religions, poetry, are a collective work, the result of a union of all faculties and all forces. Later writers who have established reputations by developing new sciences have simply followed out Herder's fundamental thought. The two principles on which he laid such emphasis, of organic evolution and of the entireness of the individual, lie behind them all. The author dwells at such length upon Herder, not only for the reason that till lately his influence has not been sufficiently acknowledged, but also because the way was opened by him which was followed by the third generation of the founders of German culture and by the great scholars who, early in this century, revived the historical sciences in Germany.

The pre-eminent position assigned to Herder among German thinkers is the striking feature of these lectures. While the great service of Lessing in founding the literary independence of Germany is fully recognized, little is said of his influence as a thinker, and even Goethe is represented as simply expanding Herder's maxim that, as man is the highest link in nature, he has for his task simply to understand what nature aims at. The speculative method of Kant does not come within the scope of this survey, but only his way of looking at life and history. Between the views of Kant and Herder there was an antagonism which is still felt in the intellectual life of Germany, and in the opinion of the author the moral and political ideas of the great philosopher were not German. Hegel is not reckoned among the original thinkers of Germany, but is relegated to the subordinate position of being a mere formulator of other men's ideas. The most severe treatment is reserved for the Romantic school, whose maxims the author denounces as a caricature of Herder's profound principle of unity, and whose practical ethics he severely condemns. But we can do no more than commend these admirable lectures to the attention of all students of German literature.

CABLE'S 'THE GRANDISSIMES.'*

THE author of 'The Grandissimes,' instead of following in the beaten track of character-analysis trod by the latest and youngest of our magazine writers even, makes a diversion in favor of the old romance. Nevertheless, in painting the Creole life of New Orleans at the beginning of the century he has in effect broken new ground, and, as the soil is rich, one's first impression is that he has contented himself with merely overturning it. But, rich as it is, it needs an artist to exploit it with the success shown in 'The Grandissimes,' and Mr. Cable is a literary artist of unusual powers. Indeed, considering his sensitive appreciation and executive skill, and considering too his nativity, his appearance just now is almost to be called sensational. The peculiarities of Southern men of letters are so well known that to advert to them pointedly is not only to wound an *amour-propre* singularly alive to criticism, but is to be guilty of platitude. Yet the appearance among them of a literary artist is surely not to be lightly passed over, Southern art having hitherto appeared nowhere but in oratory, and modern oratory, if art at all, being in any but the most highly humanized societies so debased as to be perilously near parody. Mr. Cable not only has the artist's aim of producing an effect rather than of giving vent to personal emotions, but he has the artist's sense of the importance to that end of good workmanship, and one is equally impressed by his absorption in his subject and his contained, concise, and unrhetorical manner of setting its attractions before the reader. The result is inevitably the happy one that the reader shares his enthusiasm before he suspects its existence, and—as we have admitted—is led into referring the merit of the book to its material. On the whole, one finally reflects, however, this is the homage a work of talent always exacts, and it is entirely probable that the actual Creole *milieu* in 1803 was as prosaic as actuality always appears till the chronicler arrives with his magic lenses. The poetic vein in Mr. Cable is well developed and defined, and the picture he conjures up from the old Louisiana levees and swamps is steeped in sentiment. It has an atmosphere and fragrance quite its own through which it communicates itself and its meaning palpably to the senses. Long ago, in the twilight of the Louisiana day, the ancestors of the Grandissimes and the De Grapions came from France and founded their families and the rivalry between them; the seed of the former became as the sands of the sea-shore, while the latter, after a brief period of prosperity in numbers, dwindled steadily till but two women were left. One of these, a widow, marries the head of the Grandissimes, her daughter a stranger who is not even a Creole, and thus the De Grapion name dies out completely. The two who unite at last the families so long hostile are the hero and heroine of the book. Aurora is pure Creole; Honoré, by force of intellect and character, rises out of the Creole stratum of sloth and lays firm hold on the things of the modern world. Intimacy with an ardent German-American just come to New Orleans, plain-spoken and inelastic as his parentage and having the intolerance of inexperience for Creole prejudices, assists him; he uses Frowenfeld as a flagellant his goad, and probably cares little if the other fancies himself a successful missionary. Frowenfeld is so regarded, at all events, by the rest of the *dramatis personæ*, though he manages to win their Creole hearts before the last chapter to an extraordinary extent. Over the action and characters of the story hangs the pall of slavery, and the picturesqueness at once and the impossibility of a society founded upon absurd but heroic devotion to an exaggerated notion of the wisdom and necessity of caste, form the theme of the novel.

What a clever writer to whom it is familiar ground can make of this may be easily imagined. Those who followed it as a serial we heartily advise to reread it consecutively lest they miss some of its excellences. If this discloses a suspicion of the vicious serial fault of ending chapters with suspense, on the other hand the singleness and totality of its impression are naturally greatly emphasized. For one thing, the genealogies, which may have seemed confused heretofore, not only clear up but add an important element to the general effect; you feel the ancient and honorable character of the Grandissime and De Grapion ancestry, appreciate the strength of the family feeling better, excuse its concomitant excesses more readily, and, perhaps more than all, through the appeal of this hazy past to the imagination get a quicker sense of the reality of the different persons who have emerged from it. The pedigree business is beautifully done, too. It recalls the similar portion of 'Henry Esmond'; though, since it does recall Thackeray, that is enough to suggest that it is a trifle too beautifully done, and to remind us that Mr. Cable at times displays a rhetorical over-refinement, consisting in a rather playful assumption of the reader's information on some point to be elucidated further on. Everything is cleared up in due time, and you don't mind being mystified, of course, but the uncertainty is annoying; the narrator comes to have the air of caressing what he has to tell, of fondling it and letting you get glimpses of it, but retaining it long and handing it over wholly to your inspection at last with wistful regret. This shows respect for what he is engaged upon, but it is a kind of *espièglerie* that is essentially not admirable and is plainly something to be outgrown. It is proof of the care which Mr. Cable has bestowed upon his work; but it is a needless one, since there is nowhere a negligent touch to be noted, and other faults of a similar kind testify to an excess of finish, grateful enough if one thinks of its rarity in Mr. Cable's literary *entourage*, but a blemish in itself like any other. On the other hand, it is obvious that in general its results must be good; Mr. Cable has in such measure the gift of language, is so felicitous in point of pure expression, moreover is so clearly a born story-teller and is so evidently in love with his subject here, that one rightly attributes to his scrupulousness in execution the happy impression the book leaves of more than justifying by its material the affectionate sympathy with which it is written. The Louisiana landscape, the warm New Orleans late afternoon when the Creole world is airing its courtliness and pride in the plazas, the Nancanou and Frowenfeld interiors, and the dozen situations which develop the "laughable, pathetic jumble" of Creole character, are suffered to make the reader's acquaintance quite of their own accord, apparently; and so nice is the author's art that we hardly notice his several introductions, which means, of course, that they have been in the best taste.

It would be doing 'The Grandissimes' an injustice, however, to imply that it is only a charming picture cleverly painted. It deals with graver ele-

* 'The Grandissimes: A Story of Creole Life. By George Cable.' New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

ments of social existence than mere picturesqueness; and though the society it depicts no longer exists, and its problems have been solved by time, it is none the less a serious and important work for that. The effect upon a tropical society habituated to the substitution of impulse, good or bad, for reasoning, loose or exact, of an institution whose maintenance involved an inversion of the mental processes of the modern world, is a theme worthy the powers of any expositor. It, or the nearly identical situation presented for so many years by the *Américain* successors of the Louisiana Creoles, has been often enough depicted from a moral standpoint; that is to say, from 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' down, there have been many sermons preached from this text. As a situation which when adequately described suggests its own sermon it has nevertheless been left for Mr. Cable, who has, in the main, made the most of his extraordinary opportunity. Wherever the effect of slavery upon the Creole society or the individual Creole is concerned it is admirably painted; it is suggested or shown by the writer in true dramatic manner, illustrated in the action and betrayed by the characters themselves. The author does not asseverate *in propria persona*. On the contrary, when the effect upon the slave or the free Pariah is in question Mr. Cable is apt to appear upon the scene. He makes sententious comments, characterized by great good sense and right feeling, but nevertheless palpable intrusions. He says there are some Southerners who still believe the negro slaves were the "happiest people under the sun." But—except Mr. Carlyle—no one else does, and clearly preaching to Ephraim is breath wasted. The audience Mr. Cable really addresses needs neither instruction for itself nor a protest from him as to his own position in the matter. And if it did it would not be Mr. Cable's fault or alter his literary duty. Nearly the same thing may be said and nearly the same explanation hazarded concerning the Bras-Coupé story and the episode of the murder of Clémence. The reader's withers are wrung in behalf of a cause already won. Neither incident is improbable, nor is either probably exaggerated, considered even as a type. The fact of Clémence's fate is perhaps necessary in order to show vividly the extent to which the master shared the superstition of the slave; but, in treatment, both are distressing and appeal distinctly to the nerves. Clémence's piteous plea for her life is good enough to compensate in a measure, but not wholly, for the shock, and one's feeling is that only readers too impervious to suffer from it ought to be visited with the sequel. It is, we think, clear that Mr. Cable's nice instinct is here at fault, and that what used to be called "politics" by sensitive conservatives is responsible for it. It should not be understood that we object to the darkest shadows in a picture of this kind, or to melodrama *à outrance*, or that we incline to the Greek fashion of killing the victim off the stage; only, that when the intellect and even the emotions are passed over, and the nerves are sought for the purpose not of thrilling but of shocking them, a mistake is made in point of art. In point of art melodrama is never so effective as when it is managed by a cynic with an eye constantly on the peril from bathos, however subtly disguised in contained writing; and we are tempted, by way of illustration, to ask Mr. Cable to compare his narrative of Bras-Coupé with Mérimée's somewhat similar story of 'Tamango,' which is to the full as tragic and pathetic, and far superior in permanence of effect.

It is not, however, owing to any positive blemish—and the character of its melodrama is after all a slight one compared with the positive merits of the book—but rather to its omissions that 'The Grandissimes' is not a great novel as well as a charming one. We own to finding the fact agreeable, not because of cherished prejudices or of innate hostility to the way in which the world is going in fiction, but partly on account of the change, which is a little in the nature of relief, and partly because pure charm is none the less charming for being unadulterated with anything of greater strength. Nevertheless this is selfishness, and does not alter the fact that what prevents 'The Grandissimes' from taking the front rank in contemporary fiction is its weakness in portraiture of an intellectual interest. The best contemporary fiction is wholly given over to the study of subtleties of character, and the entertainment it provides is almost exclusively of an intellectual variety. The old romance amused in a totally different way; it had not the faintest notion of psychology. Each has its advantages, and, no doubt, the fiction of the future will combine them. Meantime, to succeed Mr. Cable needs, one may almost say, modernizing. His Aurora Nancanou is admirably characterized, and takes her place at once as a delightful addition to the prize portraits of fiction; Honoré is well-nigh as distinct and fully as admirable; Raoul is a creation of genius. The over-astute reader may ascribe this, perhaps, to their seductive dialect, which will be a mistake. But beyond these we have types. Even Palmyre and Agricola are not sharply enough characterized to seem individuals. Frowenfeld is a lay figure. The company in general are enshrouded in the poetic and many-tinted Louisiana haze, and one hardly makes out their features. It may be said of the story, as the author remarks of a narrative of one of his characters: "There shone a light of romance upon it that filled it with color and populated it with phantoms." There is, however, indefinite promise in such acute sentences as these: "There are understandings that expand, not imperceptibly hour by hour, but as certain flowers do, by little explosive ruptures, with periods of quiescence between" (p. 130), and: "The one as fond of the abstract as the other two were ignorant of the concrete" (p. 180); and it is possible to expect more incisive power in Mr. Cable's next work. One's last word, however, is that it would be vain to look forward to anything more captivating.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS.—II.

THE generation for which the late W. H. G. Kingston wrote is one which has measurably—in this country rather suddenly and unaccountably—lost its interest in Marryat's works. But Mr. Kingston at his best, whether on sea or land, bears no comparison with the author of 'Jacob Faithful,' and at his worst falls a good deal below Mayne Reid in the literary and constructive qualities of his fiction. We have read nothing of his which reached the level attained in his 'Snow-Shoes and Canoes.' 'In the Wilds of Florida' (T. Nelson & Sons) is typical of the author's method of producing a story. It is evidently the result of pure cramming by one who had never seen the peninsula nor a red Indian; and the object in writing it was not to make a genuine historical novel, with the Seminole war as a basis, but to convey a certain amount of information about the country, its vegetation, game, curious insects, etc. There is no part of it which can be called successful, while much of it is absurd—all the talk of the Indians and the whites, and especially the fine instinct for savage warfare shown by Tim Flanagan, "an old follower of my father who had served in his regiment," and accompanies the hero from his Irish home to the St. John River. The fact that boys can regard this book with admiration, as we know by experiment they can, will admonish judicious parents to substitute for it something not more wholesome in intent, but more true to life, to history, and to human nature.

Mr. Kingston's 'Tale of the Shore and Ocean; or, The Heir of Kilfinnan' (A. C. Armstrong & Son) is accurately enough described by the preface, which calls attention to "the stirring incidents with which the tale abounds," and adds that it "contains materials for a full-sized novel." Both in boys' books of adventure and in full-sized novels, however, essentially the same story has been told so often that it is over-confidence to bespeak attention for this rendering, of which, moreover, the absurd improbability would be apt to dishearten the most trustful boy reader.

The practised author of 'Pansie's Flour-Bin' (Macmillan) should have avoided so palpable an imitation of 'Alice in Wonderland.' The first half of the story is very agreeably told, and in excellent English, but when the time comes for the dream to begin, the trap-door proves a poor substitute for the rabbit-hole and all that went on therein.

Of the English, too, of Mrs. Molesworth's 'A Christmas Child' (Macmillan) one can only speak in praise, but we do not consider this a story for children, in the proper sense, at least unless it be read out loud to them by some one who can make plain the subtle working of the boy-hero's mind and the perplexities into which it sometimes led him. The end is sad, but in harmony with the religious motive of the narrative, which seems to be a real account.

Clever and quite orthodox are Mrs. Alfred Gatty's 'Parables from Nature' (reprinted by G. P. Putnam's Sons). They are a sort of Christian Evidences for the young, but not merely that, and can be recommended as aids in moral discipline even to parents who are far from sharing the author's aversion to Darwinism, and who are ready to concede that man is not the central figure in the universe. Mrs. Gatty has a distinct gift for fabulizing.

The 'Story of a Dog,' by N. D'Anvers (Lippincott), is well calculated to entertain a small child, and is characterized by a fair amount of humor and ingenuity. The English of it (it was written on the other side of the Atlantic) is a little careless.

A refined and pretty phantasy, 'What the Blackbird Said,' by Mrs. Frederick Locker (Routledge), is almost a nursery introduction to British birds. As such it would be the better for a greater number of illustrations. Its occasional "hard words" suggest the advisability of having a very young child listen to the reading of it, for the first time at least. The Blackbird learns a lesson of contentment and faith from the Robin and from an old Rook, whose quotations from Scripture are perhaps the most novel feature of the book.

Mr. Caldecott's choice of a ballad for his peculiar illustrations is this year 'The Three Jovial Huntsmen' (Routledge), which in some degree imposes on his talent that limitation which, as the poet says, first reveals the master. Few artists certainly could have contrived a greater variety of action and incident for the imbecile trio who "hunted, an' they hallo'd, an' they blew their horns also." There are the usual full-page cartoons in color, with outline sketches in brown ink, among which last one still remarks this designer's nice sense of perspective, especially when broad stretches of country are to be represented. Mr. Caldecott's humor, too, shows no falling off.

Mr. Richard Markham makes his second contribution to the Bodleyite class of juvenile literature in 'Aboard the *Mavis*' (Dodd, Mead & Co.), a sequel to his 'Around the Yule Log' of last year. The scene is again laid in eastern Long Island, in the description of which region the author may be

trusted implicitly; and the same merry set of boys and girls incur adventures by sea and land, listen to Revolutionary and other historical tales, and, what is the crowning merit of Mr. Markham, behave and talk with great naturalness and vivacity. It is symptomatic of the time in which we live that this September vacation is secured to the boys by reason of "a defect in the drainage-pipes" of their New York school-house (at "2,000 Madison Avenue"), which the conscience of the principal constrained him to repair in the most thorough manner. As for the chapters in American history, we should, had we been writing this book ourselves, have spoken a little less positively about the Norse settlements in New England, and a good deal less partially about the Pequot overthrow. While the cover of 'Aboard the *Mavis*' is sufficiently gorgeous, the printing and paper appear to us not so good as in the preceding volume.

'The Peterkin Papers,' by Lucretia P. Hale, now appear in a 12mo of 250 pages, illustrated appreciatively, though without much merit in execution, by F. G. Attwood, and published by Osgood. To those who have never made the acquaintance of the Peterkin family it may be explained that they are characterized by extreme dulness of perception, and exhibit that quality in ways and on occasions numerically limited only by the remorseless inventiveness of the author, so that in certain interiors, the children of which are initiated, it is only necessary to speak of a boy or girl as a Peterkin to convey an accurate notion. The design seems beaten out rather thin in the present volume; but if a durable form was dependent on this it was worth doing, and perhaps its audience is not likely to be over-critical as to the proportion of distension to nutriment in its literary provender.

'The Two Gray Girls and their Opposite Neighbors,' by Ellen Haile (Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.), is for the younger young folk, for whom its variety of incident and the naturalness of its manner make it excellent reading, or rather excellent listening, as its proper audience will need to be read to, perhaps. It is illustrated by Kate Greenaway, M. E. Edwards, Lizzie Lawson, and others, though the drawings of the first are unhappily few in number, and those of the rest not particularly skilful.

'We and the World,' by Juliana Horatia Ewing (Roberts Brothers), is in some respects hardly the "book for boys" which the author calls it, and might be divided into halves for fathers and sons respectively. The first part, although it will interest boys by its number of boyish scrapes and other adventures simply and straightforwardly told, contains rather food for adult thought. The blind mistakes of an affectionate father, even when so well described as they are here (and the portraits of the boys' father and mother are very well done), are hardly matter for juvenile criticism, even if they are for juvenile interest, which we doubt. Particularly good is the description of an English school of the sort supposed to have been obliterated by 'Nicholas Nickleby,' and the difference between the two boys whom fatherly partiality and obstinacy send to different schools is happily hit off. Indeed, the author has a nice perception of character, within certain limits, and should develop it, one is fain to think, by graver work than it is the custom to consider juvenile literature. The last half of the book is full of adventure, and of rather less consequence than stories of its sort.

Samuel Pepys and the World He Lived In. By Henry B. Wheatley, F.S.A. (London: Bickers & Son; New York: Scribner & Welford. 1880.)—Pepys's Diary has a twofold value—to the student as an uncolored revelation of the manners of the time, and to the general reader as an extraordinarily entertaining illustration of human nature. To characterize this value most specifically would now be a superfluous labor; but in both aspects the Diary has stood in need of a commentary. The best editions, it is true, contain copious foot-notes, but these interrupt the attention and are usually forgotten when the leaf is turned; they are momentary flashes on the obscurities of the text, and do not afford that pervading light in which each incident would take its proper place and relative importance in the general life of the world described or in the personal life of Pepys, which, although it had its private demesne, was mainly a share in the larger interests of business, politics, or amusement. This lack Mr. Wheatley has excellently supplied. He draws the principal outlines of the character of the age, so far as it is shown by Pepys—the court, the city, the pleasures and habits of the men and women; and he takes the opportunity given by Pepys's business life to recount the history of the connection of Tangier with England, and to describe the growth of the Naval Office and its mode of administration, with a clearness and brevity not elsewhere to be found. Pepys himself, the man whose humorous exhibition of himself surpasses even English invention and wins a poor-devil sort of kindliness in spite of his meannesses, is very fairly dealt with; indeed, in his case there is very little temptation to the biographer's overcoloring, for in his own time he was only a respectable man, and the chief import of his Diary, so far as it regards himself, is in that very quality of respectability. He was an efficient man of business, with somewhat more than ordinary liveliness, and a few liberal tastes; eccentric even then he must have appeared, but he was successfully masked by his routine, his cunning, and the confidence of his Diary, until, when the key to his secret alphabet was found, his garrulity tore off the disguise and allowed men to complete the portrait. Mr. Wheatley delineates his character justly: "He was unfaithful to his wife and a coward, yet he knew his faults, and could try to amend them. He was vain, ignorant, credulous, and superstitious; yet he had scholarly tastes, and his orderly and business habits were so marked that they alone would point to him as a man out of the common run. He was mean, and yet he was also generous. Perhaps, on the whole, the most remarkable characteristic of the man was his total lack of the imaginative faculty." These are only generalizations; the image that lasts is stamped upon the mind by the specific anecdotes, and in this book the most noteworthy are culled from the Diary, so that, after reading it, one has a real conception of Pepys as he appears in the Diary, as well as a valuable fund of information in regard to his earlier and later life, his friends, his books, and his affairs. This study of Pepys is thus exhaustive; in the long appendix are accounts of his portraits, lists of correspondents and of plays he saw acted, and much other supplementary matter. To read the volume may diminish the pleasure of surprise in reading the Diary, but will pave the way to the clearest knowledge of the man and his times.

Life in a German Village. By the Hon. Mrs. H. W. Chetwynd. (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1880.)—Books about Germany are becoming very numerous, and we know of none which has not its distinguishing good points; but this little volume by Mrs. Chetwynd—two hundred odd pages of large type—seems to us exceptionally commendable. In style it reminds one of the simple, colloquial narrative of home letters; letters, however, which, while entirely unpretentious, show not only a clever woman's faculty of describing little things in an interesting manner, but considerable acquaintance with men and manners, and a thorough appreciation of the picturesque and humorous. The authoress's village seems to have lain in the Prussian province of Saxony, whence she made excursions to the neighborhood of Hamburg, Berlin, Lübeck, Saxon Switzerland, and Dresden. Her pen suffers no temptation to wander into fanciful disquisitions on things in general, after the fashion of Mr. Julian Hawthorne; nor is she betrayed into drawing startling conclusions from meagre premises, in the manner so well illustrated by the clever writer of 'German Home Life.' She reports only what happens under her own eyes, and ventures opinions only upon those subjects with which previous training had made her competent to deal. Her remarks on schools, and officials, and food, and cattle are none the less valuable on this account, especially as, when she praises, it is with moderation, and, when she blames, with good temper. "The world went pleasantly with us in our German village," she says in the middle of the book; "dulness we knew not; the simple pleasures around us were still more appreciated as time went on." And she closes her narrative with the evidently heart-felt assertion that "it is seldom that a stay, from one end of it to the other, can be looked back upon with nothing but pleasant feelings; and, looking back, we often regret the ease of life, the music, our friends, and our German village."

Curiosities of History: Boston, Sept. 17, 1630–1880. By William W. Wheildon. (Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1880.)—The best mode of describing the plan of this little work is to cite the chapter-headings in the table of contents, viz.: Topography of Boston; Public Ferries; Boston Cornfields; Puritan Government; Narragansett Indians; Names of Places, Streets, etc.; Persecution of the Quakers; First Newspaper in America; Curious Boston Lectures; Remarkable Proclamations, 1774–5; Popular Puritan Literature; Revolutionary Proclamations; Curiosities of the Market. These topics, if thoroughly treated, and illustrated with the present resources of the antiquarian and the book-manufacturer, might fill a series of magnificent volumes. They are here somewhat lightly disposed of, though neither without learning nor research; the author's style is careless and the printer's performance somewhat slovenly; the fac-simile and other illustrations are too few to satisfy the appetite. Nevertheless, the book is worth its price, and will probably add something to any one's knowledge or imagination of old Boston. There is novelty in the sectional grouping, and an occasional rarity like Gov. Shirley's proclamation of Nov. 2, 1744, has almost the value of an "inedited" document. The author is not a blind admirer of the Puritans.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Allen (J. H.), Fragments of Christian History	(Roberts Bros.)	$1 50
Bird (Isabella L.), Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, 2 vols.	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)	5 00
Clarke (Rev. J. F.), Self-Culture	(J. R. Osgood & Co.)	1 50
Davids (T. W. R.), Buddhist Birth Stories, vol. i.	(Trubner & Co.)	
D'Anvers (N.), Story of a Dog	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)	
Disraeli (I.), Complete Works, 6 vols.	(A. C. Armstrong & Son)	7 50
Hale (E. E.), Stories of the Sea	(Roberts Bros.)	
Locker (Mrs. F.), What the Blackbird Said	(Geo. Routledge & Sons)	
Markham (R.), Aboard the *Mavis*	(Dodd, Mead & Co.)	1 50
Molesworth (Mrs.), A Christmas Child	(Macmillan & Co.)	1 50
Nohl (L.), Life of Beethoven	(Jansen, McClurg & Co.)	1 25
Prince Darling's Story-Book	(Geo. Routledge & Sons)	
Scribner's Monthly, 1880, vol. xx.	(Scribner & Co.)	
Stanford (C.), Philip Doddridge	(A. C. Armstrong & Son)	75
St. Nicholas, 1880, 2 vols	(Scribner & Co.)	
Tennyson (A.), Ballads, and Other Poems	(Jas. R. Osgood & Co.)	50
Wooing of the Water Witch	(Henry Holt & Co.)	2 00
Yonge (Miss C. M.), Love and Life: a Tale	(Macmillan & Co.)	1 75

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1880.

The Week.

THE Bank of England has at last taken formal notice of the heavy drain of gold to this country, and advanced its nominal discount rate to 3 per cent. from 2½ per cent. The response to this action here was an advance in the rates for sterling bills, but the advance was only temporary, and the week closes with rates for bills on London at figures which warrant gold imports. The steamers arriving bring large amounts of gold, not less than $5,000,000 having been landed here within the last six days. Notwithstanding this foreign specie, the New York money market has been stringent, and the banks only keep up a proper relation between their reserve and liabilities by a contraction of their credits. This contraction last week amounted to nearly $12,000,000, and had the effect of still more firmly putting the money market in the control of a few wealthy speculators who are also money-lenders. They charged borrowers all manner of "commissions" for money—from $\frac{1}{6}$ of 1 per cent. per day to $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1 per cent., in addition to 6 per cent. per annum. Until the Treasury begins its January disbursements there is little reason to expect rates for loans which are not made by these speculative capitalists. In spite of the high rates for money, investment securities of all kinds have been strong in price, under the influence, first, of the prospective refunding operations of the Treasury, which will lower the rate of interest on United States bonds; and, second, of the very profitable business of the railroads and their large dividends in cash and stock. General trade, where confined to legitimate business, continues good and very large in volume. There were during the week two important failures in the coffee-trade, the aggregate liabilities having been between $3,500,000 and $4,000,000; but these were the result of speculative operations having for their purpose a control of the price of coffee at a time when production had fairly overtaken the demand for the article. Silver closed at 52*d.* per ounce, and the bullion value here of the "buzzard dollar" at $0.8662. Congress shows no disposition as yet to touch the silver question; nor has that prompt attention been given to refunding legislation which was promised at the very beginning of Congress.

A sharp correspondence between Senators Bayard and Conkling has been published. It appears that more than a month ago—that is, during the canvass—Mr. Bayard made a speech in Delaware which the Philadelphia *Press* of October 29 said contained a charge that Messrs. Conkling, Davis, Arthur, Jayne, and Boutwell were present in the Custom-house when the famous $267,000 was extorted from Phelps, Dodge & Co., and that they then and there divided the money among themselves. Mr. Bayard wrote to the *Press* before November 20, pronouncing this report "false and malicious." But Mr. Conkling had on the 13th of November written to Mr. Bayard, calling his attention to the report, and asking if it was true "in form or in substance." Mr. Bayard answered that this was the first he had heard of it; that the report was so "grossly inaccurate" as "to cause the belief that it could not have been written by an honest person"; that he did denounce the moiety system and the share that accrued under it out of the Dodge case to the Collector, Surveyor, Naval Officer, and informer; and said that "Mr. Conkling, the senior Senator from New York, was understood to have received compensation as their counsel from Messrs. Arthur, Cornell, and Laflin for his services and assistance in the transaction." To this Mr. Conkling replied in a very angry tone, complaining that Mr. Bayard's explanation of what he did say was "a new, a quite different and erroneous statement," also "of a different nature, and, though less injurious, offensive and untrue," and professing ignorance of the authorities on which Mr. Bayard relied—namely, evidence taken before a committee of Congress and the letter of a Mr. Wood, an ex-Treasury official, in the New York *Sun* of October 27, 1880—and asking Mr. Bayard solemnly at the close whether he wished to "leave the matter here." To this Mr. Bayard rejoined that he had no further "wish" about "the matter." Indeed, it is hard to see what Mr. Conkling can have expected him to "wish" about it.

The facts about Mr. Conkling's connection with the Dodge case are, that Mr. Dodge testified before a Committee of the House that when the moiety men, headed by Jayne and General Butler, were squeezing $271,000 out of him, "Senator Conkling was in New York and in consultation with these gentlemen, at the time when for two days the question hung whether this thing should be settled or not, and hung simply on the fact that Mr. Laflin [the Naval Officer and one of the moiety men] said the crime was so enormous that, so far as he was concerned, he never would consent to settle it short of the payment of $500,000. I think Senator Conkling advised him to do better." Whether "do better" means to take less or more, we do not know. Judge Davis also testified before the same Committee that when called into a private room in the Custom-house, to be consulted as District-Attorney by the moiety men—that is, the Collector, the Surveyor, the Naval Officer, and Jayne—as to whether they could forfeit the whole invoice in which the alleged fraud occurred or only the items in which it occurred—a very important question for them—he found "a gentleman" there closeted with them whom he was reluctant to name, but did subsequently name. That gentleman was Mr. Roscoe Conkling. It was not a nice situation for a gentleman or a Senator, but it was a quite fitting one for a Boss, inasmuch as the business on hand was the seizure of a large sum of money in which a band of faithful "workers" had a heavy interest. Why the Senator should now be annoyed at having attention called to the matter, it is hard to see. He is surely not ashamed of his trade. Judge Davis testified that at the consultation in question "Mr. Conkling read the statute, and said there could not be any doubt that the true construction of the statute was, that the whole of the invoice was forfeited, and that under such a state of facts he thought it the duty of the Collector to bring a suit for the entire amount of the invoices instead of the articles affected by the fraud." In another place the Judge said that Jayne admitted to him at one interview that the total amount lost to the Government by the alleged frauds was "sixteen hundred odd dollars."

The testimony was commented on in the House by Mr. Beck on behalf of the Committee, and, after explaining how the plunder was divided, he said that "how much Senator Conkling got as adviser of the Custom-house officers did not appear," the reason being that the moiety men declined to come before the Committee and give information on this point. The sum really divided among the officials was $65,718 03 in all, out of $271,000—not a bad haul even for those good old times. There was a curious controversy afterwards between Judge Davis, the outgoing District-Attorney, and Mr. George Bliss, his successor, about the District-Attorney's fee, a matter in which Mr. Bliss said or intimated that the Judge had not acted handsomely, inasmuch as he had offered to go halves with Mr. Bliss, when Mr. Bliss thought himself entitled to the whole amount, the case not having been finally settled until Mr. Davis was out of office. This was a fitting finale to an odious business, which the decent part of the public would fain forget, but which no friend of good government ought to forget. Mr. Bayard has done the community a service in recalling it.

We have described elsewhere the process by which Boss Kelly has been expelled from office. The vote in the Board of Aldermen received from the press the honors of a revolution, as far as space and florid description could do it. Kelly immediately offered his place with grim politeness to his successor, who refused to take possession for twenty-four hours, showing more consideration for Kelly than Kelly himself showed to his predecessor, Mr. Green, inasmuch as he started for Mr. Green's office immediately after receiving his appointment on something like the double, followed by a large mob. This summary method filled Mr. Green's mind, and not unnaturally, with some melancholy reflections on the small amount of consideration with which retir-

ing statesmen are treated in this community. Kelly made up for his politeness on this last occasion, however, by going to Tammany Hall in the evening and furnishing his followers with the most extraordinary entertainment probably ever offered in a great civilized city. He fiercely attacked the Mayor's personal appearance, treating his countenance as indicative of a low moral nature, and then addressed himself to the "Judases" in the Board of Aldermen. He gave a most deplorable description of their looks, and imitated their walk, which he described in one case as resembling the waddle of a duck, and also their way of speaking. One he ridiculed as a barber; another as a lager-beer dealer. One of his followers described another of them as an "unmitigated drunken loafer," who was made an alderman "to prevent his becoming a tramp." To appreciate this it must be remembered that the four "Judases" were selected and put into the Board of Aldermen by Kelly himself. They could not have been elected without his permission. This may give some idea of the pitch of contempt for the community to which the Bosses have attained. Kelly's outburst of rage and the gross personal abuse in which he indulged were, of course, much more violent and unbridled than Mr. Conkling's attack on Mr. Curtis in the Republican convention three years ago, but the latter was an equally good illustration of the Boss spirit and temper. No Boss can bear opposition or dissent from those of his own party, and, as a rule, never associates with persons whom he considers his equals. He has to be king of his company, and the company is almost always made up of dependants and hangers-on. Kelly's are probably of a lower grade than those of any other Boss, and when rebuked have to be rebuked in the vigorous and plain language of the jail-yard and the grog-shop in order to make them understand that he is displeased with them.

Congress has accomplished little during the week beyond the introduction of new bills, and in both branches the more pressing subjects of the session have been postponed by measures sure to invite prolonged debate and to excite lively antagonism. Senator Randolph's bill for the relief of Fitz-John Porter, authorizing the President to restore him to the army with rank not above colonel on the retired-list, and without back pay, and also reviving his right to vote and to hold office, was brought up on Monday, and led at once to a clash of constitutional views which made it seem prudent to accept a substitute proposed by Mr. Dawes. This was passed by a party vote. In the House, Senator Morgan's concurrent resolution to provide for the counting of the electoral vote was called up by Mr. Bicknell, who would have passed it under the previous question, but found the Republicans prepared to filibuster till the 4th of March if necessary, and was obliged to permit debate. Mr. Robeson bore the brunt of it on the Republican side with his usual ability and clearness of statement, and dextrously put himself on firm ground by confessing that during the abnormal period of reconstruction the party had made many unfortunate precedents which ought to be disregarded—the "twenty-second joint rule" among them. He fenced a good deal over the constitutional right of the Vice-President to mix judicial with his ministerial functions in counting the vote, but when pushed to the wall asserted with Chancellor Kent that that officer must "decide himself the questions which govern his ministerial actions," subject to revision by any competent tribunal which Congress in its legislative capacity, with the assent of the President, may appoint; and in the absence of any such provision his decision is irreversible. All sorts of hypothetical cases involving fraud and error were submitted to him for his discomfiture, but they were irrelevant except as witnessing the inconvenience and peril of the present unregulated procedure, which everybody acknowledges. The resolution was, in despair, temporarily withdrawn on Tuesday, giving way to Mr. Wood's Refunding Act.

To our mind the Republicans are perfectly right in demanding that that shall be effected by bill which it is now sought to enact by concurrent resolution, in evasion of the President's assent; and the resolution is so objectionable in itself that resistance to it cannot be justly stigmatized as obstructive. Moreover, there is no urgency in the matter, because it is inconceivable that the result of the late election should be reversed or in any way impaired, so that there is ample time to perfect a measure as substantial and lasting as the Constitution itself. We may be perfectly sure that when this is attained Congress will not have been made a returning-board, nor will one House have the power of rejecting the vote of a State. The party objections to Mr. Edmunds's plan while the issue of the Presidential election was still uncertain no longer exist, and it is surprising that the South particularly is not ready for a settlement which puts on each State the burden of deciding disputes which render more than one set of returns possible. Mr. Robeson acutely pointed out that the Morgan-Bicknell resolution embodies two conflicting theories of Constitutional authority for the proposed judicial functions of Congress. In the case of single returns the affirmative vote of one House outweighs the negative vote of the other; whereas in the case of plural returns, the negative vote of one House outweighs the affirmative of the other.

Civil-service reform has received passing attention in the Senate through a resolution of Mr. Pendleton's referring that portion of the President's Message which related to it to the "Select Committee to Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service," and instructing the committee "to report at an early day, by bill or otherwise." The fact that it was left to a Democrat to offer this resolution will not be overlooked. Significant, too, is the phraseology of the abstract of the President's recommendations, *e.g.*, "the absolute freedom of official subordinates in refusing all demands upon their salary for political purposes, and in resisting all attempts to coerce their political action"—a form of statement which has all the weight of an argument. Equally forcible is the text of the resolution of the South Carolina House to which we alluded last week, and which unfortunately was killed in the Senate. The State's Senators and Representatives in Congress were requested and instructed, respectively, "to urge Congress to take such measures as may be expedient for the reformation of the civil service, so that tenure of office under the general Government may no longer be dependent upon party success, nor subject to levy by means of forced pecuniary contributions to any political party, and so that capacity and character shall be the one test of fitness for office, and the sole but certain guarantee of its tenure."

A Philadelphia copyright scheme has made its appearance at Washington in the shape of a petition for an international copyright law, which has been referred to the Committee of Ways and Means. It is proposed to make it lawful for any citizen of the United States to buy from the foreign author the copyright of any literary, dramatic, or artistic production, provided the copyrighted article shall be wholly manufactured in the United States, published here, and be for sale here within two months after the date of the publication abroad; in the case of translations the limit is extended to four months; and in that of dramatic compositions to six months from the date of the first *representation* abroad. The bill also provides that these privileges shall not be extended to countries which do not concede similar privileges to the United States, and shall cover only publications issued after the passage of the bill. Another section declares that any assignment of copyright secured under this law to any one not a citizen of the United States shall work a forfeiture of it, and that it shall be thereafter lawful for any one to sell or print the article as if no copyright had been obtained. To judge by the provisions with regard to dramatic works, the bill must have been very hastily drafted, as it seems to confound dramatic compositions with representations of dramatic works; but a more serious objection is the extremely short space of time which must elapse between the publication of general works of literature abroad and the publication here. For authors of established reputation, whose books are sure of a market, it might be possible to make an arrangement in advance with publishers in the United States; but in all other cases the time is ridiculously short, and would force the author to sell his copyright on the publishers' terms. This, however, would perhaps be regarded by certain Philadelphia economists as a very good result. The petition has some very good signatures outside of Philadelphia, and its ostensible purpose seems to be akin to that of the treaty

which is understood to be under discussion between the British Government and our own. The great advantage of settling the matter by treaty is that it will not be subject to constant modifications from the "pressure" of rival publishing houses upon Congress.

The grand jury of the United States Court at Richmond have indicted several judges of election for refusing to receive the votes of persons who presented tax-receipts alleged to have been illegally issued from the State Auditor's office. The law of Virginia makes these receipts a necessary qualification for voting, and Judge Hughes stated in reply to questions propounded by the grand jury that, although not signed by the Auditor in person, the receipts in question were legal, and that judges of election ought to be very careful how, on account of technical difficulties, they deprived citizens of the right to vote. He was further of opinion, according to the *Times* correspondent, that the grand jury should take into consideration and act upon the well-settled and salutary principle that the acts of public officers must be presumed to have been rightly and legally done until the contrary is made to appear; and also suggested that judges of election were bound to act upon this maxim at the polls. The defence of the indicted men seems to be that the receipts were signed by special tax-collectors appointed by State Auditor Massey (a Readjuster); that the law was not observed by Massey in commissioning these officers, and that before the election one Judge Clopton had issued an injunction restraining the collectors from issuing any new tax-receipts on this very ground. Upon this construction of the law most of the judges of election throughout the State ignored the disputed tax-receipts. The action of the grand jury has aroused some of that fierce passion of which the Richmond press has an abundant supply for every proper occasion. The *Whig* says that it has "no patience with these Thugs and demons, no matter whether they call themselves Southerners or Virginians." Thugs and demons are, it insists, "the enemies of mankind," and it calls for "the heavy hand of force" to be applied to them, on the further ground that they can apparently "neither be taught by human reason nor touched by human sympathy." "This is no time," it very justly observes, "this is no country, for free men to whine and fawn at the feet of the foes of freedom and political equality."

A singular spectacle has been witnessed during the week on the northern border of the Indian Territory. A colonizing expedition, headed by one Payne, and consisting of recruits gathered from many States under a sort of military discipline (being divided into eight companies, with a major in command, and not lacking a chaplain), endeavored to enter that part of the Territory to which the Indian title has been extinguished in favor of the Government, and which now goes by the name of Oklahoma, from Kansas. Unfortunately they were watched and accompanied in their movements by a cavalry force across the line, whose commander warned them not to enter in defiance of the President's proclamation. Although their answer was defiant, and they declared they would proceed at all hazards unless stopped by act of Congress, they wisely chose an east and west line of march in place of a southerly one. What made their situation all the more harrowing was the reports that at a little distance trains were going in by the fifties, while from Texas and Arkansas other squatters were entering unopposed, so that the fat of the land would be occupied before they could arrive on the scene. The fact that many of them had abandoned Western and Southern Kansas almost in a starving condition, on account of severe droughts, seemed in their eyes to establish their right to disregard the President's authority; but their incapacity to cope with the troops gradually told upon their spirits and their organization. Payne was deposed, and a cool head among them was despatched to Washington for relief. Not a few among them have been convicted of previous trespassing, and have been fined for it, but harsher treatment seems necessary for these lawbreakers. They held religious services on Sunday as Cromwell's soldiery in Ireland might have done, and doubtless with that confidence in a kind Providence which led a ruffian's mistress the other day in this city, after furnishing him with red pepper for the policeman's eyes, to bid him trust in God and he would probably pull through.

Lord Granville has written a letter to Mr. Lowell on the subject of the Fortune Bay outrage and the dispute that has grown out of it, which seems to show that there is no reason why the difficulty should not be amicably settled at an early day. Over a year ago the British Government conceded that "if a local law has been inadvertently passed which is in any degree or respect at variance with the rights conferred on a foreign Power by the Treaty, the correction of the mistake committed, at the earliest period that its existence shall have been ascertained and recognized, is a matter of international obligation." Lord Granville now says that England will be glad to pay the damages caused by the Fortune Bay mob, and at the same time suggests a joint establishment of regulations under which the subjects of both Governments shall have the full and equal enjoyment of any fishing which under the Treaty is to be used in common by them. He insists, however, that under the Treaty the right to fish "in common with British subjects" means the right to fish subject to any reasonable local regulations to which British fishermen are subject. He therefore takes exception to the opinion expressed in Mr. Evarts's letter to Mr. Welsh of September 28, 1878, "that the fishery rights of the United States conceded by the Treaty of Washington are to be exercised wholly free from the restraints and regulations of the statutes of Newfoundland." Whether a treaty right to fish "in common" means that there shall be no local regulations, or whether it means that any local regulations must be reasonable, seems an abstract point hardly worth further discussion, particularly as our fishermen are never likely to take the same view of the reasonableness of such regulations as that taken by the Canadian fishermen. As long as the matter is unregulated by treaty there will always be room for dispute on this head, while a commission could easily establish rules which should be binding indifferently on all parties.

From England there is little or no news but Irish news. The Government seems to be at last really alarmed by the progress of the Land League in making its authority felt and obeyed. It is reported to have established a sort of *imperium in imperio* by issuing licenses to traders and dealers as a certificate of good standing, by trying and sentencing persons to be "Boycotted," and by establishing courts for the trial of disputes between members, and by prohibiting the payment of any rent beyond the "Griffith valuation." We believe all this is much exaggerated, but the Irish mind is in a condition now when small incidents make very big stories, and, of course, every Land-Leaguer is much interested in spreading wonderful accounts of the power of the organization. Mr. Forster is said to be at last thoroughly alarmed, and to have insisted in the Cabinet on coercive measures, which it is now rumored will be resorted to by royal proclamation in advance of the meeting of Parliament. Of course the only coercive measure which can be resorted to in this way is arbitrary arrest or the suspension of the habeas corpus, which Parliament would subsequently cover by an act of indemnity. There can be little doubt that nothing would be so effective at so little cost of money and suffering. It would probably send all the minor Land-Leaguers flying in twenty-four hours, and relieve the peasantry from the pressure of an odious and demoralizing tyranny. It is still asserted, but with diminished confidence, that Messrs. Bright and Chamberlain will resign if anything like coercion is attempted. A thoroughgoing land-tenure bill will certainly be introduced when Parliament meets, providing for what is called the "three f's"—fair rents, fixity of tenure, and free sale.

Colonel Gordon, of Chinese fame, has been travelling in Ireland, and has published his observations. He gives an appalling account of the condition of the peasantry on the wild, windy, and wet western coast, and makes the proposal that the Government should buy out several counties, at a cost of $400,000,000, for reasons similar to those which caused the purchase of negro freedom in the West Indies, and convert the whole into a crown estate. This is, of course, extravagant and impracticable; but the eagerness with which even the most absurd plans for solving the Irish problem are listened to by the English public shows that it has at last taken hold of the English mind, and that the solution is near at hand.

KELLY'S DISMISSAL.

THE rejoicings with which the overthrow of Kelly have been received, not in this city only but all over the country, show that the system of government which he has represented during the last four years is by no means in favor with the public, and that it is ready to accept any mode of getting such persons as he is out of office. For it must be admitted that the means by which he has been got out of office are not all that a reformer fond of perfect methods could desire. Kelly has, in fact, been ousted by a liberal and effective use of his own arts, or, in other words, by what is known in the political world as a 'dicker." Theoretically, the financial officer or Comptroller of the city is appointed by the Mayor, by and with the consent of the Board of Aldermen, both being animated by a firm and constant desire to have the best attainable man in that place, as in all other places. As a matter of fact, however, the Board of Aldermen do not take this lofty view of their duties. The majority do not think of themselves as put in office in order to watch over the interests of the city, but in order to see that they and the party or section of the party from which they received their nomination get their proper share of the patronage. Consequently no nomination of the mayor's for any office secures confirmation unless the person nominated is the one whom the party managers have selected for the place, and this person, it is needless to say, is hardly ever the person best fitted for the place. Kelly was made Comptroller four years ago not because he was a person who in any enterprise requiring character, capacity, and experience would have been thought of for a high financial trust; in fact, his appointment, considering his history and antecedents, would, in any department of human activity except "politics," have had the air of a burlesque. He was made Comptroller because he was chief of the Tammany Society; and the business of the Tammany Society is not the maintenance or defence of any body of political doctrine, or the support of any particular line of policy, but the procurement of as many places as possible in the municipal service for the persons, known as "workers" or "the boys," who in the various wards are most skilful in managing primary meetings and drawing out votes on election day. Whoever is able to convince "the boys" that he is the man who will enable the greatest number of them to live out of the city treasury, is sure of their support, and their support makes him the leading man of the Tammany organization, and gives him the best chance of managing city affairs; or, in other words, makes him the city Boss. When Boss he distributes the nominations through the machinery of a county convention; receives and disburses the enormous sums levied by way of assessments, first, on persons nominated for city offices as a condition of their nomination, and, secondly, on the persons actually in office; but of these sums, we believe, he renders no account whatever. In addition to this he sees that the heads of departments whom he has put in their places, either by direct selection of his own or in virtue of a bargain with rival interests, discharge their obligations to him in the matter of employing his henchmen in subordinate places. It will thus be seen that, merely as Boss, Kelly was the head of a vast machine, and that his Comptrollership added little or nothing to the dignity or emoluments of his position. It was valuable to him mainly as a sign of his power which his followers would understand and appreciate, and as a means of directly controlling the patronage and seeing that it was distributed judiciously and according to contract.

The Board of Aldermen, as at present constituted, is simply an instrument for preventing the mayor from having the patronage all to himself. It has no real connection with the administration of city affairs in any sense in which the inhabitants of the city are interested in city affairs. It occupies itself in seeing that the mayor carries out the arrangements made by the Boss, and, therefore, to enable the mayor to overcome and repudiate and oust the Boss it was necessary to offer the Tammany aldermen something in the way of patronage which would be better for them than anything they were likely to get from the Boss. This is substantially what Mayor Cooper did. He promised the Tammany aldermen that if they confirmed the nomination of some one in Kelly's place they would not suffer, but would gain something by the result. Accordingly four of them, now known in political parlance as "Judases," joined the Republicans and anti-Tammany men in expelling their old chief from his office and putting a new man in his place. It is true the new man is an excellent appointment, but the public must bear in mind that his fitness or his superiority to Kelly had nothing to do with getting him into Kelly's place. The "Judases" were not influenced in the least by that consideration. What influenced them was the fact that they were to make something personally by the change. Kelly and his friends say that they got their reward in money, by the *direct* receipt of a portion of what is called in "politics" a "boodle," which appears to be a corruption fund of considerable amount; but this we do not believe. The probabilities are that they are simply to have something good in the way of offices either for themselves or some of their followers, who will either divide their salary with them or help them in some way in their political career. In searching for the motives of the class who govern the city the investigator is greatly assisted by the fact that the *primum mobile* is always known to be personal gain; the points to which analysis has to be directed are the amount and the channel through which it is to come. An ordinary New York alderman would be much amused if you were to try to influence his vote by showing that it would contribute to make the city a more comfortable and cheaper dwelling-place. The conception of duty from which an argument of this sort is drawn has long ago vanished from the mind of the class who make municipal politics their business.

There is another feature in the affair to which we wish to direct attention. Not only was Kelly's expulsion from office obtained by means which, however warrantable under the circumstances, do not either indicate or promise any permanent improvement in municipal administration, but by means which in some degree indicate or promise a certain deterioration in municipal administration. One of the conditions of good administration is that the chief executive officer shall have his responsibility firmly fixed upon him by being allowed to select his chief subordinates, such as the heads of departments. Under the charter the New York mayor has this power, but by a device the Tweed Ring resorted to—we forget now for what purpose—the terms of a certain number of the principal subordinates (the comptroller among the number) expire a fortnight before the new mayor comes into office. Kelly, when he procured the nomination and election of Mr. Grace for the mayoralty, knew that his term in the comptrollership would expire before his own mayor came into office, but he relied on the inability of Mayor Cooper to get anybody confirmed in his place by the Board of Aldermen, and his own consequent ability to hold over until his own mayor came in on the 1st of January and reappointed him. This expectation has been disappointed in the manner we have described by means of a successful "dicker," and Mayor Cooper has thus been enabled to fill the most important places in the city government one fortnight before the new mayor's term begins. Consequently the new mayor, Mr. Grace, will be enabled to escape all responsibility whatever, and will have an excellent precedent to justify him in playing, or attempting to play, a similar trick on his successor. We do not use the term trick as a term of reprobation. The means resorted to in order to get rid of Kelly have, in the present condition of the city, most of the justifications of the deceptions practised on the enemy in time of war. They consist in the tricking of a trickster, the deception of a knave, the laying of an ambuscade for a ruthless foe. But the tricks of war belong to an exceptional state of things. They are intended to prepare for and lead to the restoration of good faith and loyalty in the regulation of human relations. The devices by which Kelly has been ousted, on the other hand, and over the success of which the country is rejoicing, have been practised in the ordinary working of the machinery of government, and have no end to their use marked out in advance, and are more likely to be used next year and the year after in the service of villany than of righteousness. It is pleasant to know that Mr. Grace has been deprived of the power of carrying out the bargain with Kelly by which in all probability he obtained his nomination. But it is not pleasant to remember that four years hence some other Mr. Grace may bring to naught a "popular rising" in favor of reform by a similar piece of strategy at the end of his term. In fine, we do not find that Kelly's career, odious as it appears, has stimulated the popular desire for such radical treatment of the municipal problem as will take city government out of politics, and make the Boss régime, if not impossible, much more difficult than it is.

There is still another aspect of Kelly's case which seems hardly to receive the attention it merits. As Boss, it is estimated by the New York *Herald*, which has very thoroughly explored the Boss system, that by assessments on candidates for city offices—that is, the sums they are called on to pay towards "expenses" when they receive the nomination, and assessments on their salaries after their election—there passes into the Boss's hands an annual revenue, of which he has to render no account, of from $130,000 to $150,000 a year, exclusive of the subscriptions of the hangers-on called members of the "General Committee," who expect to get office. Kelly's enemies say that the outlay for the election expenses is not over half the receipts, and this, even if an exaggeration, indicates that in three or four good years a Boss may, without stealing a cent from the city treasury, as Tweed did, realize what is, for a man of the class from which Bosses usually come, a handsome fortune. Now, this levying of assessments on candidates and office-holders is simply a slightly-disguised sale of the offices, not exactly at auction to the highest bidder, but to selected purchasers at a fixed price. It *tends*, however, steadily to become a sale to the highest bidder. The drift of political practice in this city, as in other places, is towards giving nominations to candidates who are likely to make a large contribution to the campaign fund, without regard to other considerations; and in places like New York, where a nomination by one party is as good as election, of course there is a constant temptation to find out who among the aspirants to public office is willing to pay the best price for the realization of his desires, and let him have the place. The assessments on salaries after election are simply a *mode* of paying the price adapted to persons of small means, like the purchase of pianos and sewing-machines on the instalment system. Of course the effect of the transaction on the mind of the office-holder is to produce a sense of property in the office, and to present its tenure to him as dependent not on his manner of performing its duties, but on his punctual payments of his dues to the Boss, and then to make the attempt to apply the rules of private business to the transaction of public business seem odd, fantastic, "theoretical," and, finally, a little ridiculous. The lesson that we should like to see the public extracting from Kelly's career is, therefore, this: that the system on which he has battened and grown into "great proportions" in this city differs in degree only, and not in kind, from that which the Republican party has established in the State at large, and which some managers are trying to introduce into other States. Mr. Kelly differs from Mr. Conkling, or any other State Boss now existing, in having at command an unusually large body of voters who pay no direct taxes, but have a great mass of taxable property within their reach, and are more ignorant and manageable than the bulk of country voters. But a civil service, such as the Federal and State civil service now is, officered by "workers," and holding their places through party services and the payment of pecuniary contributions, is simply an earlier and less aggravated stage of municipal boss-ship. Such a system naturally produces Bosses. It can only be managed successfully by one man, and by a man of peculiar temper and capacity, and it involves necessarily the gradual disappearance from view of the interest of the community as the main object of government.

THE PROPOSED RELIEF OF THE SUPREME COURT.

THE recommendations of the Attorney-General on the subject of intermediate Federal courts are not by any means new; but it is so long since there has been any general discussion of the condition of business in the Supreme Court, or the means of relieving that tribunal of the pressure upon it, that they come with the force of novelty, and the President refers to them in his Message as if such suggestions had never been heard of before. The Attorney-General's plan is, substantially, that a Federal Court of Appeals, intermediate between the Circuit and District Courts and the Supreme Court, shall be formed, for the purpose of curtailing the number of appeals taken to the latter tribunal, and enabling it to clear off the alarming accumulation of arrears upon its calendar. This can be done, he says, by adding to the number of Circuit judges, who have under the present law the jurisdiction of a Supreme Court justice on circuit, though not themselves members of that court. An increase of Circuit judges (one in each Circuit, except the Second, where an increase of two is recommended) would provide means by which intermediate courts could be formed consisting of two Circuit judges and the justice of the Supreme Court assigned to the circuit; the District judges being authorized to sit in case of the absence or disability of one of these. "An appellate court of such a character could safely be invested with a very large jurisdiction; and it would seem to me that no appeal should be permitted therefrom unless the sum in dispute should exceed $10,000, or unless the judges themselves of such intermediate court should certify that the case was one of such difficulty that it might properly be argued in the Supreme Court."

This seems to differ very little in principle from a bill to "reorganize the Judiciary of the United States" brought forward at Washington some four years ago, with the approval, it was said at the time, of the judges of the Supreme Court. That bill merged the Circuit and District Courts in one, made this new court a court of review, restricted appeals to cases above ten thousand dollars, to cases involving a construction of the Constitution, of a treaty, or of a law of the United States, and to cases "where the court shall certify that the adjudication involves a legal question of sufficient importance to require that the final decision thereof should be made by the Supreme Court." A comparison of these two proposals shows that the only change in principle is that in the Attorney-General's present recommendations the saving clause reserving the right of appeal in all cases involving questions of constitutional and treaty law and federal statutes is omitted, and the right of appeal, even, in such cases is placed at the discretion of the intermediate tribunal. It seems to us that such a scheme as this involves too abrupt and radical a departure from the established principles on which justice is administered in this country to admit of approval, much as we sympathize with the general objects in view. The effect of it would undoubtedly be to assist greatly in clearing the docket of the Supreme Court, but it would do so at the risk of clearing away at the same time much of the dignity and power of the court, and of introducing great confusion in the law itself.

In the first place, it is a very serious objection to making the right of appeal discretionary with the court which tries the case that it has never in the long history of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence been tried in practice, and this fact we may fairly infer is based upon some good reason. There is something, it must be confessed, rather startling in the bare notion of any court having a despotic power over the right of appeal, allowing it in some cases, refusing it in others, which to the ordinary mind may seem absolutely undistinguishable. For nearly a thousand years, in England and America, it has been the boast of the common law that the meanest suitor whose rights were invaded was entitled to the correction of errors committed in the trial of his case, by the court of last resort. To permit inferior judges to cut suitors off or admit them to this privilege at their arbitrary discretion is an innovation which ought to have strong practical considerations of convenience if it is to be adopted. But an examination of the probable effect in practice of such an innovation will show that while the only advantage secured would be the clearance of the docket of the Supreme Court, the practical disadvantages would be enormous. The great desideratum in any judicial system is that the decisions of the courts shall be uniform, and this is secured and guaranteed in England and the United States by the right of appeal. As long as suitors and lawyers understand that any question of law can be taken up to the highest court, this makes the rules of law laid down by the highest court binding on all inferior courts, and, so far as the law is settled by the highest court, puts an end to litigation. No one cares to contest a point of which he knows in advance what the decision must be. But with the right of ultimate appeal dependent upon the discretion of an intermediate court, this certainty (and no one will say that there is too much of it in our law) would no longer exist. The discretion, it must be remembered, is not the discretion of a single court, but of as many as there are circuits in the United States, and it may be confidently anticipated that this discretion will be differently administered in the different circuits. There will be a different discretion in Boston, in St. Louis, and New York. In one circuit the judges will think a case of "such difficulty" that it may be properly certified to the Supreme Court, because several eminent counsel are engaged in it; in another circuit because

it involves a political question; in another because a large amount of money is at stake; in another because, although a small amount is involved, the principle of law on which the case turns is a novel or curious one. In this way the judges in Boston may allow an appeal on precisely the same facts on which an appeal is denied in New York; and as the Supreme Court may reach a conclusion in the first case opposed to that reached by the court of review in the second, we may have two diametrically opposed rules of law administered by different courts of the same Government. The Supreme Court would, of course, adhere to its view of the law, and the court of review which denied the appeal to the views expressed by its own judges; and as judges are human there would be the very strongest inducement in their minds to deny all future appeals in similar cases, for in this way they would be able to make their decision a finality, at least within the limits of their own jurisdiction.

Meanwhile in other circuits the same process would be going slowly forward. Under the present system the decision of the Supreme Court would prevent all further litigation of the question involved, but not so under the new system. The judges of the other circuits, knowing, for example, that there was one rule of law at Washington and another in the Circuit Court at New York, and having the choice between the two, would in a similar case grant the right of appeal or deny it, as they liked or disliked the respective rules. For, as we said just now, under the present system it is not mere respect and admiration of the wisdom of the Supreme Court which induce Circuit judges to follow their opinions and treat them as binding all over the United States. It is the absolute and final power which resides in the Supreme Court to enforce its decisions that compels them to do so. Under the new system this would disappear, except in that limited number of cases in which the right of appeal is reserved owing to the fact that the amount of money involved is $10,000. It is quite safe to assume that this large limit would of itself strike at the roots of nine-tenths of the appeals now taken; so that in nine-tenths of the cases in the federal courts the new Circuit Court would be the court of last resort. But the right of appeal, discretionary in all other cases, is an absolute right if $10,000 are involved. At the same time precisely the same questions are every day involved in cases where $50 are at stake and where the suit is brought to recover hundreds of thousands. Under the proposed system the $10,000 case must go up to the Supreme Court if the parties choose to take it there, while the $50 case need not go up if the judges do not wish it to go. Now, let us suppose that after a rule of law has been established in a circuit for a long time by the denial of the right to appeal, so that all suitors and lawyers regard it as final and unchangeable, a case arises which involves this same rule of law, and also the sum of $10,000. An appeal must be allowed, the Supreme Court takes its own view of the law and upsets the rule, and declares that it is not and never has been law. Under these circumstances the Supreme Court decides the matter so far as the particular case is concerned, but whether in future cases *not* involving $10,000, but involving the same rule of law, the court of review will follow the Supreme Court or its own previous decisions, will still be a matter of choice with the inferior court.

All this shows that the effect of the introduction of the discretionary right of appeals in these intermediate courts will probably be to create great confusion and uncertainty, and at the same time to make the Supreme Court a weaker court than it now is, a result which would be deplorable. It seems to us that a *sine quâ non* of any scheme of reform is that the *right* of appeal to the Supreme Court should not be cut off in any case in which it now exists. The real secret of diminishing the number of final appeals is to make the intermediate court a strong one, and this can be easily done by creating a bench of judges in each circuit, as this bill proposes. We say nothing here of the advisability of the $10,000 limit. This is, however, quite as objectionable as the discretionary right of appeal. It is undemocratic and grossly unfair that the right of appeal should be governed by such a test as to make the Supreme Court a tribunal of last resort only for wealthy litigants. But what we desire to insist upon chiefly here is the confusion and uncertainty which the scheme would introduce. There are already two systems of law in every State in the Union; to have three would be unbearable. Notwithstanding the theory that the Federal courts in the various circuits follow the rules of law laid down by the State courts, they are absolutely bound by the decisions of the Supreme Court, and the result is now that in this city, in a considerable number of cases, the verdict in a law-suit will be for the plaintiff or defendant according as the action is commenced in the City Hall or in the Post-Office building. This makes it necessary that lawyers should understand both systems of law, and the difference between them. To lawyers this is of little moment. To suitors it means uncertainty, expense, and, worst of all, dissatisfaction and disgust with the administration of justice.

RECENT GERMAN HISTORIES.

BERLIN, November 24.

GERMAN historical literature has lately been enriched with so many valuable publications which are of general international interest that I am sure a short review of them in your columns will find a hearty welcome. The most important contribution to modern historiography is Leopold von Ranke's 'History of the World,' the first two volumes of which will be published before Christmas, under the title 'The Oldest Historical Group of Nations and the Greeks' ('Die älteste historische Völkergruppe und die Griechen'). In this work the celebrated author offers us the final result of more than fifty years of study. In the first volume he gives a synopsis of the origin and fall of the Asiatic kingdoms, Babylon, Palestine, Assyria, and Persia, and of Egypt, and then makes Greece the centre of his deductions and conclusions. The collision of the Persian empire with little Hellas, and the subsequent struggle of the leaders of the Athenian democracy down to the decisive moments of the Peloponnesian war, conclude the first volume, while the second is devoted to a fascinating sketch of the development of the Greek genius and intellect down to Alexander the Great; to the formation of Greek kingdoms on the one hand and to Carthage and Sicily on the other. The whole work will consist of five or six series, each containing two or three volumes, and a full series will be published yearly. There is a wonderful vitality and freshness of mind in Ranke, who as a true scholar has left his mark on the literature of our age, not only in his own works but by founding a school which does great credit to his name and to historiography in general. His disciples—men like Mommsen and Sybel, Curtius and Waitz, Giesebrecht and Röpell, Wattenbach and Max Duncker—occupy or have occupied the chairs of history in the German universities. The influence of the master as president of the Historical Commission of Munich, which every year publishes half a dozen most important works on German history, makes itself felt among the educated classes at large, and, by the encouragement given to younger aspiring talents, increases the circle of those who devote themselves to the study of history.

Ranke's first work, the 'History of the Teutonic and Roman Nations from 1494 to 1535' ('Geschichte der Germanischen und Romanischen Völker'), was published as early as 1824. He was the first who appreciated the value of the Italian, especially the Venetian, archives, and ransacked them for the benefit of modern history. His 'Germany in the Time of the Reformation,' chiefly based on the above sources, gives quite new ideas of the state of affairs in Europe at that period. English and French historians have followed in his track. Ranke's works thus far collected already fill forty-eight volumes. I mention among the most prominent his 'History of the Popes,' his 'Life of Wallenstein,' his 'French and English History in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' and last, not least, his 'Twelve Books of Prussian History' ('Zwölf Bücher Preussischer Geschichte'). He selects his heroes among the mighty of earth, the prominent rulers of the world, and less readily dwells on the lower and toiling classes; he best analyzes diplomatic and high political problems. Ranke, as a master of the delineation of historical and political characters and situations, fascinates his readers by never exhausting his subject, but by exhibiting its most remarkable traits from all the different points of view. Better than any other German historian he knows how to group and develop events and persons. It is, however, one of his few faults that he supposes too much knowledge in his readers, and disdains to go into the details of historical chronology.

Ranke is a man of low stature, not more than about five feet four inches high, erect of carriage and with piercing eyes, which do not betray his age. On December 21 he will be eighty-five years old. I remember having met Ranke in the fall of 1870 in the Thiergarten on a misty day, shortly after the surrender of Metz. "Well, sir," said he in the course of our conversation, "a great time, a noble time, a glorious time is this of ours! Do you see yonder in the woods the shades of Frederic William I. and of old Fritz appear and disappear? There they walk, there they nod happily to each other, there they are delighted with the grandsons and greatgrandsons of the men of Rossbach and Leuthen." As if to increase the effect of his remarks, while speaking we heard the drum and fife and saw the glittering of the swords and helmets of a regiment of soldiers march-

ing at a distance through the park. Of your statesmen Ranke is most familiar with Washington and Jefferson, while of Alexander Hamilton and the *Federalist* he knows very little. Of your historical works he particularly praised Mr. Bancroft's latest volumes. The first three, he once said, are full of important information, but are also very tiresome; the words read as if they walked on stilts—nothing but Sunday-afternoon sermons. But the history as contained in volumes four to six he declared the best. "You perceive at once from their perusal," he continued, "that Bancroft had learned a great deal in the long interval between the publication of the third and fourth volumes, that he had become a man of practical affairs, and that consequently he was more given to facts than to declamation." Some time ago I met Mr. Geibel, Ranke's publisher and head of the celebrated firm of Duncker & Humblot. "Is it really true," I asked him, "that the old gentleman is going to publish his History of the World?" "Certainly," he replied; "a few weeks ago I called on him, and he showed me nearly twenty large portfolios, each containing the material for one volume, for all of which I contracted with him. He must have noticed my surprise at the greatness of his plans. 'You know,' Ranke said, 'I have lost my wife [the lady, an excellent Englishwoman with whom he had lived in the happiest matrimony, had suffered for years and required much of his attention], and so have more leisure now and can work more than in former times.' Really, despite his eighty-five years, he seems to be more industrious than ever before."

Another large and important work, which is planned and carried out in Ranke's spirit, is the 'Universal History' in monographs ('Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen'), under the editorship of Professor W. Oncken, of Giessen, the same scholar who by his 'Oesterreich und Preussen im Befreiungskriege' (Berlin: G. Grote. 1876 and 1878. Two vols.) threw new light on the hitherto obscure European politics from 1813 to 1815. Oncken's contributors belong to the best authorities on their respective subjects, and the publishing house of G. Grote is not only celebrated for the splendid outfit it gives its books, but even more for its high artistic taste and command of the best printers and engravers on behalf of its publications. The work in question surpasses all its predecessors, and adds a new feature to German book-making. As you have often noticed the progress of this great standard history I will confine myself to a few remarks. Of the one hundred numbers of which it is planned to consist twenty-six have already appeared, so that within about six years the complete work may be in the hands of its subscribers. Professor Hertzberg, of Halle, has finished the history of Hellas and Rome, and is now publishing the second number of his Roman Emperors; Kugler, of Tübingen, has completed the history of the Crusades; Brückner, of Dorpat, the life and times of Peter the Great; and Philippson, of Bonn, the age of Louis XIV. Other subjects have been commenced and will be fully published in the course of the next year; others, again, are still only in preparation. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the illustrations of the work. They are not mere paraphernalia, but essential commentaries and interpretations of the text, especially in the histories of ancient Egypt, India, and Persia. They are taken from the best originals—for India, for instance, the India Office at London has contributed some of its richest treasures; and they are engraved with such exquisite delicacy and beauty that they deserve to be ranked among the masterpieces of the art. No. 25 (Dümichen's "Egypt") contains no less than fourteen large woodcuts representing the scenery of the tropical Nile, the remains of the most prominent old temples, maps and statues. I am surprised that this great and instructive enterprise has as yet not found an American publisher, the more so as I know that Mr. C. Müller, the proprietor of the firm of G. Grote, has sold *clichés* of the originals to Russian and Italian translators, giving them the text into the bargain. I am sure that if not the whole at once, at least single parts, like Dümichen's Egypt, Lefmann's India, Justi's Persia, or Brückner's Peter the Great, apart from their interesting and instructive text, would soon find their way to every parlor-table, if not to the household library, of most families.

As an excellent history for the general reader I would mention, in conclusion, the illustrated 'History of the World,' by Otto von Corvin, which the firm of Otto Spamer, in Leipzig, is now issuing in a new edition. The book was originally written by Messrs. Corvin and Held some thirty-five years ago. In spite of a large competition of works of a similar character, such as Becker, Schlosser, Weber, and others, it has found a sale of 5,000 copies in Germany and Austria alone. The new edition will consist of eight volumes, three of which are completed. The first two, devoted to ancient history, are written by Mr. Corvin; the third comprises the first part of the Middle Ages down to the Crusades, and is written by Messrs. Dieffenbach and Voigt. Mr. Corvin is an author who has had a very eventful life. He is now nearly seventy years old, but is still as fresh and vivacious as a man in the prime of life. Formerly a Prussian officer, then a revolutionary leader in Berlin, he was taken prisoner in Rastadt and sentenced to seven years' solitary confinement in the penitentiary. After having served his term he went to London, and from there, as war correspondent for the London *Times*, to the United States, where for a time he was colonel of a volunteer regiment and afterwards clerk in the Treasury Department. During the war of 1870 he went to France as war correspondent. His letters created a great sensation by their piquant tone, their vivid description, and their correct information. In his old age he has again taken up the work of his youth and rewritten the greater part of his history. It does not pretend to be original, but it is based upon the best sources and attains a very high standard of historical narration. Corvin has a wonderful faculty for dissolving real or apparent contradictions, and for drawing life-like pictures. The history of Egypt has been the study of his life; this chapter and that relating to the kingdoms of middle Asia are the best in the book, which is in all parts splendidly and attractively equipped, and is comparatively very cheap. ??

Correspondence.

PENSIONING PRESIDENTS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The idea of pensioning ex-Presidents is pleasing to the imagination, but is it wise to make the office of President of the United States a greater prize than it now is? And if that office is provided with a retiring pension, should not all elective public servants, according to their grade, in conformity to the equality principle of our Government, be pensioned? Though the prize has not always been drawn by our most eminently gifted men, yet nearly all of them have been more than willing to be President; and for the future, without any change of system, we are sure to have a sufficient number of able candidates.

Ardent politicians may desire a retiring pension for their President, as he would not have to exercise prudence to provide for his future, and "pressure," if not inclination, would require him, beyond his immediate necessities, to contribute his salary to the election (perhaps corruption) funds.

These reasons probably had influence with the founders of our Government, as they did not intend that the party which chanced to control the offices should be helped to perpetuate its power; and the distinguished men of a former generation that have been Presidents would not have been pleased to know that pity for them would be sought by exhibiting their straitened circumstances. V.

CAMPAIGN BRIBERY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your correspondent, "A. R.," in your issue of December 9, regards the statements of "M. C.," in No. 803, as incredible, and then claims to be better qualified to speak on the subject of "campaign bribery," giving as reasons what, to any one acquainted with the ways of "practical politicians," is convincing that he really knows very little of the true inwardness of politics. One who openly votes a split ticket never receives the confidence of bosses, and though they may allow him to do hack-work of the innocent sort, they would not let him into the inner circle or acquaint him with the secret-service fund. In their own cant phrase he is too much of a "statesman" to be trusted. If he would visit the Hudson River counties, commencing at Saratoga and going down through to New York, and put himself in confidential relations with the managers, or even question the well-informed, he would find "M. C.'s" statement not only confirmed, but even a faint sketch of the truth, and would go home a wiser and sadder man, rejoicing that political tendencies had not ripened in Western New York.

He would find that the largest amount of the money raised for campaign purposes was devoted to the direct purchase of votes at the polls on election day; that in each election-district in the country and in the cities each party had a share of this money proportionate to the "float," with a treasurer to disburse it and workers to capture "the eggmen," as they are called; that these "eggmen" go from one side to the other, and finally take the tickets from the side offering the largest price, deposit them, and receive their pay in cash from the treasurer (if prices are about equal the voter votes his preference, but insists on his pay); that votes range from $1, at a local election where there is no serious contest, to $25, when the fighting is forced; that in some towns and wards one-half the voters are in the market, many of them well-to-do farmers or mechanics. The money is raised by assessments on office-holders and candidates and by subscriptions of the moneyed men in each party, and aggregates several thousand dollars, and is distributed the Monday before election to the several election districts of the counties along with the tickets. He would find that church officials and church members, as well as other men otherwise reputable, engage freely in subscribing for or disbursing the corruption fund, with only concealment sufficient to keep the other side from a knowledge of their resources or some officious reformer from making a disturbance. He would find that district-attorneys, judges, sheriffs, and most grand-jurors are more or less implicated in the business, and so many others that it were as idle to seek to

suppress it by law as to indict a whole community. He would find that it ordinarily costs a candidate for a county office to be elected one-third of what he expects to receive during his whole term, and as legislative positions seem to have a peculiar attraction for wealthy men, that election to them costs several times the amount received from the State or national treasury. A candidate who will not contribute handsomely in all ordinary circumstances might as well withdraw at once, if the candidate pitted against him will. No one but a rich man or a man with rich friends, or backed by a powerful pecuniary interest that will furnish from $5,000 to $25,000, can run for legislative office with much expectation of success if there is a serious contest; and this fact is recognized as axiomatic with nominating conventions governing both parties in this section of the State. In the community where I live the purchasable vote is put at 800 out of a total poll of 2,300, by the best informed men of both parties, and the amount expended at the last election as $8,000, by those who ought to know and whose figures are the lowest of any. Each party vies with the other in this business, and the only difference is said to be that the Republicans can buy the purchasable colored vote a little cheaper, and the Democrats the purchasable white vote. If "A. R." visits the eastern part of the State he will exclaim, with the Queen of Sheba, "Behold, the half was not told me."

That the western part of the State is slower in its political development is probably owing to the fact that the moneyed classes and the political majority have been on the same side, and that the majority has been so large as to prevent any real contest over the local offices. In the east the conditions are reversed, the counties being naturally Democratic, and that majority being composed of many to whom a pecuniary reward on election day is an overpowering temptation. It is an abuse that has been continuously and on a considerable scale practised by both parties at all elections for over fifty years in this county, so I am informed by older people. For the last fifteen or twenty years it has grown to an enormous extent, and debars the poor man and the honorable from active participation in politics. W. P.

Hudson River Counties.

THE COST OF A CHANGE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Had a Democratic President been elected the country was threatened with an entire change of the officials in the public service, both at home and abroad. From this, in all probability, we are saved by the election of General Garfield. Having a little curiosity to ascertain how much a change in our foreign service would cost the Government in money actually expended, taking no account of the great loss in other ways both to the Government and to individuals by such a number of inexperienced officials coming into office at one time, on referring to the Register of the State Department and to the Consular Manual I have made the following calculations. The number of salaried officials in the consular service of the United States is 169, and the total amount of their salaries is $366,500. In this I do not count the thirteen consular clerks, with an aggregate salary of $14,400; nor the numerous consuls, consular agents, and commercial agents who are paid out of the fees which they receive. By a wise provision of law consular and diplomatic officers appointed from the United States, as they receive no outfit, infit, or travelling expenses, are allowed salary during thirty days in America while receiving their instructions, and during the period occupied in going to their post as well as in returning from it in case of their recall. This period of transit, as it is called, varies, according to the distance, from three days, in the case of Canada, to fifty or sixty, and even more, as in the case of China, Siam, and other remote countries. This allowance, although generally fair, is by no means liberal. No man is expected to travel as fast as the letter-post, and allowances have to be made in certain cases for necessary detentions while waiting for steamers, etc. As the old consul usually remains at his post until the new one arrives, and as even in case he does not his salary is received by the vice-consul, it is evident that during the thirty days when the new consul is receiving instructions at Washington, during the transit to his post, and during the transit home of his predecessor, double salaries are being paid. On a careful estimate of these double salaries, according to the time allowed by the Government and the methods of calculation used in the Treasury Department, I find that if all the salaried consular officers were removed the extra salary thus paid would amount to $85,080 89, or more than 23 per cent. of the salaries for the year. There is no extra expense attending the change of consuls paid out of their fees, for they receive no salary until they take possession of their posts.

By making a similar calculation for the diplomatic service, I find that excluding interpreters at Pekin, Tokio, and Constantinople, who could not be changed from the difficulty of replacing them, there are forty-four salaried diplomatic officers in the service of the United States, whose total salaries amount to $315,500. The actual cost of the change of these officers would amount to $74,867 38, or more than 23 per cent. of their annual salaries. An entire change of the officials in the consular and diplomatic service would, therefore, entail upon the Government the actual expenditure of $159,948 27, the most of which would come within the present fiscal year, for which no preparation has been made in the appropriation bill. This sum would considerably exceed the revenue brought to the Government by the consular service after all expenses have been paid. In addition to this there would be a certain expense, amounting to several thousand dollars, for losses on exchange, which fall on the Government and not on the consuls.

If, however, the Government can afford to spend this sum of $160,000 every four years, the efficiency of the service would be much more promoted by spreading the expenditure over four years, devoting $40,000 annually to increasing the salaries of diplomatic officers and unpaid consuls. It is not generally remembered that the scale of consular salaries was fixed in 1856, and that little change has been made since that time, although the cost of living in nearly every foreign town has increased in the last twenty-five years from 25 to 100 per cent. X. Y.

Weissnichtwo, November 20.

Notes.

THE members of the family of the late Lucretia Mott are preparing her biography, and would be glad to have the originals or copies of any of her letters, which will be returned if desired. They should be sent to Mrs. Maria Mott Davis, Oak Lane, Station A, Philadelphia.——Hall & Whiting, Boston, will publish early next month 'The House of Ross,' a volume of tales by the author of 'Bart Ridgeley.'——A. S. Barnes & Co. publish immediately a work on inter-oceanic transit across the Isthmus of Tehauntepec since the time of Cortez, by A. D. Anderson, author of 'The Silver Country, or the Great Southwest.'——We can cordially recommend a little brochure 'On Giving Names to Towns and Streets,' by the Rev. James Freeman Clarke (Boston: Lockwood, Brooks & Co.)——'Is Consumption Contagious, and Can it be Transmitted by Means of Food?' is the startling title of a small volume of which Dr. Herbert C. Clapp is the author, and Otis Clapp & Son, Boston, the publishers. The subject is too little regarded either by the profession or the laity. It is well treated by Dr. Clapp, who brings it up to the present time, as viewed under the light of modern science. His object is to convince people of the infectious nature of consumption. We regret that he has not thought it well to suggest rules for the guidance of those exposed to this deleterious influence, or for avoiding it wholly. It is true that he refers favorably to brief rules given by another; but a final chapter, upon the means of warding-off or of treating the disease, would have been, we think, not inappropriate.——*Nature* for Nov. 18 announces the formation of a Sanitary Assurance Association, whose object is "to give persons who place their houses on the Assurance Register certificates that their houses are in a satisfactory sanitary condition, and to endorse such certificates from time to time," of course after renewed inspection. It will also report upon the plans of new houses. It starts under the best auspices.——Every amateur who has attained a certain proficiency on the instrument may hope to profit by 'Daily Studies on the Piano,' by Rafael Joseffy (New York: E. Schuberth & Co.)——The report of the Chesapeake Zoölogical Laboratory of the Johns Hopkins University shows that last season, the third, was spent at Beaufort, N. C., a station singularly rich in opportunities for studying a sea fauna sharply distinguished from that north of Cape Hatteras. The development of the crustacea was the chief study of the Laboratory.——With Part 23 of Oncken's 'Allgemeine Geschichte' (New York: Westermann) begins Dr. Felix Dahn's monograph on the Primitive History of the Germanic and Romance Peoples. In short sections the subject is opened in a methodical and fascinating manner, and while the text is interspersed with woodcuts of prehistoric implements, weapons, ornaments, tombs, etc., full-page illustrations beautifully represent Ravenna mosaics, there is an imaginary restoration of the pile-village, and a colored map shows the border-line between Germans and Romans in the time of Trajan.——Lockwood, Brooks & Co. have issued a "Poet's Calendar" for the new year, in which each day is provided with a quotation from the four New England poets, Longfellow, Whittier, Bryant, and Lowell. ——To the admirers of Salvini Mr. F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia, offers a fine imperial photographic portrait of the actor taken during a previous visit to this country.

—Scribner & Co. this year, as last, issue a portfolio of 'Proof Impressions from *Scribner's Monthly* and *St. Nicholas*.' There are fifty plates, and the criticism to be made upon them, as compared with their predecessor, is, perhaps, forestalled by the announcement that the main consideration of the present collection has not been an exposition of skill and delicacy of engraving and printing, but "the artistic value of the designs," which accounts for the less striking impression left by the drawings as triumphs of wood engraving. The compensation suggested, however, is, so far as our memory goes, ample, and it should also be added that in technical regards the difference to be atoned for is of the slightest. The pictures are on loose sheets and printed

in brown, grey, and red tints as well as in black. As always, it is evident that Mr. Cole has been entrusted with the most important work, and his renderings of Millet's "The Sower," the portraits of Poe and Savonarola, Raphael's "Apollo and Marsyas," and a landscape by A. H. Thayer are, perhaps, the most interesting of the plates. There are but fifteen hundred copies in the edition and the retail price is five dollars each. The Messrs. Appleton's contribution to the fine-art holiday literature is a new edition of Mr. G. W. Sheldon's 'American Painters,' an elegantly-attired quarto, adorned with one hundred and four woodcuts from pictures by the artists treated in the text. The text is to be commended for the preference manifested to have the painter describe himself, his methods, and his general views. This adds piquancy in some instances, a human interest in all, and has the especially happy effect of necessarily curtailing the critical exposition of the author, which, under the peculiar circumstances, could not fail to be somewhat incomplete and unsatisfactory. We may also without impropriety, in connection with these works, notice the first volume of Woltmann and Woermann's 'History of Ancient, Early Christian, and Mediæval Painting,' just published by Dodd, Mead & Co., though it has, of course, less a holiday interest than a permanent value, and belongs in the holiday category chiefly by reason of its elaborate dress and the evident pains expended upon the publishers' share in its presentation. It is edited by Professor Sidney Colvin, of Cambridge, England, who has, however, only dared to "venture upon an occasional abridgment or transposition," as he announces in his preface, and upon certain not too important modifications in the way of details of arrangement, the headings which indicate them, and so on. Condensation here and there will undoubtedly occur to the reader who is not a special student as a part of editing unwisely neglected; but it is to be said in reply that it is for the special student that the work is designed. Elaboration, at all events, cannot go further, and certainly the art of painting is as worthy of elaborate historical treatment as most other subjects which receive it. What one wants in addition is a nice sense of critical discrimination as to what is primary and what is secondary, say, but that is very likely incompatible with the scheme, which is ultra-Teutonic, Dr. Woltmann having been professor at the Imperial University of Strassburg and Dr. Woermann being a Düsseldorf professor of fine arts. Professor Colvin, at any rate, says it would be presumption for him to tamper with their judgments as well as their facts. The illustrations are abundant, but in great measure not unfamiliar woodcuts. To the above we may add the publication by Lippincott of Buchanan Read's 'Drifting' ("My soul to-day is far away, sailing the Vesuvian Bay"), with designs, some of them clever and pretty, by Miss L. B. Humphrey, and an issue by Peterson of Watson's 'Beautiful Snow, and Other Poems'—for the latter of which especially the season must be held mainly responsible.

—Mr. W. Hamilton Gibson's 'Pastoral Days' (Harpers) deserves and will hold a distinct place in the literature of rural New England. His point of view is not that of the philosopher, nor even of the full-grown man humoring himself with reminiscence; it is that of the boy who has never ceased to be a boy, who does not call up old scenes but still lives in them, and whose portraiture of country life a generation ago is no more an effort than to tell the exact location of "Hometown" or the real name of "Amos Shoopegg." This happy continuity of feeling determines the style of the narrative, which is not academic, but on the other hand is by no means devoid of literary skill, and is an easy outpouring kept well on the hither side of gush, though in the best sense of the word it might occasionally be called rhapsodical. Its character-painting is excellent, and all the changes and circumstances of the New England year are truthfully described. So much is to be said of the text, already known to readers of *Harper's Magazine*. The illustrations, by the same hand, are not more genuine evidence of love of and familiarity with nature, but they are more remarkable as art than the letter-press as literature. Mr. Gibson's drawings are marked by a rare grace and delicacy as well as fidelity, and he has been seconded by the best engravers of this metropolis. Whether the subject be an apple orchard, or the white balls of the dandelion, or the maiden-hair or golden-rod or blue-flag, or a landscape for every season, the result is admirable and, considering the work of contemporary designers, perhaps unique. The tangle of wayside growths and of thickets is a favorite theme with this artist; feathery and furry game he delineates with somewhat less of mastery as well as frequency, and his specimen types of population are not to be compared with his flower sketches. The care bestowed by the publishers on the manufacture of this beautiful book has, we believe, never been surpassed in the Franklin Square establishment.

—"Faust" seems just now to be the order of the day in musical circles. Four performances of Boïto's "Mefistofele" and one of Gounod's "Faust" by the Italian Opera Company, three of Berlioz's "Damnation" by the Symphony Society, and two of Liszt's "Faust Symphony" by the Philharmonic Society were the principal features of the musical events of the last two weeks. The second concert of the Philharmonic Society, which took place on Saturday last, presented a very sober programme, which was scarcely relieved by the two bright movements of Schubert's unfinished Symphony in B minor. One must regret that this lovely work, conceived with so much art and begun with so much skill, was never completed. It belongs to the noblest relics of the great master of sweet melodies, and it would be difficult to surpass the beauties of some of the orchestral effects. The novelty of the evening was a scene from the first act of Wagner's "Siegfried," which naturally proved a disappointment. It would be very difficult to find in the Trilogy a scene less suited for a concert performance than the highly dramatic act which Mr. Thomas selected on Saturday. *Siegfried*, the hero, is welding the sword, Nothung, which had been broken in the combat between his father and *Hunding*. *Mime*, the treacherous dwarf, is watching him, plotting how to possess himself of the famous blade. The blowing of the bellows, the ring of the anvil as *Siegfried's* mighty arm brings down the heavy hammer, the hissing of the hot steel as he dips it into water, these and other incidents are admirably represented in Wagner's music, and Siegfried's bright song, "Nothung! Nothung, cutting sword!" is one of the most thrilling numbers in the opera; but the extreme beauty of the situation is lost without the stage apparatus, and to many the whole scene must have been perfectly bewildering. The most serious defect on Saturday was the highly unsatisfactory way in which the vocal solo parts were filled. The two gentlemen to whom the parts of *Siegfried* and *Mime* were entrusted were utterly unqualified for their task, and their efforts to make themselves heard above the swelling effects of Wagner's orchestra, with every wind instrument doubled, were positively painful. Liszt's "Faust Symphony," which has not been heard for some years, concluded the performance.

—Students of palæontology, and palæontologists generally, will learn with satisfaction that a further instalment of Zittel and Schimper's 'Handbuch der Palæontologie' has lately been furnished by its distinguished Munich editor. This work, with perhaps one exception the most important and comprehensive general treatise on the subject that has as yet been published in any language, was commenced in 1876, and, although it has already reached the fourth year of its publication, only five parts, or considerably less than one-half of the whole number, have thus far made their appearance. This slow progress—partly due to the general difficulties which attend such a laborious undertaking, and partly to the profusion of palæontological papers scattered indiscriminately throughout the transactions of learned societies, and which are barely touched by that class of authors whose "text-books" on zoölogy or geology appear to spring up spontaneously—of course impairs a good deal the value of the undertaking, even though each separate section be supplemented with material intended to bring the entire subject up to date. The want of a suitable treatise, intended as well for the beginner as for the more advanced student or practical worker, has long been felt, and it is therefore to be hoped that the present work will receive such encouragement and assistance as will ensure it an early and positive completion. It may be remarked, as a singular fact in connection with the literature of the science, that there are altogether in the English language but three general treatises of any merit (two of which are decidedly antiquated), those of Mantell, Owen, and Nicholson, that can claim a place beside the almost innumerable elementary and advanced text-books that have appeared on the kindred sciences. Part 1 (vol. i.) of the hand-book before us deals with the Protozoa, and is prefaced with an introduction bearing on the principles of palæontological science and a historical sketch. Part 2 embraces the sponges (the special study of which delayed the publication more than two years), corals, and polyps; Part 3, the urchins and worms; and Part 4, a portion of the molluscous animals (Bryozoa and Brachiopoda). The recent death of Prof. Schimper, upon whom devolved that portion of the work pertaining to palæophytology, or fossil botany, will doubtless to some extent interfere with the plan of vol. ii., but its successful completion is assured by the co-operation of Prof. Schenk, of Leipzig. The first and only part yet published treats of the Thallophyta, mosses, and ferns. It is needless to advert to the special merits of the work, as the names of the editor and assistant-editors are a sufficient guarantee for its excellence.

—A correspondent writes us as follows:

"In the *Nation* of December 2, referring to the distribution of the zoölogical collections of the *Challenger* to foreign naturalists, and speaking of the 'national rights of scientific men,' you say 'it may yet be doubtful whether it would not have been judicious to attach greater national importance to an enterprise upon which the British Government so lavishly bestowed its favors.' Setting aside the question whether national importance was not best consulted by placing the collections in the most competent hands, you omit to mention that those who so bitterly attacked Sir Wyville Thomson for the course he pursued, forgot to state that he was induced to adopt it in order to avoid the inevitable confusion which was sure to follow the simultaneous publication of the results of the American deep-sea dredging expeditions carried on before and after the *Challenger*, under the auspices of the United States Coast Survey. Sir Wyville Thomson and Mr. Agassiz agreed to select the most eminent specialists, independent of nationality, and to consign to them the materials of their respective expeditions, to be worked up *pari passu*. It was hardly to be expected that without some such understanding the Americans would deliberately place in the hands even of pre-eminent English naturalists the magnificent collections they brought together, and

which complement in so remarkable a manner those of the *Challenger*. It was the only course possible, with reference not only to the best interests of biology but of those of the collections also. The confusion which must arise from the independent investigations of a few groups from both collections, rendered necessary by the attacks on Sir Wyville Thomson's course, will form a good basis by which to measure the value of the national rights of scientific men."

—The condemnation and dissolution of the Order of Templars in 1312 are events which have called out a great amount of controversy, and of sympathy among those who have not been convinced of the truth of the charges. On the whole, we believe the current of opinion has been against their truth, at least in their extreme form; neither Philip the Fair nor Clement V. ranks high enough in character to give weight to his position as accuser. Professor Prutz has recently published in Berlin an elaborate examination of the whole question, entitled 'Geheimlehre und Geheimstatuten des Tempelherren Ordens,' in which he apparently proves the worst of the charges. The conclusion to which Professor Prutz comes is essentially the same as Mr. Hallam's, stated clearly and forcibly in note xv. to the first chapter of his 'Middle Ages.' The heresy of the Templars, he says, was taken from that of "the most objectionable sect, the Luciferians," and grew up among them at the time of their stay in the Holy Land, between 1219 and 1250, at Athlit, their capital. They regarded Christ as an impostor and directed their worship towards the evil spirit, of whom they had an idol in the shape of a brazen head. The charges of impure practices appear also to be fully made out. The second part of Professor Prutz's book proves that the 'Geheimstatuten des Ordens der Tempelherren,' published by Dr. Merzdorf, in Halle, in 1877, are not genuine: a principal argument is that these are deistic in character, while the real dogmas of the Knights Templars were dualistic or Manichæan.

—The death of the Comte de Chambord will not, as is sometimes asserted, end the house of Bourbon, for the Orleans are as much Bourbons as himself; but another royal family, of almost equal fame, is really at the point of extinction. This is the house of Orange-Nassau, which, under one title or another, has reigned in the Netherlands since the death of the sovereign known in history as the Prince of Orange *par excellence*. The male members of the family are now but three in number—the king, aged 63, his uncle Frederic, aged 83, and the crown-prince, aged 39. The latter is unmarried and will continue so, being, it is said, of somewhat unsound mind. The King's recent marriage has been blessed with a daughter, but she would not inherit the crown if her great-uncle should succeed her father, as her claim would then yield to that of his own daughter, the Princess of Wied. In either case a new family would come to the throne. In the Grand-duchy of Luxemburg, united to the crown of Holland as Hanover was to that of England, women are entirely excluded from the succession, and the heir-at-law is the (in 1866) dispossessed Duke of Nassau. The succession to the Duchy of Brunswick is a frequent subject of discussion in the German papers, the heir of the aged duke being the *de jure* king of Hanover. Bismarck's respect for public law is hardly great enough to permit the enthronement of two irreconcilable princes; but the smaller states may yet be able to prevent the absorption of their territories by Prussia. The succession of the Duke of Edinburgh to the ducal crown of Coburg is not likely to be opposed.

—Dr. Fritz Embacher has had the happy idea of arranging the more important travels of the present century in a set of tables divided horizontally by countries and arranged perpendicularly by dates. Thus on two pages, facing one another, are given the travels in Africa, divided into N. W., Tripolitania, S. W., N. E., and S. E. with the Cape, from 1801 (with a few preliminary lines, noting five or six chief discoveries in previous centuries) to 1837; the next two pages go to 1854, and so on to 1860, 1866, 1873, 1876, 1879. Similarly six pairs of pages are devoted to "Australia, Oceania, and America," and ten to the "Polar Regions and Asia." The work will be very useful to geographical students, but one cannot help regretting that the table was not made to extend back to the beginning of modern geographical discovery, which would not have more than trebled its bulk and its moderate cost (four marks).

—Under the title of 'Trois Théâtres' (Paris: Calmann Lévy; New York: F. W. Christern) M. Léopold Lacour has gathered from one of the reviews his studies of the plays of Émile Augier, of Alexandre Dumas, *fils*, and of Victorien Sardou. In his preface he announces his intention hereafter to take up M. Labiche, MM. Meilhac and Halévy, and M. Gondinet—the last a very clever dramatist, almost wholly unknown in this country. In 'Trois Théâtres' ("théâtre" in the sense of the collected dramatic works of an author) M. Lacour considers the realistic drama of the past quarter of a century, the drama which followed close upon the success of the "Dame aux Camélias," and of which the best specimens are the "Fils de Giboyer" of M. Augier, the "Demi-Monde" of M. Dumas, and the "Famille Benoiton" of M. Sardou. Obviously this critic prefers M. Sardou to his two rivals, and even M. Dumas to M. Augier; but he is frank enough to show reasons for the order in which the best French criticism holds them, and which is the exact reverse of his own predilection. It is not a little amusing to see that he takes Dumas quite seriously, as if he were a consistent philosopher declaring a new truth.

TREVELYAN'S CHARLES JAMES FOX.*

II.

As readers lay down the 'Early History of Charles James Fox' they may well ask themselves, What is the estimate they are to form of the Whig leader? Mr. Trevelyan is ready with a reply. Fox was, according to his latest biographer, "our first great statesman of the modern school." The phrase is a good one as far as sound goes, but there is a difficulty in giving it any meaning consistent with the facts of Fox's life. By the modern school is intended, we presume, the class of statesmen who have held power since the first Reform Bill, such as Russell, Peel, Aberdeen, Palmerston, the present Lord Derby, and the like. How are we to find a place for Fox amongst this body of serious and respectable politicians? With Lord Melbourne, indeed, he might claim kindred, but his lordship, in spite of his too frequent oaths and his late rising, was a quiet, humdrum, business-like person compared with the youthful rhetorician who found some recreation from his serious anxieties at Brooks's in playing at politics in the House of Commons. The truth is that the most marked characteristics of modern statesmanship have no relation to Fox but that of contrast. The members of a modern ministry are, or invariably affect to be, men of sound weight and respectability. Fox's escapades shocked a society which was not straight-laced. From the time of Pitt downwards the profession of politics has become more and more of a serious and, to say the truth, a rather dull trade. To debate the minute details of uninteresting measures is the chief occupation of M.P.'s in the nineteenth century. Can any one bring himself to imagine that Fox, who even when in power seems to have sat up late of a night at Brooks's, and to have gone down late in the morning to his office, was the parent of the Parliamentary officials who work as hard to serve the public as a set of merchants' clerks to gain the favor of their employer?

A marked feature, again, of modern public life in England is the attention shown by leading politicians to social and economical questions. Of all the contemporaries of Fox, not one, except Lord Shelburne, would have found himself in sympathy with the sociological interest of the present day. Can any one fancy the Whig dandy presiding at a social-science congress or delivering a lecture, say on temperance, to a body of Sunday-school children hungering and thirsting for the buns and tea which are to make up for the dulness of the distinguished gentleman's address? Another note of modern English statecraft is almost instinctive deference to national as contrasted with Parliamentary opinion. This characteristic had already in Fox's time begun to distinguish all really influential politicians. Chatham, Pitt, and even George III. learnt sooner or later that public opinion was a force which counted for more than the votes of every M.P. who could be purchased for money or influenced by party spirit or by rhetoric. The favorite son of Lord Holland started in life with his father's cynical contempt for the public, and with a Whig's exaggerated veneration for the House of Commons. He bullied printers and printers' devils; he opposed the liberty of the press; he defended corruption, even when it was too rank to be sanctioned by Rigby or by Lord North; and he made himself, without any cause, the apologist for the most odious encroachment upon individual rights which even George III. ever attempted. Fox, no doubt, was young when he volunteered to assist the court in the attempt to plunder the Duke of Portland of his estates; but, after all, youth is compatible with common sense, and we cannot imagine that the youngest junior lord who has held office for the last fifty years would commit a folly like the folly of Fox in making himself an ally of Sir James Lowther. There is, we admit, a certain charm in boyish imprudence, even when dashed with a touch of equally boyish cynicism; but boyish recklessness, whatever its merits, is not a characteristic of any modern school. If we are to understand Fox at all, and to appreciate either his strength or his weakness, we must dismiss Mr. Trevelyan's fine phrase and find some description for Fox which a little better fits the facts than does that of "first great statesman of the modern school."

The true key to Fox's career, at any rate during his early years, is to be found in the then prevailing admiration for a kind of character as typical of the age in which he lived as it is foreign to the moral conceptions of the nineteenth century. He was "the man whose 'good heart' compensated for a thousand indiscretions"; he was the Charles Surface of fashionable society, as of English public life. He was genial, amusing, well-read in light literature, and still better versed in all the follies of high life. He hunted, he drank, he gambled, he lost, and when he lost soothed his creditors by his wit, and as long as he had any credit remaining kept even his "Jerusalem Cham-

* 'The Early History of Charles James Fox. By George Otto Trevelyan, M.P., author of 'The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay.'' London: Longmans; New York: Harper & Bros. 1880.

ber" in a roar. When the day came he "paid up," or rather (which is characteristic of the "man of a good heart") let his father pay up for him, like a man. Life was a game, and Charles James Fox played it like a gentleman—mainly at another person's expense. His father, it is fair to say, entered as fully into the spirit of the affair as did Uncle Oliver; and his generosity, his liberality, and his good humor would show a finer character than one can well believe Lord Holland to have possessed, were students not haunted with a suspicion that his lordship must have soothed his cares with the reflection that if Charles wasted the treasures his father had collected, there was plenty more money to be got from the source whence the family wealth was derived—viz., the public treasury—and that Lord Holland's son, who had already the ball at his feet, could easily, by using the arts which his father had practised, end his life at least as rich a man as his father. Moreover, it was not in social life only that Fox resembled Charles Surface. He carried into politics exactly the qualities of the good-hearted reprobate whose faults were, in the eyes of the audience whom Sheridan addressed, more than redeemed by freedom from hypocrisy and a somewhat maudlin affection for the uncle who had tipped him as a boy. It is at first sight, indeed, hard to believe that the young man who could abet the infamous attempt to plunder the Duke of Portland had even the dubious virtues attaching to the possession of a good heart; but consideration of Fox's subsequent career and a candid survey of the facts brought forward by Mr. Trevelyan pretty clearly prove that Fox's errors were the indiscretions of a clever lad drunk with vanity, spirits, and rhetoric, and given, as is the way with clever lads, to hold a paradox to be better than an argument, and unreal cynicism to be the true sign of genuine honesty. When he attacked the marriage law, when he defended corruption, when he invented quibbles in defence of injustice which would have raised the blush on the cheek of an Old Bailey lawyer, he was, it seems—and we believe that in the main this is the true explanation of his conduct—merely showing the high spirits of a school-boy, the conceit of a dandy, and the recklessness of a gambler. Brooks's was the ante-room to the House of Commons, and a young gentleman who came into the house after getting drunk at Brooks's naturally brought into the debate the spirit of the Club. There is, too, even at Fox's worst, a touch of the merits of Charles Surface. His attack on Lord Hardwick's Act was utterly silly and indefensible. His indignation at the Royal Marriage Act admits of more apology, but was, though Mr. Trevelyan hardly perceives this, utterly wrong-headed. But that a young man should neglect his interest even to pursue his hobbies gave to judicious observers some faint hope of reformation. When Charles Surface refuses to sell his uncle's picture, calm reflection tells one that he is a fool, and that a wise man or a self-denying man ought to have sold every stick he had to pay off his debts. But then a wise or a self-denying person would never have come to the pass in which Charles stood, and cynicism itself cannot deny that a man who has the vices, is the better for having the uncalculating sensibility, of a boy. Thus it was with Fox. We can hardly say that any one step in his early career was creditable to his sense, but every one feels pleased that the future Whig should at any cost have broken with the Court.

That Fox was during his early life nothing much better than a man whose follies were in part atoned for by a vein of generous feeling will probably be admitted, but admirers who see in him "our first great statesman of the modern school" will urge that the errors of a dissipated youth have no connection with the patriotic efforts of a glorious manhood. You cannot explain the character of the political saint by pointing to the faults committed before his conversion by the political reprobate. This is, no doubt, partly true, and the biographer who, like Mr. Trevelyan, breaks off the history of his hero just before his hero has begun to turn aside from the error of his ways, places his readers and critics in great difficulties; nevertheless we insist on Fox's character in youth just because we believe that it really does throw light on the achievements and failures of his later life. We yield to no one in admiration of the small band headed by Fox who, in the darkest days of reaction, held firm against fearful odds to their belief in the cause of freedom and justice; but the most ordinary knowledge of the general outlines of English history is sufficient to convince any one but a biographer or a eulogist that Fox, with all his astounding eloquence, with his high abilities, with his power of attaching friends with an attachment extinguished neither by defeat nor by death, with his generous sensibilities, and with the advantage of being (as Liberals must believe) on the side of humanity, of justice, and of truth, yet failed as a statesman to a degree in which hardly any other English politician of equal ability has failed either before or since the time when Fox was the adored chief of the Whigs. Now, if we ask what was the cause alike of his failure and of efforts more glorious than much success, we are almost driven to ascribe both the one and the other to the qualities which mark every act of his early years.

From the time when he entered Parliament to the day of his death, Fox's success was marred by three defects which are as patent during the years when he led the Whigs as during the years when, in mere boyish recklessness, he posed as the leader of the most reckless of the Tories. He lacked what many sympathetic and enthusiastic men lack—that kind of judgment which makes followers feel that their leader is always the representative of common sense. The statesman who could believe and say that the taking of the Bastille was the greatest and best event in the history of the world, must have displayed a fervor of temper very foreign to ordinary English statesmanship. Still, in this matter, he represented the sentiment of his generation. His detestation of Lord Hardwick's Marriage Act, his exaggerated denunciations of the Royal Marriage Act, betray a flaw in his judgment far more serious than the participation in the exaggerated hopes of a generation boiling over with belief in human perfectibility. The causes which throughout life prejudiced Fox against the very rational provisions of the English marriage law were, as Mr. Trevelyan explains, personal. The explanation is correct, but it is absolutely fatal to any claim for Fox to statesmanlike judgment. A more serious deficiency, amply accounted for by the details of Fox's early education, was something like incapacity to appreciate the political weight of character. Chatham, Pitt, George III. were all men who in different ways appealed to that confidence in character which is the strong point, as it is also sometimes the weak point, of the English public world. Fox was the son of a professed cynic. His own generosity of nature saved him from cynicism, but his father's teaching, combined with the course of his early life, left him without the power of understanding either the sentiment or the prejudice in favor of respectability which exerts such prodigious influence over the public conduct of ordinary Englishmen. It is vain to say that this was an error he outgrew. The connection between Fox and the Prince Regent damaged him quite as much at a later stage of his career as did his reputation as a gambler during the portion of his life narrated by Mr. Trevelyan. Moreover, as great an error as was ever committed by a celebrated statesman—the alliance between Fox and North—sprang directly from his failure to perceive that no number of votes could make up to him or his party for the discredit of the coalition with men whom he had for years denounced as scoundrels deserving the block. In this, the one crowning folly of his life (which, be it remarked, is long subsequent to the period at which Mr. Trevelyan would, we presume, place his hero's conversion), Fox showed not only his indifference to character but his third great failing (shared, it must be remarked, by Burke and all the regular Whigs of the day)—a want of power to appreciate the deference due to public opinion. As is often the case with converts, Fox held unconsciously to the remnants of a creed which he had in theory renounced. The invectives hurled against Pitt and the King for venturing on a "penal dissolution"—that is, for appealing from Parliament to the sense of the nation—are utterly out of keeping with the views entertained in modern days by even the most moderate of Whigs; but they are completely in keeping with the theories of the youthful Tory desperado who supported the right of Parliament to make Luttrell member for Middlesex in defiance of the votes of the electors. The plain truth is that the Whigs never recovered from the rout of 1783 until they had got rid of the two defects they inherited from Fox. Lord Althorp, who was probably the dullest speaker who ever commanded the confidence of Parliament, gave them for the first time a leader of unblemished character, who could show that Liberalism might be combined with respectability and piety; the serious agitation for Parliamentary reform was the formal and final renunciation of the dogma that Parliament and not the nation was the real sovereign of England.

The same analysis of Fox's useful character which supplies a key to the mistakes of his career also shows the real source and nature of his greatness. If he may fairly be described as the Charles Surface of politics, modern readers must be careful to remember that Sheridan's hero represented to the public who first witnessed the "School for Scandal" a very different character from that which he bears in the eyes of modern playgoers. He was to the generation whom he delighted the embodiment of youthful goodness of heart, which in its very errors protested against cant and hypocrisy. Fox had all and tenfold more than the virtues which the most enthusiastic admirers of "a good heart" could attribute to Charles Surface; he possessed and displayed a power and steadfastness of sympathy very rare in an Englishman. His sensibility to nobleness compensated for the defects of his judgment. Hatred of oppression made him zealous on behalf of the people of India, and, at a time when all Europe was driven wild with panic and indignation at the horrors of the Reign of Terror, kept him true to the cause of freedom. His statesmanship and his friendships were but two sides of the same generous, sympathetic nature. Generosity and geniality are not, it may be urged, statesmanship. This is so, and the fact that noble sentiment does not enable a statesman to dispense with political insight is at bottom the reason why Charles James Fox will never take a high rank in the list of English ministers. But there are seasons when the sentiments of a public man are of even more consequence to the nation than his policy. Such was the period when Fox was the hero and standard-bearer of the Whigs. To keep alive, in the face of a narrow-minded court and of a panic-stricken people, the belief in freedom and humanity at a time when liberty and philanthropy had become associated with the horrors of the Reign of Terror, was the duty of Fox. That he and his friends were true to freedom when she was deserted

even by such a man as Burke, is their glory; and it is a curious but true reflection that even the contempt of public opinion which Lord Holland handed down to his son was transmuted in a generous mind into manly independence of popular clamor. That Fox's vices were the fruit in great degree of his education is patent. His virtues, also, were not the qualities which distinguish statesmen of the modern school; they were rather the natural outgrowth in a generous mind of the influences under which Fox passed his youth. A born orator—the child of an age of rhetoric and sentiment—he displayed to the last the real though sentimental and rhetorical virtues of the eighteenth century.

RECENT POETRY.*

MR. TENNYSON'S volume is dedicated "To Alfred Tennyson, my Grandson," and in terms which indicate the arrival of that epoch in a poetic career when, the poet's fame being won and his public the reading world, he indulges his whims unchecked by the curb of self-criticism or the need of deserving an attention already secure. This epoch arrives earlier with some poets than with others. With a few, doubtless, it coincides with the entire career: "I am in doubt whether he has lately become crazy or has always been so," said Mérimée of Victor Hugo. But though, in the case of Victor Hugo, Mérimée himself would have, perhaps, acknowledged this was chiefly a speculative matter, as unimportant as it was uncertain, in the case of such a singer as Mr. Tennyson it is of the last importance that he should maintain the admirable sanity which has characterized his most impetuous outpourings. Perhaps it is this, indeed, which will count most among his spiritual qualities in the final reckoning it is far too soon yet to cast up; it is clear, certainly, that his finest frenzy is least frenetic. At all events, his best work is safely to be included between the period when he permitted himself to write "The Skipping-Rope" and the present, wherein he sings, in a vein that certainly suggests Hugo:

> "Golden-hair'd Ally, whose name is one with mine,
> Crazy with laughter and babble and earth's new wine,
> Now that the flower of a year and a half is thine,
> O little blossom, O mine, and mine of mine,
> Glorious poet who never hast written a line,
> Laugh, for the name at the head of my verse is thine:
> May'st thou never be wronged by the name that is mine."

We quote the entire dedication, both because it is all of a piece and because it seems to us worth recording.

Critics of a full mental habit have long been accustomed to find Mr. Tennyson as lacking in good sense as others of a more sensitive organization have found him wanting in the delicacy which no rhetorical subtleties, however felicitous, can satisfy with the bourgeois truth of things, and no mechanical refinement be a sufficient substitute for in the poetic equipment. At bottom the two come to very much the same thing—an accusation, namely, of failing in the quality for which, according to Artemus Ward, George Washington was particularly eminent; and, indeed, it is not difficult to see how dilettanteism unassisted may fail in fastidiousness. Tennysonians, to be sure, have always made light of this, and maintained that being open to parody was very different from being deserving of ridicule, that questions of taste were difficult to discuss and impossible to settle, and that in disputed cases one would hardly be likely to find a better authority than Tennyson himself. But even a Tennysonian, one would say, must reflect pensively upon his master's original force when he sees it so simply and indeed starkly illustrated as it is here. The alternative is that such caprices are of an epileptic transitoriness, and are really alien to the poet's real genius; but this, hostile critics would hold, involves the corollary that we only get the latter in such close combination with elegant and subtle mental mechanism that it is idle to talk of setting it free. It is either, they would say, the contained and elegantly expressed passion of "Maud," or such inspiration as

> "O little blossom, O mine, and mine of mine."

We should not ourselves doubt which of the two was the true Tennyson, but the Tennysonians are always annoyed at any intimation that their favorite is the very genius of admirable workmanship, and resent the notion that his workmanship is not merely an attribute. Perhaps they are right; only one would either like something different from what Mr. Tennyson is apt to give us on occasions when he "lets himself go," or prefer the unbroken maintenance of his academic reserve. The latter sometimes secures little enough, one is tempted to add—all the more if the recent ventures of the laureate have seemed a *crescendo* of disappointment, and a cumulative warning that to hope for further refection from this fecund source is vain. One needs to pause a moment to realize fully the meaning of this, Tennyson has so long been regarded as an active worker whose race was by no means run, and whose message had been but incompletely delivered. The first three poems in the present volume read like versifications of themes by Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett, it may be fancifully suggested, which means that they are popularly pathetic. The "Revenge" ballad is well known, as are also the "Defence of Lucknow," with its dedication to the Princess Alice, and the "De Profundis," and some of the shorter pieces. "In the Children's Hospital" is affecting in the same way with "The May Queen," though it is properly brief. "The Village Wife; or, The Entail" is in Northern dialect, and has all the humor of the character, though humor in Tennyson, however good it may be, always makes one stare. "The Voyage of Maeldune" is cleverly told, and "Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham," and "Columbus" are the best poems of the volume; in both there is true dramatic fire, both are carefully individualized, and the latter has a striking dignity of pathos—almost striking enough to be called Shaksperian if it were not so "ship-shape," as it were. The sonnets and shorter poems are of varying merit, and in the lines on Sir John Franklin we get down to the plain prose which, though it often seems imminent, the laureate's skill generally contrives to conceal.

Professor Blackie's 'Lays and Legends' recall with singular precision the lays in which Macaulay celebrated the legends of ancient Rome. They give the story with all the explicitness of prose, they have a metrical jingle that is easy to keep pace with, and, considered as poetry or even a sympathetic rendering in verse of ancient poetic stories, they have the same false ring, the same hard, metallic echo. They are several degrees superior in point of diction, and now and then one seems to be in the neighborhood of some felicity of expression justly to be called poetic; on the other hand, they lack the unblushing, conscious insistence upon the merits of jingle as poetic cadence, and the thrilling spiritedness, which earned their extreme popularity for the 'Lays of Ancient Rome.' Professor Blackie is not only a distinguished Greek scholar but an experienced translator, and one needs strong justification to speak thus strongly of his defects. But surely the beginning of his introduction is strong justification:

> "Muse of old Hellas, wake again!—
> Thou wert not born to die—
> And mingle sweet the Classic strain
> With Gothic minstrelsy!
> I feel a tingling in my veins,
> My heart is beating strong;
> Let novel-writers count their gains,
> I'll pipe my Doric song."

How close this is to doggerel it does not take too fine an ear to recognize. And though the note of doggerel, so to speak, is an indefinite one, and in regard to it doctors often enough disagree, the menace it bears to the ballad-form is well known. But Professor Blackie, it may be remembered, is an advocate of the ballad-form as a medium for rendering even the hexameter of Homer, and it is natural that when he comes to render in his own language not Homer but Greek themes only, he should select it. The ballad-form has its own value, no one will deny; but neither will any one deny, we should say, that if it ever fails to satisfy it is especially insufficient in narrative. Persons who are fond of it as a medium of narrative (and Professor Blackie's lays are of course all narrative) will here, we fancy, find their notion subjected to all the tension it will bear. Admiring Scott's use of it is one thing, and finding it adequate to the demands of the legends of ancient Greece is wholly another. It is, perhaps, unjust to charge upon it the failure of Professor Blackie's employment of it, and it is, of course, open to any one to doubt whether a poet who has felt "a tingling in his veins" at the thought of the "muse of old Hellas," in any but the loosest and most general manner, would be likely to address her so.

> "Muse of old Hellas, wake again!
> Thou wert not born to die"—

that is the way in which one might invoke the muse of old England or old Scotia, but hardly that of "old" Hellas. The "Classic strain" disappears entirely in the flood of "Gothic minstrelsy," and it would not be difficult to find novels fully as "Doric" as Professor Blackie's song. Let the reader think of the Cyclops in a passion and then read (p. 107):

> "He filled the seas with weeping;
> His big round eye was red;
> His hair he tore like forests
> From off his clumsy head."

One asks himself inevitably if it is not an attempt to apply the spirit and manner of Mother Goose to Greek mythology. Or this, from the "Chorus of Young Maidens" in the poem "Theseus":

> "The lot, the lot, the bloody lot!
> But why this dinsome cheering?
> 'Tis he! 'tis he! Greek mothers, see
> The kingly youth appearing!"

Further on, however, the "Chorus of all the People"—

> "Famous is Thebes, by thy birth made immortal,
> Son of Alcmena, whose bravery won
> A place with the gods when Olympus' wide portal
> Flew open to welcome Jove's club-bearing son"—

testifies to the inadequacy of the ballad movement again. Read as prose the words would be well enough, but metrically it is not exaggeration to say the form is much better adapted to celebrating the wonders of "The Pimlico Pa-

* 'Ballads, and Other Poems. By Alfred Tennyson.' Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1880.
'Lays and Legends of Ancient Greece. By John Stuart Blackie.' Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1880.
'Under the Olive.' Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1880.
'Verses. By Susan Coolidge.' Boston: Roberts Bros. 1880.
'All Round the Year. Verses from Sky Farm. By Elaine and Dora Read Goodale.' New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1880.
'The New Day: A Poem in Songs and Sonnets. By Richard Watson Gilder.' New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

vilion" than to a Greek chorus, and is handled by Thackeray with a much nicer sense of its capacities than by Prof. Blackie.

Neither is it exaggeration to say that the author of 'Under the Olive' shows quite as keen appreciation of the classic spirit as Professor Blackie. The faculty is notoriously quite independent of erudition, and is, *à priori*, as likely to be met with in a Boston literary lady as in an Edinburgh Grecian. We do not mean to intimate that the author of 'Under the Olive' is not learned too; the notes appended to her little volume testify to the contrary, and indeed are witness of wide information: quotations from Hegel, Stendhal, Mrs. Browning, Max Müller, Mahaffy, Dowden, Paul de Saint-Victor, Michelet, J. Addington Symonds, and many other authorities contributing to the explanatory lore of the poems, and furnishing a more or less complete compendium of what has been said in admiration and criticism of Greek literature—rather too strictly contemporary, perhaps, to be of permanent value, but more interesting to read than a classical dictionary after some one has been at the pains to collect them. The poems are in great part lyrical, with interspersed dramatic pieces, monologues, and narratives. "To the Lyric Muse," "To the Poetess (Sappho)," "Sophocles," "Euripides," "Helena," "Herakles," "Antinous," "Artemis," and so on, are a few of the titles; the Greek orthography is generally employed, even to Kypris, by the way. There are many notes, not unnaturally, of which the modern quality is in curious contrast to the theme and action. For example:

IOPHON.
"Ha! What sayest thou? Is it, then, come to this!
[*They seize their weapons.*"

is amusing, considering the title of the poem, "Sophocles." Mr. Swinburne's classicism sometimes receives the flattery of imitation in preference to classicism at first hand, though the resemblance is largely metrical and so far doubtless factitious. In the main there is a great deal of poetic feeling evinced, not a little poetic ardor even, and often a commensurate expression of the same. The Goethe translations are close, and yet smooth and not unpoetic.

Susan Coolidge's 'Verses' are as unpretending as their title. The author's muse is of a grave, tender, pensive cast of inspiration, and most of the lyrics that the book contains are penetrated with a mild seriousness that is perhaps their main attraction. Of other than their moral qualities it is difficult to speak positively, since in workmanship they are chiefly remarkable for the absence of blemish. A contained and quiet diction, and a kind of well-bred air denoting a decent rhetorical reserve and literary equipoise, may be said to characterize them; here and there, for example, this plainly holds in check any disposition towards what a less careful writer would consider the legitimate pathetic or otherwise emotional tendency of the theme. There is considerable metrical variety, but in general little effort or ambitiousness of any kind, and the distinction happily laid down in the Prelude is closely observed:

"Poems are heavenly things,
And only souls with wings
May reach them where they grow,
. . . . .
Verses are not of these;
They bloom on earthly trees," etc.

The Goodale sisters in 'All Round the Year' will, perhaps, disappoint those of their many admirers who have looked for a fuller and maturer note in their next volume of verse. This includes the thirty poems already published under the title 'In Berkshire with the Wild Flowers,' and the rest of its contents is of precisely the same quality as that of these. We, at any rate, are not among the disappointed, and had concluded that the progress shown in the last volume was all that could fairly be demanded of such charming freshness and simplicity until experience of life should add its inspiration to that of maturing powers. Many of these verses are delightful; indeed, they have a quality which relieves the narrow gamut of their themes and treatment of the displeasing effect of monotony in general; but they are as mature, we venture to say, as their successors written twenty years hence will be if the authors of them continue their placid existence "in Berkshire with the wild flowers," as their best friends must after all wish it may be their happy lot to do.

Mr. Gilder's 'The New Day: a Poem in Songs and Sonnets' is a second edition of a work published five years ago, but we mention it here because it will be new to many readers and deserves to have a wider audience than perhaps its exclusiveness of style and thought has hitherto won for it. It is, at all events, an unusual piece of workmanship by an artificer who takes the delight of a true artist in his work. It is undoubtedly more than this—a sustained effort of genuine inspiration, using terms in a popular sense and bearing in mind that genuine poetry, rare as it is, may be distinctly minor poetry. Whether the burden of the 'The New Day' is weighty enough to bear the strain of the mysticism Mr. Gilder has apparently imposed upon it, at some expense of simplicity and with deliberateness, is open to question. One is tempted to say it ought to have a key; the illustrations, pretty as they are, being insufficiently symbolical.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS.—III.

IT is a pity that Viollet-le-Duc's 'Learning to Draw; or, The Story of a Young Designer' (Putnams) is not an out-and-out child's book, as from its title it might be supposed to be, and from its form it comes very near being. The first seven or eight pages, which are quite level with the childish comprehension, almost make the book worth buying for their sake alone; but there are many passages and pages, if not chapters, scattered through the volume which the youthful reader could profit by without an instructor. Fragments of M. Majorin's discourse with Jean about geometry, perspective, comparative anatomy, geology, contour levels, the Alps, Pompeii, will interest any boy or girl, while the varied and skilful illustrations will pique curiosity or teach direct lessons of truth and beauty. The topics we have just enumerated give some intimation of the author's scope of treatment, but as we are prepared to advise parents, and especially teachers of drawing, to read this work for themselves, we will also mention the abundance of useful talk about right methods of education, in which the claims of science and language are fairly handled, about moral culture, and about the disastrous influence of Louis XIV. on French art. We can indulge ourselves in but a single quotation, from the sixth chapter (pp. 62, 63). It is M. Majorin who speaks:

"Pardon: a simple comparison, in my opinion, will convince you that drawing, taught as it should be, no more leads a child to become an artist than instruction in the French language leads him to become a poet. It is not my fault if drawing is generally taught as seeking for its end a devotion to art. To me drawing is simply a mode of recording observations by the aid of a language which engraves them on the mind, and permits one to utilize them whatever the career he follows. Allow me to give you an example. One would hardly suppose that drawing would be useful to a magistrate; and yet how many judgments would be established on more logical premises if, in civil suits concerning joint property, the division of inheritances, or the responsibilities of an architect or contractor, the judges could comprehend a plan. You should have heard certain lawyers plead for hours, and the public minister discuss these questions from the testimony of experts, whom lawyers and judges understand very imperfectly, to know to what degree the educated classes are ignorant of the language of drawing."

The phrase "public minister" reminds us that the translator is not quite at ease in her task. For another instance (p. 76 and *passim*) we think she should have dispensed altogether with the French word *table* (generally associated in our minds with a horizontal plane) in favor of "perspective plane" or "transparent plane." On pp. 151, 152 there is a fatal confusion caused by calling the same distance in the one case four metres, in another two. And we do not understand what is meant on p. 24 by "the perpendicular lowered a degree on a straight line." These last are blemishes easily removable in a second edition.

Mr. Kingston's 'Dick Cheveley' (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.) reeks with adventure. The hero's career will be followed with breathless interest by juvenile readers, who, however, we feel confident will experience no desire to emulate his example, as elders often timorously conceive. There is, too, considerable concession to the bounds of probability, and perhaps only an adult taste would under the circumstances demand greater variety. Doubtless there is a boy in every properly equipped household who can begin with enthusiasm the recital of a third starvation on a Pacific island after having gone through the experience in the ruined mill where Dick was placed by smugglers, and, later, the tortures in the hold of the ship where he was an involuntary stowaway. Some imaginativeness is required to accept the floating paradise which acts as a scoop-net to rescue the good characters that a cruel captain eliminates from his ship's company from time to time, leaving him finally with only the wicked ones, who fully deserve the wreck that awaits them.

Capt. C. W. Hall's 'Drifting Round the World: a Boy's Adventures by Sea and Land' (Boston: Lee & Shepard) opens with a sentence consisting of seventy-one words, divided only by commas. Those which immediately follow have a similar ponderosity, and the reader's first impressions are naturally unfavorable to the author. Nevertheless these quickly wear away as the story progresses, and if Capt. Hall had cast anchor after chapter viii. we should have little except praise for his entertaining and knowing narrative of adventure along the Atlantic coast from Cape Ann to Greenland. Chapters ix. and x., relating to Iceland, might also be admitted, but that would be the extent of our good nature. The book would then be less than half its present size (372 pages). As Great Britain is not left behind till p. 287, the remainder of the tour round the world is crowded into less than a hundred pages, which is simply preposterous. First impressions are accordingly revived and confirmed at the close. As Capt. Hall is rather free in citing poetry, we call his attention to the perversion of Coleridge on p. 185. The illustrations are a medley of good and indifferent woodcuts and subjects; none seem to have been expressly prepared for the text.

Capt. Hall devotes an entire chapter to the fate of the privateer known in the War of 1812 as the *Young Teaser*, and it certainly furnishes a good opportunity for the display of his descriptive powers. This incident is recorded in fourteen lines in Mr. Benson J. Lossing's 'Story of the United

States Navy' (Harpers), which, though intended for boys, is as painstaking, orderly, and minute as if an adult audience were in view. There is no attempt at picturesqueness or fine writing, which, indeed, our youngsters can well forego. There are plenty of pictures of the sort Mr. Lossing likes to employ—genuine portraits, medals, trophies, monuments, famous ships and batteries—and not too many apocryphal views of naval combats. The peaceful achievements of the navy are not overlooked, and happily there are few shameful deeds to cover up. One seeks for Greytown in vain in the index; and as evidence of how deliberately Mr. Lossing avoids picking out and emphasizing dramatic situations, we can point to the omission of any reference to that stirring transaction in 1853 in the harbor of Smyrna, which gave the protection of the flag to Martin Koszta in the hold of an Austrian frigate.

Our nautical budget terminates with 'Stories of the Sea, told by Sailors,' edited by the Rev. Edward E. Hale—a book of better quality than his previous 'Stories of the War, told by Soldiers' (Roberts Bros.) It gives extracts from Navarrete and Hakluyt and Prescott and Southey and Basil Hall and sundry naval reports, interesting enough, surely, to send enterprising youth back to the "sources," which is Mr. Hale's main object, he says, in compiling the present series. We do not know, however, why he considers himself excused from paying much attention to the dates of the several borrowed narratives, and from punctiliousness in his extracts; or why he passes a translation which speaks (p. 28) of "a winter so fertile to showers"; or why he intimates that the original title-page of 'Robinson Crusoe' is the only source of information as to the location of Defoe's desert island, or denies such a resemblance between Selkirk's adventures and Crusoe's as to warrant ascribing the paternity of the latter to the former. It is probably careless proof-reading that gives us "in that matter" for "for that matter" on p. 9, just as we have "*découverte*" on p. 5 and, by a fine compensation, "*Naufagés*" twice on p. 291; "Ancôna," p. 13; "Sainte-Marie" and "Saint Michel," p. 23. And since there is some self-gratulation on the index, let us point out that Crusoe does not occur in it, nor, still more oddly, Captain Knowles, whose experience on Pitcairn Island forms one of the most considerable as well as interesting portions of this collection.

'Prince Darling's Story Book' (Routledge) has at least the merit of furnishing an instructive contrast to English pabulum for the young. It consists of four translations from the French, the first and much the longest being Édouard Ourliac's "History of Prince Coqueluche," a satire which can only be appreciated by grown people, and will, we fear, seem a little tedious to children. Alexandre Dumas's "Honey-Stew of the Countess Bertha" is a story of ghosts and kobolds, not too blood-curdling to be read after dark, and partakes of the quality of the genuine fairy-tale of all countries. Preference, however, will be given, we believe, to Paul de Musset's "Gaffer Wind and Dame Rain," which has more poetry and originality than all the rest, and includes a little drama for a puppet-theatre. But it is, while perfectly pure, curiously unmoral, and one hesitates to declare whether the lesson of it is the evil of gossip, or the duty of imprisoning one's benefactors. As Wind and Rain are incorporeal and irresponsible existences, whose malevolence and love of mischief are as prominent as their beneficence, perhaps their treatment will appear less unnatural than if they had been human beings. Charles Nodier's "Woodcutter's Dog" is the merest trifle. The illustrations are numerous and Frenchy.

'Feet and Wings' (Lippincott) is one more compilation of animal stories new and old, with pictures new and old, but generally excellent.

There seems to be no end to the uses to which 'Mother Goose' can be put. The first part of 'Routledge's Singing Quadrille and Children's Singing Lancers' is a classification of the rhymes according as they relate to "wanderers" (Little Bo-peep and Goosey, Goosey Gander), "thieves" (Queen of Hearts; Tom, Tom, the Piper's Son; and Simple Simon), "wonders of nature," "dancers," and "bites," all set to dance music; the second part embraces some of the same rhymes and a few others, and likewise consists of five numbers. Mrs. Staples furnishes the æsthetic illustrations, charming views of juvenile "society"; Mr. Corbould the best of the comic ones. There is a plentiful lack of humor in Mr. Longmuir's. "Simple Simon" is accommodated to Yankee Doodle; "Three Blind Mice" is sung as in the old round; "Baa, baa, Black Sheep" has also a familiar setting. We suspend judgment on those less known to us.

'Allie's Mistake,' by Rebecca Gibbons Beach (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons), is the ordinary good-natured Christmas story, with the usual moral relative to the special duties of the season. Now that a child's "Tell me a story" means "Tell me a new one," this will do as well as another of similarly neutral tint and wholesome tone. The author intends the picture of the old colored woman to be the main merit of the book, as may be seen by the introduction.

The Lovers of Provence: Aucassin and Nicolette. A MS. Song-Story of the twelfth century, rendered into modern French by Alexandre Bida. Translated into English verse and prose by A. Rodney Macdonough. Illustrated with engravings after designs by A. Bida, Mary Hallock Foote, W. H. Gibson, and F. Dielman. (New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert.)—This charming story, part prose, part verse, has long been known to scholars as one of the brightest gems of mediæval French literature. The original version was published early in the present century, and had been preceded by a modern French translation by M. de Sainte-Palaye, which he entitled 'Amours du bon vieux temps.' The circle of readers remained a small one until two years ago, when the eminent artist Bida published a second modern French version illustrated with nine etchings. This version Mr. Macdonough has had the happy thought to turn into English, and the publishers have reproduced the etchings of Bida and added seven designs by American artists. We have compared Mr. Macdonough's translation with the original Old-French version, and have found it usually very faithful and poetical. The story itself is a delightful picture of mediæval romance, pure in tone, and painted with a delicacy of stroke and vividness of coloring attained in few modern compositions. The make-up of the book is in harmony with its charming contents.

A Text-book of the Physiological Chemistry of the Animal Body. By Arthur Gamgee, M.D., F.R.S. Vol i. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1880.)—English-speaking students of physiology are to be congratulated upon the appearance of this work, which for them will take the place that in the German curriculum is so well filled by the text-books of Kühne and of Hoppe-Seyler. Though Dr. Gamgee's main object is to present to English readers a succinct account of the recent advances in physiological chemistry, he has by no means performed his work in the spirit of a mere compiler. On the contrary, his own investigations and his personal experience in the laboratory enable him to make valuable additions to our knowledge in this department of science, and to pronounce a critical judgment upon the experimental methods which he describes. Neither does he confine himself rigorously to the consideration of the purely chemical problems relating to the tissues under discussion, but, where the better elucidation of the subject seems to require it, he makes interesting digressions into the domains of the allied sciences, anatomy, physiology, histology, etc. Nearly one-half of the present volume is devoted to the description of the blood, and more than one-third of the remainder is occupied by a discussion of the contractile tissues, these being the two directions in which physiological chemistry has perhaps made its most important advances. For the chapter on the contractile tissues, which contains a very interesting historical account of the various theories which have been held in regard to the source of muscular power, Dr. Gamgee expresses his indebtedness to his friend, Mr. John Priestley.

The author promises us, during the coming year, a second volume, in which the chemistry of the chief animal functions will be treated of. The whole work will then form a complete treatise on physiology as far as chemical phenomena are concerned.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Addison (D. C.), The Street Singer: a Poem, new ed.	(Henry A. Sumner & Co.) $1 50
American Newspaper Annual	(N. W. Ayer & Son)
Bailey (Sarah L.), Historical Sketches of Andover	(Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) 3 75
Beaulieu: a Tale	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 25
Blackie (Prof. J. S.), Lays and Legends of Ancient Greece	(Wm. Blackwood & Sons)
Boardman (Rev. G. D.), Studies in the Mountain Instruction	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Brisbin (Gen. J. A.), The Beef Bonanza	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 25
Chamberlain (B. H.), Classical Poetry of the Japanese	(Trübner & Co.)
Champlin (J. D., jr.), Young Folks' Cyclopædia of Persons and Places	(Henry Holt & Co.) 3 50
Congdon (C.), Reminiscences of a Journalist	(J. R. Osgood & Co.) 1 50
Doran (Dr.), Monarchs Retired from Business, 2 vols	(A. C. Armstrong & Son) 3 50
Feet and Wings	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Fenton (J.), Early Hebrew Life	(Trübner & Co.)
Forrester (Mrs.), Roy and Viola	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 25
Fothergill (Dr. J. M.) and Wood (Prof. H. C.), Food for the Invalid	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 00
Franz (R.), Album of Songs	(Oliver Ditson & Co.)
Gibson (W. H.), Pastoral Days	(Harper & Bros.) 7 50
Gilder (R. W.), The New Day: Poetry	(Charles Scribner's Sons) 1 25
Goodale (Elaine and Dora), All Round the Year: Poetry	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 25
Gordon (J. E. H.), Physical Treatise on Electricity and Magnetism, 2 vols	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Greville (A.), Princess Ogheroff, swd	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.) 75
The Trials of Raissa	" " 75
Hall (Capt. C. W.), Drifting round the World	(Lee & Shepard) 1 50
Hardy (T.), The Trumpet-Major; a Tale	(Henry Holt & Co.) 1 00
Head of Medusa: a Tale	(Roberts Bros.) 1 50
Howe (Mrs. J. W.), Modern Society	" " 50
Ingersoll (E.), Friends Worth Knowing	(Harper & Bros.)
Joseffy (R.), Daily Studies on the Pianoforte	(Edward Schuberth & Co.)
Kingston (W. H.), Dick Cheveley	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 50
Koolman (J. ten D.), Wörterbuch der Ostfriesischen Sprache, Part II, swd	(Hermann Braams)
Leland (E. H.), Farm Homes	(Orange Judd Co.) 1 50
Lossing (B. J.), Story of the U. S. Navy: for Boys	(Harper & Bros.)
Moseley (Julia D.), Little Zee	(Henry A. Sumner & Co.) 1 00
Nestlenook: a Tale, swd	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 00
Oncken (W.), Allgemeine Geschichte, Part 23, swd	(B. Westermann & Co.)
Peacock (T. B.), Rhyme of the Border War	(G. W. Carleton & Co.)
Proofs from *Scribner's Monthly* and *St. Nicholas*	(Scribner & Co.)
Read (T. B.), Drifting: a Poem	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 50
Routledge's Singing Quadrilles	(Geo. Routledge & Sons)
Saintsbury (G.), Primer of French Literature	(Macmillan & Co.) 40
St. John (C. H.), Country Love and City Life	(A. Williams & Co.)
Schliemann (Dr. H.), Ilios: City and Country of the Trojans	(Harper & Bros.) 12 00
Sheldon (G. W.), American Painters, enlarged ed	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Stoddard (C. W.), Mashallah! a Flight into Egypt, swd	" " 30
Thompson (S. D.), Liability of Directors	(Wm. H. Stevenson)
Thornet (Teresa A.), Kate Comerford	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 25
Toland (Mrs. M. B. M.), Onti Ora: Poetry	" " 2 50
Watson (J. W.), Beautiful Snow, and Other Poems	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.) 2 00
Willing (Mrs. C.), Persephone, and Other Poems	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Youngster	" "

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1880.

The Week.

THE Philadelphia *Press* has fortified its report of Mr. Bayard's speech at Dover, Delaware, of which we spoke last week, by publishing the affidavit of a stenographer named Andem and the letters of thirteen reputable citizens of Delaware, testifying to the correctness of the report, and particularly that portion of it which makes Mr. Bayard charge Messrs. Conkling, Noah Davis, Arthur, Jayne, and Boutwell with having been present when $267,000 was extorted from Mr. Dodge, and with "having divided it among themselves." Andem's affidavit would probably not produce much impression; but the letters do undoubtedly seem weighty, and we notice that the defence of *Every Evening*, Mr. Bayard's Wilmington organ, against it is very feeble. It amounts to saying that these witnesses, having seen the report of the stenographer since the meeting, fancy they heard what the report contains. It seems as if Mr. Bayard might very well have said in the heat of oratory what the report makes him say; for, after all, in spite of the solemn card it has drawn out from Messrs. Davis, Conkling, Boutwell, and Arthur, in which they pronounce it "a truthless calumny," the charge was at worst simply inaccurate, and not baseless, as their language would lead one to suppose.

There was such a consultation as the report makes Mr. Bayard describe in his speech, but Mr. Dodge was not present at it, nor was Mr. Boutwell. But the others were. Judge Davis was there, and so were Messrs. Conkling, Jayne, and Arthur, and also Cornell and Laflin, all henchmen of Mr. Conkling's; and the business before them was the amount they could by a strict construction of the law extort from Mr. Dodge. To all this Judge Davis testified before the Committee. He also added that he told this little party that if the case went into court "no jury would believe that a real fraud existed." They nevertheless went on with their game and did extort $271,000 from the Dodges. This sum was not divided in the precise manner Mr. Bayard is alleged to have described, but his statement on this point is not "a truthless calumny." The District-Attorney, Mr. Bliss (Judge Davis having gone out of office, although he had offered to go halves with Bliss, got nothing), got $5,400; Mr. Arthur, the Collector, got $21,906 01. The Surveyor, Cornell, and the Naval Officer, Laflin, got each a similar amount, or $65,718 03 in all. Jayne got as much as the whole of them, which we omitted to mention last week, but had to share with the informer, so that out of the $271,000 extorted from Mr. Dodge this little band actually took $131,436, half of this going to Mr. Conkling's henchmen. That Mr. Arthur should have signed the card of indignant denial after having pocketed $21,906 01, is an extraordinary piece of assurance. Whether Mr. Conkling got anything is still uncertain; he has not denied it in the correspondence with Mr. Bayard. It was freely asserted before the Committee of Congress that he as well as Butler received a heavy counsel fee, but the Custom-house officials declined an invitation to appear before the Committee to testify on this point, which of itself looks ominous. They have made a great mistake now in attacking Mr. Bayard, because, even if they convict him of exaggeration or carelessness, they all, except Mr. Boutwell, do so at the cost of directing public attention once more to one of the worst scandals of their own career.

Mr. Pendleton, following up his initiative in the promotion of civil-service reform, has introduced in the Senate two bills, on the one hand providing for a regular system of examinations and promotions, on the other prohibiting official contributions for political purposes. The first measure makes the proper exemptions from the general requirement, establishes a Civil-Service Examination Board of five, to hold office during good behavior, and to prescribe the necessary regulations and superintend examinations; admits women equally with men to examinations, and, with a few natural exceptions, to appointments; directs the division of the country into five examination districts, and empowers the Board to regulate suspension and dismissal for misconduct or inefficiency. This bill, except as regards fixity of tenure, seems to be well conceived, if the Board be liberally endowed with assistance and pecuniary support. The second bill invites more opposition, because it lays down rules at once contrary to our political practice for many years and not easily enforceable. It may be right to forbid "any officer, clerk, or employé of the Government" to contribute to any political fund, or to forbid him to pay any assessment or percentage of his salary for such a purpose, and to prohibit his solicitation; but these acts, for which a penalty is provided, are not equally controllable. The attempt, too, to punish Government contractors for giving "money, property, or other valuable thing" towards a political object, must be deemed of doubtful expediency; and too vague is the clause answering to the President's executive order against officeholders taking part in primaries and conventions—"intermeddling except by vote or individual speech," Mr. Pendleton calls it. However, the main thing is to get a definite proposition of reform before our legislators. Debate will reveal not only the imperfections of "this particular measure," but also the sincerity of those who take part in it.

In the House, Mr. Willis, of Kentucky, offered a civil-service bill corresponding to Mr. Pendleton's, but explicit as to fixity of tenure. The House has passed the Pensions, and Fortifications, and Military Academy Appropriation Bills. The main interest of the Congressional session has pertained to the discussion in the Senate and final passage of the so-called Burnside Educational Fund Bill. This measure inscribes the net annual proceeds of the public lands and of the Patent Office as a credit on the books of the Treasury, and allows four per cent. interest to be distributed to the States in the ratio of illiteracy, for application two-thirds to common-school instruction and one-third to the income of the agricultural colleges, which the States are authorized to open to women for special instruction. Singularly enough, the general Constitutional objections were urged almost exclusively by Northern men. Senators from the Gulf States saw no difficulty whatever; and in fact the Constitutional warrant for disposing of the public lands seems unequivocal. But, as Mr. Allison pointed out, it is only by a convenient fiction that the two sources of the fund are said to be lands and patents: the proceeds are paid into the Treasury, and merely furnish a basis for calculating the interest at four per cent. This gave occasion to Mr. Blaine to twit the strict constructionists on the surrender of their old stiffness. A special objection of this sort was, however, pressed more forcibly, and with the support of many Southern as well as Northern men. The States, in order to get their share, must make detailed reports, showing their school systems and school terms and attendance, and other necessary statistics proving their good faith in the employment of the money received. These reports are to be made to the Commissioner of Education, and if he finds them imperfect he can refuse his endorsement of the warrant, and the quota be withheld till the next Congress passes upon the case. This seemed like an attack on State dignity, instead of a reasonable condition of a gift, and was all the more resented because the Commissioner is a "subordinate officer." But nobody remarked on the stability which this act will give to the Bureau of Education, hitherto as much of an accident and having as precarious an existence as the Department of Agriculture.

The most dangerous attack on the bill came, oddly enough, from the Republican Northwest—from Colorado, Nebraska, and Iowa; and, finding a large Southern adherence, nearly swamped it, a tie vote alone saving it as it came from the Committee. It was shown that $40,000 (the estimated income from the fund during the first year) would go but a very little way towards helping the struggling States, and it was proposed that the principal should be bestowed outright as an annual appropriation. Of course it was easy to show, on the other hand, that this too would be paltry in its effect, and Mr. Morrill, Mr. Hoar, and others made no secret of their desire that the act should mark an epoch in the national policy, and should be the beginning of a national

oversight of the intelligence of the voters of the republic. And here a new use was found for the hitherto superserviceable clause of the Constitution guaranteeing a republican form of government. It was refreshing to hear a Southern Senator, and he ex-Gov. Brown of Georgia, cite this clause as bearing on the case in hand, and declare that as "this Government cannot be perpetuated as a republic without the education of the whole mass of the people," to appropriate money for this purpose "would be a better mode of guaranteeing a republican form of government than to undertake to make a guarantee by the use of the Army and the sword." Mr. Blair, of New Hampshire, took up the parable, saying, "It seems to be conceded all over the Chamber that a republican form of government cannot exist excepting as it is based upon the intelligence and virtue of its citizens"—in the nation no more than in the several States. But neither perceived that the logical outcome of this argument is that we ought to begin at once to restrict our suffrage to the intelligent and virtuous.

The annual addition to the educational fund depends for its amount on one notoriously diminishing factor—the public territory, and on the prosperity of the Patent Office considered as a money-making branch of the Government. Much feeling was manifested in favor of not allowing the Office to have a surplus, by putting down fees. That the surplus might well be used not in stimulating the taking out of patents, but in raising the salaries of the administration, so that useless, invalid, and blackmailing patents should be discouraged and excluded, and the best expert talent be retained within the Office, was overlooked by all save perhaps one speaker.

The foreign specie arrivals were again very large during the week, having exceeded in value five millions of dollars, and the foreign exchange market, although strong in the latter part of the week, closed at rates which warrant further imports. The money market was very tight during the early part of the week, but in the latter part was easier, and the full rate was then only 6 per cent. per annum. Suspicions of "locking up" were current when the market was so close, and these were well founded to the extent that about $6,000,000 were gathered into one of the banks by Jay Gould, who used the money before the week closed to pay for the controlling interest which he had bought in two of the Southwestern railroads, the St. Louis & Iron Mountain and the International & Great Northern, necessary to complete his control of the railroad system of the Southwest. The Treasury has adhered to its policy of holding surplus revenues for the redemption of the sixes of 1880, which fall due at the close of the year, except where holders of these bonds were willing to accept less than the full price at maturity for them (103). Neither has the January interest been prepaid without rebate, as in former years. The inference from this course of the Treasury is, that the Secretary had no objection to the New York money market being stringent, for the influence which it might have on legislation respecting refunding; he favors a refunding bond which shall bear a higher rate of interest than 3 per cent., the rate that the House of Representatives adheres to. The banks and private bankers here who expect to be concerned in the refunding operations of the Treasury have also had an interest in showing to Congress that a 3 per cent. refunding bond would be impracticable, and this could be done in no way so well as by keeping up the rates for money at this time. But aside from these considerations there have been excellent reasons for an active money market, the chief of which are the enormous volume of mercantile exchanges, the employment of money in remote places in railroad building, and the rampant speculation at the Stock Exchange, where the prices of dividend-paying stocks have been run up to unheard-of figures, on the theory that all investments will, as the result of lowering the interest rate on United States bonds, rule at prices which will yield the buyer a possible 5 per cent., but no more than a sure 4 per cent. annual income. In this speculative movement the enormous and unprecedentedly profitable traffic of the leading railroads has been a great aid. It is now very doubtful whether Congress will perfect any refunding legislation before the middle or latter part of January.

A correspondent and two or three esteemed contemporaries have called our attention to a blunder of which we were apparently guilty in saying a fortnight ago that if we made the silver dollar more valuable than the gold dollar, our gold "would take flight to countries in which gold only is a legal tender, and all the spare silver of the earth would be sent here." This, they say, is in direct conflict with the well-known law that the cheaper currency stays at home and the dearer goes abroad. It does, if there is any place for it to go to. The peculiarity of the present situation is, however, that there is practically no market for silver as money in any leading European country. You cannot get it coined in any country of the Latin Union, nor in Germany, and in England you cannot make it a legal tender for over eight dollars. The present price of the metal in London is based mainly on the demand for it for use in the arts and the settlement of Indian and Chinese balances. If we offered to coin it without limit, and use more of it in making a dollar than we now do, we should open up the best and, in fact, the only good market for it now existing. It would be the interest of every one in Europe having remittances to make to America to make them in silver, and, in fact, the stored-up and useless silver hoards of Europe would be let loose upon us. "Gresham's law" supposes perfect freedom of trade and coinage. The existing legislation of most European countries with regard to silver was in fact intended to prevent this law from operating, and it does prevent it. A striking illustration of this is furnished in the fate of the trade dollar. It is worth considerably more than the home dollar, and yet nobody likes to receive it.

M. de Lesseps is satisfied that he has got the money for his canal. He says that subscriptions have flowed in to him from every country in Europe, and that "the founders'" $1,000 shares have gone up to $8,000, as we understand it, in England. Of the Isthmus of Panama he has a still higher opinion than he had of the Isthmus of Suez, and considers it one of the healthiest countries in the world, and words failed him when he came to talk of its productiveness after it has been drained and irrigated by the canal. He expects to open the canal to trade in 1887, and is altogether so cheerful and buoyant that it is a thousand pities that he is not twenty years younger.

The sudden withdrawal of Mr. Foster from competition for the Ohio senatorship, just as his success was beginning to seem certain, is ascribed, both in Washington and Ohio, openly and with confidence, to Mr. Garfield's influence at the last moment. If so, it seems probable that it has been due to a desire on his part to avoid conflict with the Conklingites, to whom Mr. Sherman is especially obnoxious and who wish to get their Custom-house back again, which would not have been possible if Mr. Sherman had remained at the head of the Treasury. We foreshadowed something of this kind a fortnight ago, and if our conjecture be correct, it is rather an unfortunate beginning. Of course Mr. Foster's retirement makes Mr. Sherman's election certain, and places the Treasury at Mr. Garfield's disposal. The chances are that he will give it to a Western man, and for a reason which has a good deal of force—viz., that in the present state of the Western mind about finance any Eastern man would be accused of being an agent or tool of the "money kings" and "gold bugs" of New York and Europe.

The Supreme Court of Missouri has rendered a decision with regard to the production of telegraph messages in court which will commend itself not only to telegraph companies but to the community at large. A St. Louis Grand Jury ordered the local manager of the Western Union Company to produce any despatches that there might be in his office between certain persons (naming them) within the past fifteen months. The manager admitted that there were such messages in his custody, but declined to produce them, under the rules of the company. These facts were reported to the judge of the Criminal Court by the Grand Jury, and the manager was committed for contempt. He brought the matter before the Supreme Court by habeas corpus. That court has now decided, following the general course of judicial decision in this country, that telegraph messages are not privileged communications, and that the company cannot refuse to produce them; but that their production is governed by the same rules that apply to all written documents—they must be described, not in general terms, but with such accuracy as to identify them precisely. That is, neither the State nor any private individual can say to a company: We have a lawsuit or

a criminal prosecution going on here, and in order to find out whether there is any evidence on the subject which would be of use to us we will now proceed to overhaul all the messages in your custody which passed between such and such persons within such and such years. What must be done is first to ascertain what messages are needed, and then call for just those messages and no others. This may in some cases be difficult to do, but it is a difficulty attended with far less danger to public and private interests than the right of such a body as a grand jury to overhaul everybody's private correspondence for the purpose of finding out whether he has done something contrary to law.

A New Orleans correspondent of the *Times* has furnished that paper with an account of an interview with General Grant in that city last spring on Fitz-John Porter's case. He had no personal knowledge of the operations on which the charge against Fitz-John Porter was based, and is therefore no more an authority on them than on any other operations of which he has heard or read. It was, therefore, more than unjust to say or insinuate that Porter had offered no new evidence to the Court of Enquiry except that of rebel officers. He offered what was much more important, accurate surveys of the battle-field. Moreover, Porter's defence, that he did not attack because he thought he would be whipped, is not absurd or worthless, as General Grant suggests, because Porter, as a corps commander, had, in the absence of his superior officer, discretion as to carrying out his orders, a fact which General McDowell was compelled reluctantly to admit in his evidence before the Board. When an officer has discretion as to whether he shall attack, and refuses to attack because he thinks he will be beaten, and all subsequent investigation shows that he was right, he ought surely not on this account to be killed, robbed, or abused. General Grant has expressed public admiration of so many worthless characters that his attack on Porter would under ordinary circumstances be of little consequence; but just now, when Porter is dependent on Congress for the reparation to which the Advisory Board has declared him entitled, it is decidedly an abuse of General Grant's influence to publish it. The *Times* lends its weight to it, but then the *Times* calls Mr. Martin I. Townsend "a trustworthy observer," and says he saw "nearly everything" in the Whittaker case at West Point "from an impartial standpoint." Probably no one will enjoy this more than Mr. Townsend himself, for though not strictly speaking a humorous man, he must hold his sides when he hears himself described as a judicial-minded man.

Dr. Talmage will probably be brought before the Presbytery once more, this time on a charge of perjury. At his last trial he swore that when he suddenly left the editorship of the *Christian at Work*, after surreptitiously publishing in its columns in the night, without the knowledge and in the absence of the proprietors, a valedictory address to the subscribers announcing his transfer to the *Advance*, it was an unpremeditated step, taken on discovering that the paper had been sold without consulting him. A written contract with the proprietors of the *Advance* has, however, now been produced, which he had executed days previously. The existence of this he denied in his examination on the trial, but it appears to have been known to at least one leading member of his congregation, who, nevertheless, continued to "sit under him" and support him. Dr. Field, of the *Evangelist*, owes it to his readers now, it seems to us, to confess that he was mistaken in holding that "the brooding influences of the Spirit" would have been "driven away" by prosecuting Talmage to conviction in the former investigation. Enough, and more than enough, was then produced to show that he was a highly unsafe person for any religious denomination to continue to be responsible for. The support he continued to receive from his congregation counted for nothing. Preachers of his class appear to draw congregations about them, by some mysterious law of sympathy, who can bear any strain on their moral sense the minister's conduct may impose, as long as he furnishes the usual Sunday's entertainment.

The Cape colonists of South Africa have brought on themselves another war with the natives, and the victims are the Kaffre tribe of Basutos. Impartial officers in the colony say it was wholly unprovoked and in England we are assured that very few people could be found to justify it. The Colony legislature has passed a vagrant law—in Africa of all places—the sole object of which is said to be to force the colored population to work for the colonists at low wages. To secure laborers for the diamond fields every man on returning home was allowed to take a gun with him as a reward, and hundreds of thousands of guns have been sold to the natives of late years. It is now proposed to take these guns away from them, beginning with the Basutos. The colonists also undertake to throw open the land of the Basutos to settlers. Sir Garnet Wolseley last March remonstrated earnestly, in opposition to Sir Bartle Frere and Mr. Spriggs, the colonial minister, against the demand that the Basutos and "other quiet and orderly" native tribes, "the finest race in South Africa, now loyal and contented," who had so "cheerfully assisted us in the Zulu war," should be compelled to deliver up their fire-arms. He denounced the policy pursued towards them as "fraught with danger to the peace of the colonists," and calculated to "array against us the native sentiment of every South African tribe from the Zambesi to Cape Agulhas." Lord Kimberley, the Colonial Secretary of State, also deprecated the measures, and agrees as to the character of the tribe, and says they have already made considerable progress in the arts of peace. Notwithstanding these remonstrances the attempted disarmament goes on, several fights have already occurred, and although the colonial forces only have so far been engaged—9,000 to 11,000 have been called out—there is a great prospect of the war extending, and taxing the resources of the Imperial Government to suppress it. The Basutos occupy a tract about one hundred and fifty miles long by eighty broad, watered by the upper streams of the Orange and Calderon rivers. The north part of the country is very mountainous, and on the east they have the impassable range of the Drakensberg mountains. The population of the Basutos alone in 1875 was 127,701. So far the war has been wholly defensive.

Earl Grey, in the *Nineteenth Century* for December, argues for withdrawing the form of government forced upon the Colony some years ago, of legislative autonomy and ministerial responsibility, in favor of the former mode of government, so that the direct power of the Crown may be restored. He compares the effect of the present mode of administering the Colony to the condition of New Zealand, when similar measures were first taken there and the government was handed over to the settlers. A war broke out which required the forces of the home Government, with 10,000 men and the resources of the navy, to subdue, and two-thirds of the Maori, or 80,000 men, were slaughtered or perished in the war. The settlers were able to govern the colony alone only when the number of the Maori had been reduced by these barbarities to 40,000. It should be added, however, that there had been a serious war with the natives in former years before a "responsible government" had been established in the Colony.

The Basuto war has assumed such proportions that the Boers of the Transvaal, who were so summarily annexed just before the Zulu outbreak, have taken upon themselves to revolt and declare their independence, and five thousand of the eight thousand white men in the province are in arms in support of the declaration. The Colonial Government finds the Basutos alone more than it can well manage, and is now at its wits' end, and is telegraphing frantically to London for the aid of British troops. This seems the climax of the troubles created by Sir Bartle Frere. He provoked the Zulus by taking the side of the Boers against them in the assertion of a morally indefensible claim, which he justified by quotations from the Old Testament. He then proceeded to swallow up the Boers with their booty and abolished their republic, and they were prevented from resisting by the large military force which the Zulu war had brought to the Cape. Now they seem to have the game in their own hands, and the home Government will probably be forced to send out heavy reinforcements and to incur expenses which will play sad havoc with Mr. Gladstone's budget. That the Cape troubles will encourage the Land-Leaguers there is no doubt, but it must also be said that they will probably do much to make the Whig wing of the Liberals more tractable in dealing with the Irish land question.

SOMETHING MORE ABOUT THE "ARISTOCRACY OF OFFICE-HOLDERS."

WE have waited a fortnight to see whether there would be any response to our enquiry whether the experience of the American people during the period between the adoption of the Constitution and General Jackson's first administration—over forty years in all—furnished any good reason for fearing that a recurrence to tenure during good behavior in the civil service would result in the creation of a haughty "aristocracy of office-holders." We offered to publish any evidence on this point which any of our readers would be good enough to forward, and we pointed out that if any such evidence existed, it must be within easy reach, as the period at which tenure during good behavior ceased was not very remote. We have received no answer to this enquiry by letter, and we have not found any in any of our exchanges. We therefore feel warranted in concluding that no such evidence exists, and in repeating that during the first half-century of the republic the tenure during good behavior in the subordinate offices was tried without raising or suggesting the "aristocratic" objection; that nobody complained or thought of complaining of it on that score; that the introduction of the present system of appointment and tenure had nothing to do with the manners of the office-holders, or with their mode of regarding their office or of carrying themselves towards the public. We asked, too, when we last touched on this subject, whether the present system had been resorted to with the view of making office-holders polite and impressing them with a sense of their dependence on the people, and of the necessity of ingratiating themselves with the public by a proper discharge of their duties. Nobody has ventured to answer this question affirmatively. Even if the old system of permanence failed to keep the office-holder in his proper place, nobody ventures to assert that the present system has cured this defect, or was resorted to for any such purpose. We drew attention at the same time to several features of the present system which were well calculated to make, and did in practice make, the office-holder indifferent to public opinion, and prevent his considering efficiency and fidelity the chief condition of his tenure. In brief, either the old system, when in force, did not possess the defects which we are now told it would possess if tried again; or, if it did possess them, the present system not only does nothing whatever to remedy them, but was not intended to remedy them.

We shall not, however, consider the discussion closed. We still offer space in our columns to any one who can produce illustrations from American history of the effect of tenure during good behavior in producing an official aristocracy. For instance, there are in all the great departments of the Government a certain number of officials, some of whom, like the late Mr. Clinch of this Custom-house, have come down to us from the old régime, who are practically sure of their places under every Administration because their experience is absolutely necessary to keep the administrative machine from going to pieces. They know that no head of a department will venture to turn them out. Occasionally, in discussions with civil-service reformers, politicians so far forget themselves as to point to these men as proofs that the present civil service is not so bad as the reformers paint it, whereas on their own theory of proper civil-service organization in a democratic country the presence of these men in the service is a gross abuse. However, there they are, and they may help to throw some light on the point under debate. What is the effect of prolonged tenure of office, and of the knowledge that they are in no danger of removal as long as they discharge their duties properly, on this class of officers? Are they haughty and overbearing? Do they show, either by their demeanor towards their fellow-citizens or by their manner of discharging the duties of their office, that they look on the office as their property? Are they distinguishable in any way, either by their behavior or mode of life, from other persons in the community of similar means and pursuits? These questions must be easy to answer. Negative answers, we admit, would not close the case, but they would furnish very useful suggestions about it. The late Mr. Clinch, for instance, was the indispensable man of the New York Custom-house for forty years. For more than half that period he was the real collector who kept the machine in working order, while the sham or political collector was running about "reorganizing the party," "controlling the primaries," and managing the conventions. When "Tom" Murphy, the friend and companion whom General Grant put into the office in 1870, was examined on one occasion by a committee of Congress touching the duties of his place, and was asked what he would do under such and such circumstances, or how he would decide this or that point of Custom-house procedure, he answered promptly that he "would go to Clinch" or "ask Clinch." Now, the knowledge of his own indispensableness, and the sense of permanence which it gave him, must, if there be any truth in the objection to permanence which we are discussing, have sensibly affected Mr. Clinch's manners, and made him a very disagreeable person to do business with. But, as a matter of fact, did they do so? Thousands of merchants and brokers must have come in contact with him during his long career and have had some reason to complain of him. Did any one ever complain of him as "haughty" through a sense of property in his office? Were his bearing and manners in any way different from those of a painstaking, conscientious business man in any calling? Was it not on the whole much *pleasanter* to do business with him than with the outer crowd of officers whose tenure was precarious, and dependent either on their political activity or on their Senator's not wanting their places for more serviceable men?

We are not, however, going to rely on American experience alone for our answer to the objection we are now discussing, and we do not deny that foreign experience seems to give some color to it. Government service, we may admit, has in most old countries and in all modern times had the effect in a greater or less degree of giving the members of it a certain sense of social elevation and of authority which showed itself in their demeanor towards their fellow-citizens. But it is safe to assert that wherever this has existed it has been the result of something which has no sort of connection either with the mode of appointment to office or with the tenure—viz., the existence of classes in the social organization. The government official in Germany or in England gives himself airs and thinks himself an aristocrat because, as a matter of fact, his superiors are aristocrats, and the government is administered in all its higher branches by an aristocracy. It is impossible for a "servant of the Crown" to avoid arrogating to himself more or less of the Crown's dignity and authority. In any country in which politics is largely managed by an aristocracy the civil as well as the military service, whether the terms be long or short, will be permeated by the aristocratic spirit. In all aristocratic countries a great deal of the comfort of life is derived from the reflection that one has "inferiors"; the nobleman rejoices in his superiority to the commoner, the gentleman to the man in trade, the barrister to the attorney, the merchant to the shopkeeper. It would be impossible for any system of appointment or tenure of office to cut off government officers, any more than any other class of the community, from this source of happiness. The social position the place gives them is, in fact, one of the rewards of their services, and they would be more than human if they did not show that they appreciated it. But the official shows his sense of his own importance no more than, and, indeed, not so much as, any other man who has an assured income and considers his position "gentlemanly." In other words, the manners of the public servants are moulded by precisely the same influences as the manners of persons in all other callings. The manners of the government clerk very much resemble those of the successful barrister's clerk or the clerk in the great banking-house; they are neither better nor worse. If the English and German officials were all appointed and held under the spoils system, and had their "heads cut off" every time there was a change in the ministry or a new man got the king's ear, there is every reason to believe that they would be vastly more insolent than they are now, as they would share in the excitement of the political strife, and in the pride of victory and contempt for the vanquished which are so marked a feature in official life here, and would rapidly fall into the habit, which is so strong among our officeholders, of treating all criticism simply as a weapon in the hands of some one who wants to get their places for somebody else, and not as a help to the discovery and cure of defects or abuses.

In this country the traditions of the Government are thoroughly democratic; the social organization is democratic; the popular view of the social value of all occupations is democratic. There is little or no conventional dignity or value attached to any employment or occupa-

tion—not enough, indeed, to some, such as the judicial function. The origin of authority, instead of being veiled by antiquity and tradition and immemorial custom from the popular gaze, is so well known that nearly every man looks on himself as the source of legal power. Nowhere else does the sovereignty present itself in such naked and unadorned simplicity to those who have to live under it. Nowhere is so little importance attached to permanence either in office or anything else, and the Jack-of-All-Trades and the Rolling-Stone treated with so much indulgence or consideration. Nowhere, too, is the taking on of airs, or the wearing of "too many frills," as it is popularly called, or the assumption of any outward appearance of dignity or superiority, so closely watched for and sternly repressed both by ridicule and revolt. The result is that plainness and even humility of demeanor and language have actually become a fashion of the country, not among politicians only but among men of all classes. If there be one thing more than another which distinguishes an American of any calling or position from men of other countries, it is the pains he takes to show that he does not consider himself any better than anybody else. In fact, all the forces of American society, moral, mental, and material, seem to work not only against the creation of any outward sign of inequality but against the growth of any feeling of superiority among men of any class or condition; and the further west we go the more distinctly does this appear. That the hundred thousand office-holders of the Federal Government, most of them living on salaries so small as to make the acceptance of them as a permanent provision almost an admission of failure in life, would, if secured in their places on condition that they gave their whole mind to their duties, rise up against the influences which dominate the rest of the community, lay aside the kindly and unpretending and unassuming manners which now may be said to run in the American blood, and put on the hard, haughty, and overbearing demeanor of Prussian bureaucrats, is surely a strange supposition. It is so strange that its existence may be cited as a very striking illustration of the small degree to which the public has as yet bestowed any thought on the most serious question of American politics to-day—viz., the best mode of keeping the Government under the control of popular opinion without deranging or obstructing the administrative machinery by which the national business is transacted.

THE GENESIS OF "BOYCOTTING."

THE "boycotting" of another Irish landlord, Mr. Bence Jones, an Englishman resident near Cork, shows that the success of the process in the case of Mr. Boycott has really put a powerful weapon into the hands of the Land League, and one with which the Government will find it very difficult, if not impossible, to deal. The process is a very simple one. Under secret orders or warnings, issued, we presume, by the local committee, the obnoxious person is put under a ban. His servants and laborers refuse to work for him; the shopkeepers to sell to him or to buy from him; the livery-stable keepers to transport him; the blacksmiths to shoe his horses; and he is lucky if his cattle are not maimed or driven off his land in the night. In order still further to shake his nerves, threatening and abusive letters are written to him, and if these fail to produce any effect on him, they are sure to do so on his family. Of course, under these circumstances life in a country house becomes intolerable. The police can protect against armed violence, but they cannot enable a man to farm his own land, dispose of his produce, and perform the thousand necessary offices of a great house; nor can they enable even the strongest spirit to disregard the manifest hatred of all his neighbors. Mr. Boycott was enabled to gather in his crops by the aid of a band of Protestant volunteers, but they had to be escorted by so large a force of troops that the saving of $2,500 worth of corn and potatoes cost the Government about $50,000. Of course, the relation of the value of the crops to the cost of gathering them is of no consequence, inasmuch as what the Government spent the money for was the enforcement of the law, and not the saving of so much farm produce. Mr. Boycott's case excited deep sympathy in England, and a refusal on the part of Mr. Gladstone to compensate him for his losses has brought some odium on the Government; but that Mr. Gladstone was wise in refusing to establish a precedent of this kind the extension of the practice of "boycotting" shows. Mr. Bence Jones is now in Mr. Boycott's position, but is apparently disposed to fight it out, and writes to the London *Times* that he has hired armed retainers to come from a distance and garrison his house. This may save his property, but it cannot make life tolerable for an elderly man with a family, and, in spite of his brave resistance, we shall probably hear before long of his abandoning the field, and of other landlords being subjected to the persecutions against which he is contending.

Such occurrences, even in a land of troubles like Ireland, in our day would be enough to warrant a very dark view of western civilization, if one did not call in the aid of a little history, and not very remote history either. The confiscations and settlements in Ireland which followed the revolutions of 1640 and 1688 left the Irish landlords of the dominant creed and race not simply lords of the soil, with titles not acknowledged by the natives, but absolute masters of the tillers of the soil. That is to say, there being no mode of livelihood but agriculture open to the peasant, he was glad to get a farm at any rent, and he undertook to pay any rent demanded, without exacting any of the covenants on the side of the landlord which are customary in England. Holding as a tenant at will, he was really, in spite of the existence of the courts, governed by the landlord or his agent, and has been so down to our day, and the landlord or his agent either hated or despised him. He is and has been subjected to "rules" of all kinds controlling his mode of life, his family relations, his way of tilling and fencing his land, and so on—many of them salutary, no doubt, but all arbitrary, and often, owing to the manner of enforcement, galling, and even exasperating. A well-known story has been going the round of the English papers lately—and it is authenticated by judicial enquiry—of a boy's perishing in the cold because his grandfather was prevented by the "rules of the office" from sheltering him under his own roof. Mr. Tuke, in his pamphlet, tells of the late Lord Leitrim's having ordered a good house, built by a tenant at his own cost, to be pulled down because his permission had not been obtained, and the poor man was sent back to the wretched cabin he had previously occupied. There is another story of the same landlord, and equally well authenticated, which describes him as having ordered the destruction of additions which a tenant had, in building a house, made to a plan which the landlord had seen and approved of, although there was no objection to them except that permission for them had not been given. Power of this sort is good for no man or body of men, and giving it a fine name, such as "the exercise of the rights of property," does not make it so. No one can long keep bodies of his fellow-men under the *sic volo, sic jubeo* rule without abusing his authority in a thousand ways. The Irish landlords will, everything considered, compare well with any body of landed gentry in all the manlier arts. They have furnished British politics and the British military and civil service, ever since the Union, with more than their share of both able and illustrious men. But their power over their tenantry has been a curse to them as regards both character and fortune. Its continuance down to our day has been made possible simply by the fact that, for various reasons too numerous to mention here, there has been outside of one or two cities no such thing as a public opinion in Ireland to check or punish acts of oppression. In a country district nobody stands between the peasant and the landlord but the priest, who is little better than the peasant in education or manners. Accordingly for two hundred years the sole restraint on excesses has been assassination and "outrages." It seems horrible and sounds almost incredible, but it is strictly true, that no improvement in the condition of the Irish Catholic had taken place since 1700 until he had made his discontent manifest by "Whiteboyism," "Molly Maguireism," assassination of landlords and bailiffs, house-burning and cattle-houghing. He kept up this pleasing form of agitation seventy years before he obtained ordinary civil rights. He again tried it successfully in order to get rid of the tithes in 1832, and once more, in 1867, it brought him the disestablishment of the Church, and in 1870 the Land Act. The chances are that it is now going to bring him "the three f's."

"Boycotting" is but the latest and by far the mildest form of Irish agitation. It is a wild and barbarous mode of expressing the reprobation which, in more civilized communities, would find vent in the press and through the social influence of a well-to-do industrial middle class. Mr. Bence Jones, for instance, is really the victim of a display of contempt for his neighbors and dependents which he certainly would not

have ventured upon either in England or in this country, and which in both would be punished by some sort of social ostracism. He is an Englishman, and apparently an energetic landlord, and, according to the contract view of land tenure, probably a very good one. He has striven to make the tenantry comfortable and prosperous in his way—that is, by well-meaning, arbitrary rule—and in India or in Ceylon would probably have been a highly successful administrator. Being dissatisfied with the result, however, he took to writing articles in the London magazines, holding not his own tenantry only but the whole Irish peasantry up to odium as barbarous, dirty, lazy, and knavish; a view which Englishmen abroad, let us say, are only too apt to take of a population whose ways they do not like. Fifty years ago these articles would never have been heard of by his humble neighbors, or, if they did hear of them, they would not have minded them, or have treated the publication of them as a gentleman's prerogative. But the times have changed. The magazines go everywhere. The classes who sit down under abuse and insult have vanished from Europe and America. Mr. Bence Jones finds that, however much he may be dissatisfied with the outcome of his venture in Irish land, however unpleasant and unworthy his poor neighbors may be, they will not, as Lord Thurlow's servant said, submit to "be damned by *him*." Accordingly, in one short week, civilization seems to vanish from around him, and he finds himself besieged in a fortified house, like a New England settler in the seventeenth century. We may well ask, however, whether he would have fared much better anywhere? If Mr. Wadsworth were to contribute politico-economical articles to an English magazine describing the farmers in the Genesee Valley as a pack of knaves and tricksters who would not listen to his advice, how long would he be able to live among them? Captain Boycott does not appear to have rushed into print, but his government of the tenants of Lord Erne, whose agent he was, and of the laborers seems to have been full of hard, unrelenting, minute, meddlesome interference and penality, which, whatever its merits, is exposed to the fatal objection that not even semi-civilized people will now submit to it. In short, the fundamental defect of the Irish land tenure is that it places the great bulk of the population, owing to their absolute dependence on the land, under the arbitrary government of a small class of their fellow-citizens who are held by neither law nor custom to any responsibility. This state of things once existed all over Europe, but in a milder form; for the feudal system, which lasted in Germany, Russia, and Hungary down to our own day, although it exposed the serf to terrible oppression, did not permit his total expulsion from the land like a wild animal, which is what takes place in an Irish eviction. In all these countries, however, arbitrary government by country gentlemen was found fatal to social progress or order, and has been abolished.

THE ANTI-JEWISH MANIA IN GERMANY.

BERLIN, December 5, 1880.

IN former centuries the brutality and barbarism consequent upon wars manifested themselves in all kinds of crimes against property and the person, in rowdyism and theft, in highway robbery and murder. It seemed as if long bloodshed and idleness, of which they were daily witnesses, rendered the soldiers demi-savages, and as if whole classes of society suddenly thrown out of their ordinary course of life were unable to regain their centre of gravity. After the conclusion of peace thousands of soldiers returning home had lost their taste for civil pursuits and drew others into their reckless path, so that it was no mere accident that the criminal courts were never so busy as after a great war and that the prisons were never more crowded.

In our times, boasting of their higher civilization, the outward appearance of things has somewhat changed for the better, but in reality the effects of our late wars are nearly the same. The poorer classes have forgotten their duty towards society and boisterously claim their rights. The greater part of the well-to-do classes want to make money without exerting themselves, by speculating at the exchange or in public stocks, and our so-called best class is the worst of all in attacking the working and self-reliant independence of the citizen which forms the basis of modern society. We in Germany have at present even fallen back into that spirit of intolerance and persecution which attacks the rights and position of the Jews. This movement is instigated and upheld by Protestant clergymen and ultra-Conservatives, and, spreading like wild-fire all over the country, threatens to make all Germany a by-word for narrow-mindedness and bigotry. The leaders and supporters of this shameful movement are the literary small-fry, headed by a professor of the Berlin University, Heinrich von Treitschke, an able pamphleteer and a gentleman of otherwise irreproachable character, and by a Protestant clergyman, a Mr. Stöcker, a vulgar fellow, court-preacher at the Berlin cathedral, and a man of great influence on the lowest classes of society. He has much impudence and brass, and the talent of a street demagogue like Denis Kearney. While Treitschke has confined himself to the literary propaganda, to students and so-called educated people, Stöcker holds meetings in low pot-houses, and incites the mob of the city. The reverend gentleman and his friends are at present peddling all over Germany a petition to Prince Bismarck asking him—

1. To cut off, if not entirely to prevent, the immigration of foreign Jews from eastern Europe (especially Poland and Russia).

2. To exclude the Jews from, or at least limit their number in, the offices pertaining to the judiciary.

3. Strictly to preserve the character of the Christian public school.

4. To order the taking again of statistics on the Jewish population.

An address accompanying this petition depicts in the gloomiest colors the thraldom of the German Christians under the Jewish rule; the whole German people is represented as suffering under the dominion of the most overbearing intruder, while in fact out of forty-five millions of Germans not more than half a million form the Jewish population. It would be disgusting to enter into the refutation of this modern attack directed against a race which always has been and is well deserving of this country, which has fought its battles, has placed its talents at the disposal of Germany, and has contributed more than its due share to the prosperity of the nation. Let me only state that the official authorities of the smallest towns and cities, the boys in college and the students in the universities, are called on for their co-operation, and that Christian clergymen, the ministers of brotherly love and good-will among the people, abuse the pulpit to make propaganda for their nefarious schemes. To stop the current of false accusation, about eighty prominent gentlemen of this city, the mayor and president of the Board of Aldermen (a highly respectable body, not to be confounded with its New York namesake), ministers of state, bankers, scholars, and members of the Prussian Diet and of the Reichstag, have signed and circulated a noble and dignified protest against the so-called anti-Semites, which has had a very good effect, and which has been imitated in the provinces. Deputy Hänel, in an interpellation made in the Diet, has asked the Government what position it held toward the anti-Jewish demands, which look to the abolition of the full and equal rights of Jewish citizens. Bismarck's substitute, Count Stollberg, answered that the petition in question had not yet been sent in to the Chancellor, and that the Government had accordingly not yet been able to take it into consideration, but he added at the same time that the Government did not intend to change in the least the existing laws which give equal political rights to all confessions.

The debates which followed this interpellation were of a rather humiliating and depressing character. They were, in fact, a heavy moral defeat—a "testimonium paupertatis" of our much-vaunted mental cultivation. None of the speakers fully appreciated the importance and responsibility of their task. Instead of treating it from a point of view which laid stress on the Jewish question as a common interest of humanity and civilization, as having been decided generations ago by the noblest men of our people, and as having been regulated by statutory law, they incriminated and recriminated each other. It was, in fact, less a political discussion than a theological dispute interpreting the old saying, "Haust du meinen Juden, hau' ich deinen Juden" (If you kick my Jew, I will kick yours). The Protestant ultra-Conservatives and the Roman Catholics joined hands, and thanked heaven that they were not as bad as those unmitigated sinners whose ancestors killed the Saviour and whose descendants make as much money as they can. The Liberals, in the heat of the combat, lost their dignity, and were, if not unconsciously, at all events involuntarily, reduced to the lower level of their adversaries.

An impartial observer must be amused at this more artificial than real animosity of our Conservatives. The same gentleman who has just cleared his mind by a vehement speech against the Jews may an hour later dress for a dinner at Bleichröder's, if not Landau's, or some other upstart Jewish banker's, for our aristocracy does not at all disdain social intercourse with rich Jews if they can derive substantial profit from it. It would be difficult to count the names of the barons and counts who have married the pretty or even ugly Jewish girls, if by so doing they could do away, as Heine says, with the pale melancholy of their financial distress. It is a matter of notoriety that, in the palmy days of Strousberg, princes, dukes, and counts filled his parlors and dining-rooms, and that they did not feel too proud to reap large sums of money from lending him their names for his financial speculations. To show up this *furor teutonicus* in its utter shallowness, I may mention that of late ministers of state Friedenthal was a Jew; that Friedberg, the present Minister of Justice, is a Jew; that Lucius, the Minister of Agriculture, is a descendant of a Jew, and that Bitter, the Secretary of the Treasury, belongs to a Jewish family. A large number of the best families of Berlin have intermarried with Jews, and when a demagogue *à la* Stöcker addresses his

Berlin public as people of pure German blood, it is about the same as if an Irish-American stump-speaker of the "Bloody Sixth" flattered his political friends with their direct descent from the Pilgrim Fathers.

It thus becomes evident that it is not the pretended prejudice of race or religion which has caused this bitter warfare of our reactionary Hotspurs against the Jews. The real motives and aims lie deeper. Feudalism, Ultramontanism, and High-Churchism, in attacking the Jews, declare war on the modern development of Germany and on its chief maker, Bismarck, as well as on the liberal middle classes. Their plan is first to subdue the Jews, and by separating them from the other liberal elements of the people they hope to be able also to defeat the latter. The whole aspect of the present time proves this tendency. If any other evidence had been required, Bismarck himself would have furnished it by the publication of his views on the present excitement against the Jews. He traces its origin to the agitation of the same men who, as early as 1874, attacked him and his then trusted collaborators, Delbrück and Camphausen, the same men who openly declared their hatred of Bismarck's person and policy, and who now want to secure to themselves the benefits of the reactionary current which has been initiated by the Chancellor himself. The answer of the ultra-Conservatives in their organ, the *Kreuzzeitung*, is very characteristic: "There is no reason as yet," it says, "for the right wing of the Conservatives to oppose Bismarck's policy." But in spite of this assertion we are at present at the beginning of a struggle which will be a question of life or death for the ultra-Conservatives. They may win many advantages, but in the long run they will and must succumb, for any movement instituted by the orthodox clergy is doomed to sterility and downfall, and the Prussian Junkers are as much suspected by the people as the hierarchical leaders. It is to be expected that the people will soon recover their old common sense, the more so as it is chiefly envy and jealousy which, under the present unfavorable condition of business, prevent them from doing justice to their Jewish fellow-citizens. But, nevertheless, the whole episode will leave a stain on the good name of Germany. It is even no consolation that other nations are as foolish as we are. If the Americans try to place the Chinese beyond the pale of the law, if the Hungarians and Russians, as semi-civilized nations, persecute the Germans, there is no reason for us to behave in the same narrow-minded spirit towards our countrymen of the Jewish persuasion.

Let me conclude with a notice which is at least one redeeming feature in our present unhealthy state of society. I refer to the donation which on November 30, his sixty-fourth birthday, was made to Theodor Mommsen, the historian. In July last he lost his library by fire, and politely but peremptorily refused the several offers of help made to him from foreign countries as well as by his countrymen. His Berlin friends, however, fully appreciating the feelings which had prompted his refusal, considered it their duty to prove their high estimate of his labors and of his character by a private subscription. In less than a fortnight more than 100,000 marks (between $25,000 and $28,000) were collected to cheer the great scholar and make him feel easy for the future of his large family. As far as I know, it is the first instance of a liberal private subscription in Germany. The donors and the donee have equally honored themselves by the unostentatious way in which the above sum was offered and accepted. ? ?

THE FRENCHWOMEN OF CATHOLICISM AND DEMAGOGISM.

PARIS, December 13.

RECENT events have drawn public attention to the part women take in our society. Curious discussions on this subject have arisen on the political platform, in clubs and newspapers. As it forms one of the topics of the day, and, in consequence of the laws on public education, has been introduced into parliamentary debate, I shall make it the theme of my letter. It is interesting and curious to know the different ideas current as to what woman's mission is and the best means of preparing her for it. At the Workingmen's Congress at Havre it was also discussed, and recent notorious trials have given it an almost domestic interest. There is no matter greater or more worthy of interest, for whether they have or have not political rights, women will always exercise considerable influence on the destiny of their country. It is related of an old judge that whenever a criminal case was brought before him he asked: "Where is the woman?" This saying may be quoted with reference to manifestations of good as well as of evil, not only because woman is the centre of home life, but still more so because she is in civilized society the queen of social life. For the last two centuries in France her influence has been on the increase. In the eighteenth century she was the life of those French salons whose brilliant conversations attacked all prejudices and abuses, often even the immortal beliefs of the human soul. It may be said that the French Revolution sprang from these salons. Ponsard's tragedy, "Charlotte Corday," now being played at the Odéon and drawing large crowds, brings on the scenes some of the heroines or originators of the great intellectual movement at the end of the last century. During the Romantic period of the nineteenth century woman appeared as the personification of passion, sacred in itself, which was to sweep away all barriers, domestic and social. This is the predominating type in George Sand's novels, otherwise redundant with poetry and eloquence. Here was an effort to make women participate in the revolutionary movement, though still assigning to them all the graces of their sex. Now demagogism aspires to give them the same rights as men, and cast them into the midst of social and political struggles. This is the origin of that disagreeable type, the female orator, who is likely to become a frightful evil.

There are, however, degrees of this class. A certain number of these women claim equality, not only of civil rights, in which they are perfectly justified, but also of political rights, including that of sitting in our political assemblies. It was suggested to them that there was one function in the state they could not fill, namely, military service. Their answer was that they also incurred great peril for the benefit of the state whenever they brought a child into the world, and such a risk was quite equivalent to a military campaign. One young woman, Mlle. Aubertine Auclerc, has especially distinguished herself by advancing this claim. She is young and pretty—no drawback to a heroine. Passing from theory to practice, she refused to pay taxes so long as political rights were withheld from her; the more strongly to assert her claim she has allowed her furniture to be seized. This has caused much sensation, and Mlle. Aubertine Auclerc has found an unexpected champion in the celebrated dramatist, M. Alexandre Dumas, *fils*, who advocates the cause of women in a much-read pamphlet, entitled 'Les femmes qui tuent et les femmes qui votent.' He mentions the different criminal trials in which women were accused of having endeavored to take the lives of their unfaithful lovers, who had basely deserted them, leaving them all the cares of maternity—trials for the most part terminated in favor of the accused. He argues that if women had a voice in making laws for the protection of their rights against base seducers, they would desist from seeking redress for their wrongs by means of pistols and vitriol.

Without denying the gravity of the question here involved, and that the legislature should take it into serious consideration, so that these unfortunate victims of vile deceit may not be left without legal defence, we cannot refrain from thinking the witty writer's conclusions paradoxical. He does not take into account the violence of a sudden, irresistible passion which arms the hand of the outraged woman, when he imagines that the fury roused by cowardly desertion could be appeased by the prospect of being able to elect a deputy who would vote for the prosecution of the father who thus abandons his offspring—such redress being only obtainable after much delay. These are, however, claims of an essentially private order, and affect but little the furies of demagogism, who at Havre, through their spokeswoman, Madame Paul Minsk, demanded the total overthrow of existing society, and whose leader in Paris, Mlle. Louise Michel, recently returned from New Caledonia, preaches the doctrine of assassination. Undoubtedly some allowance must be made for her excitement, the result of sufferings courageously endured in New Caledonia, where she justly deserved to be sent for the prominent part she played during the Commune. At the present time Mlle. Louise Michel is a repulsively ugly virago, who has taken Hannibal's oath against society; she declared at a meeting at the Élysée Montmartre that she would be the first to strike at the tyrants when the time came. Whom she designates as the tyrants is not precisely known. All this is more ridiculous than alarming, especially as this terrible woman affirms, while brandishing a dagger, that she has returned from New Caledonia in a calmer frame of mind. I don't think this woman demagogue will make many proselytes. She is a curiosity rather than a dangerous agitator, and the clubs that exhibit her will make money.

Diametrically opposed to this revolutionary folly, we have a very different type presented to us by the conservative Catholic party. A few days ago this party took an opportunity of expressing their ideas on the education and calling of women, in the debates in the Senate about a bill for the foundation of colleges for young girls. This important bill has since passed the Chamber of Deputies. We should do well to consider the system of education for women adopted by you in America. The object of the present bill, without losing sight of the difference of sex for the mental culture needed, is to raise this culture sufficiently to remove the existing disparity which is frequently a cause of want of sympathy in the relations of husband and wife, and which in time becomes a moral estrangement. This is what encountered the greatest opposition from the Catholic party during the debates in the Senate. The new colleges would seriously compete with the convents, which are now the great seminaries for young Catholic girls, even for those who are not to remain there. The education given there is very superficial; great care is bestowed on the acquirement of good manners and accomplishments, and the principal object is to subject the mind to priestly control. The Catholic orators in the Senate displayed superb programmes of study, in which the different sciences figured; but it is well known that the education pursued in convents consists chiefly in forging chains for the mind, more or less glittering, and delivers our young women over to the guidance of priests. The Con-

servative party were unwilling to make trial of a serious and loyal competition in the Government establishments, where the instruction would be solid and the terms moderate, although there was a certain risk of increasing the distance between man and woman from an intellectual point of view. Happily the bill passed the Senate at the same time that the Chamber of Deputies voted free elementary instruction. These are far more important legislative acts than all the decrees against the religious orders. It is a loyal and efficacious war against Ultramontanism, which, like a night-bird, fears enlightened progress. É.

SPECIE PAYMENTS IN ITALY.

ROME, November 24, 1880.

THE presentation of the Ministerial bill for the resumption of specie payments has, as might have been foreseen, led to a factitious monetary crisis, which will be increased and prolonged or terminated according to the proportion of common sense and honesty throughout the country. Had the decision of the Supreme Court in America—that "the issue of paper money is a war power, only to be used for war purposes"—been pronounced at the close of 1866 in Italy, a resumption act then and there would have put an end to the dishonest speculations of gamblers and shareholders; and, in a commercial, industrial, and agricultural aspect, Italy would have been in a ten times more prosperous condition than she finds herself to-day. The war of 1866 was the pretext for introducing the forced paper currency, for which there was no necessity, as the fervor for the war with Prussia against Austria for the redemption of Venice would have enabled the Government to secure a loan in the country itself on the most advantageous terms. But the shareholders and the would-be shareholders of the ex-Sardo (then National Italian) Bank thought that it would be an excellent opportunity for increasing dividends to an unlimited extent, and a royal decree, undiscussed by the Chambers, made the notes of the National Italian Bank legal tender, and this without limitation of issue as heretofore. Vainly men of honesty and common sense exclaimed against the proceeding, reminding its partisans that only in the previous year Italy had joined the International Convention by which France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, and Greece founded a common monetary system on the 15½ to 1 theory of bi-metallism, which arrangement, as we shall presently see, interferes very materially with the return to specie payment. At the time that this was permitted the circulation of the national bank notes amounted to only 117,000,000 francs; the Government borrowed at once 250,000,000, and by 1874 the loan had reached 850,000,000. Moreover, the bank, by the end of 1868, had issued on its own account 490,000,000.

The large fortunes made by many hitherto poor men at that time is explained by the number of shares they possessed, and as soon as Venice was free, and the Mentana business left people time to think and examine, a great outcry was raised that unless the country returned speedily to specie payments, and unless the enormous privileges granted to the National were extended to other banks, the sources of production would be sterilized, and exchange with other countries complicated. The truth of these assertions could not be disputed, but those interested in the National Bank could not be brought to relinquish their prey so readily. Hence a middle course was taken. The other banks of issue, the Neapolitan Bank, the Sicilian Bank, the Roman Bank, the Tuscan National Bank, the Tuscan Bank of Credit, complained especially that the fact of the Italian National Bank notes issued on its own account and those issued on account of the state were identical caused them to circulate with equal readiness through the kingdom, whereas *their* notes were never by any chance accepted once the frontier of the province where they were issued was crossed. To obviate this, instead of returning to specie payments, it was agreed that all the notes issued by the National Bank for the Government should be destroyed. The six banks united in a confederation authorized to issue notes for the sum of 100,000,000 francs for the Government, and these to be inconvertible;* and notes of their own in the proportion of 2 to 3 of their metallic reserve, these to be legal tender—no other banks in Italy to enjoy the privilege of issuing legal-tender notes. Year by year the state increased its demand for notes until, by 1875, they had reached 940,000,000, public *rente* being given to that amount as security, and an annual sum of 3,750,000 francs paid for interest. Besides this, the state had borrowed in gold 50,000,000 francs from the confederated banks, 40,000,000 also in gold from the National, at the rate of 6½ per cent. In 1876 the Government changed hands, and the party now in power having taken as their platform resumption and the abolition of legal-tender issues by certain privileged banks, no more notes have been demanded from the confederated banks. The sum stands now, as then, at 940,000,000. The Resumption Act presented by Signor Magliani, Minister of Finance, though defective in parts, is bona fide, as the present Ministry stakes its character on a return to specie payments. It has, however, several glaring defects, the inevitable result of the unfortunate necessity of receiving back from the states of the monetary union its small silver coin, its superfluous dollars (five-franc pieces).

In short, in June, 1881, the Banking Confederation is to be dissolved; the Government resumes all the notes issued on its own account, with the printing-press, etc.; ceases to pay the annual 3,750,000; retakes the public *rente* issued as security. Of these 940,000,000 it proposes to destroy 600,000,000—that is to say, all those of less than 5 francs in circulation, and as many above that sum as shall reach the fixed amount, and to circulate instead the gold and silver money, decimal and fractional, now in the treasury. In order to repay the 90,000,000 in gold to the banks, and to redeem in coin on demand the 340,000,000 of notes remaining as its own legal tender in circulation, it proposes to make a loan of 600,000,000, of which four hundred millions at least shall be in gold, the interest not to exceed 5 per cent., the working expenses 1 per cent. net of income-tax. The notes of the six banks are to be legal tender until the end of 1883, when it is to cease entirely and all the banks in the kingdom are to be thoroughly organized. The clause for reintroducing the 1 franc, 2 francs, and 50 and 20 centimes pieces signifies that the 100,000,000 of these coins which, by the Convention of 1879, Italy is obliged to receive back from France,* is to be put into circulation in exchange for the abolished small paper notes. Many people think that it would be far better to melt down the coin, and at least to keep silver at the decimal standard, as these coins, instead of having one-tenth alloy, have 1:11½. Moreover, silver, which at the time of the discovery of the gold-mines of California and Australia was at a premium of 2 per cent., has, owing to the discovery of fresh silver-mines, and especially to the demonetization of silver by Germany (1873), gone down 20 and even 25 per cent.

During the last fifteen years, as we see by the report of Signor Depretis on the last monetary convention, gold and silver have fled the country, and the Italian silver circulates almost exclusively in the countries of the Latin Union. To secure a sufficient quantity of gold over and above the 4,000,000 to be borrowed, the Government proposes to have all the custom-house duties paid in gold, and these amount to some 130,000,000 annually. This, say the honest opponents, is a gross error; the Government depreciates its own inconvertible notes by thus refusing to take them in payment of its own debt. People will naturally say, "They are not worth gold, then," and after receiving them *perforce* as legal tender will present them immediately for exchange in coin at all the Government treasuries where coin will be given. These are the two technical objections made to Magliani's scheme. I do not occupy your space with any others, as they are but a repetition of those used by the advocates in the United States of unlimited paper inflation. Politics, of course, enter largely into the discussion, the adversaries of the present Government uniting with stock-jobbers to oust them, not ostensibly on this question of resumption but in order that *no* bill for resumption shall become law. Even as I write the Ministry has challenged the House to a vote of confidence or the reverse, feeling that it is utterly impossible to carry through such a vital measure unless it can count on a considerable and staunch majority. M.

* For example, the confederate fractional currency for half a franc reads: "Biglietto consorziale a corso forzoso inconvertibile, cinquanta centesimi, Legge 30 Aprile, 1874."

Correspondence.

PULLAN'S 'PRINCIPAL RUINS OF ASIA MINOR.'

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I beg you to permit the public acknowledgment of a misstatement in my "Notes on Greek Shores," printed in the First Annual Report of the Archæological Institute of America: this being an unjust detraction from the merits of a living scholar. The work of Mr. R. Popplewell Pullan, 'The Principal Ruins of Asia Minor Illustrated and Described' (London, 1865), is only in so far "a partial translation of Texier's text without the slightest additions" as it relates to the ruins of Assos. Although this passage occurs in a special bibliography of that site, the unintentional omission of the restrictive clause makes the sentence literally refer to a publication which, in other respects, has added much and valuable material to archæological science.—Most truly yours, JOSEPH THACHER CLARKE.

BOSTON, December, 1880.

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your editorial in the last number of the *Nation*, in which you criticise the scheme proposed by the Attorney-General for the relief of the overburdened condition of the Supreme Court by the establishment of intermediate courts of appeal between the Circuit and District courts and the Supreme Court, and in which you condemn the proposal to leave the right of appeal

* First instalment January, 1880, second, December, 1880, without interest. The remainder in three instalments during the years 1881, 1882, 1883, paying interest at 2½ per cent.

discretionary with such newly constituted tribunals, except in cases where the amount shall be $10,000 or over, must meet the hearty approval of every lawyer who has his country's good at heart. Such additional tribunals could only increase the uncertainty which is the great bane of the law as now administered in this country, because one of the new appellate courts might decide a case in one way and another appellate court in another way, and there would be no fixed or absolute rule until a like case, involving $10,000, was carried to the Supreme Court, or a like case in which, in their discretion, the judges of the inferior tribunal would grant an appeal. Thus the jangling of discordant decisions might be continued for an indefinite length of time, to the great embarrassment and disgust of suitors, who in their rage might desire the destruction of the whole Federal judiciary.

The fact that our law exists in separate and distinct branches seems to afford an adequate and complete remedy for the evil from which we are suffering. The Supreme Court could be divided (without, possibly, any constitutional objections) into two or more divisions, in either or any of which the subject-matter of the controversy would give the jurisdiction: namely, one division of the court, composed of seven, nine, or more judges, might hear appeals in cases where questions of constitutional, statutory (criminal or otherwise), or common law arose; another division might hear appeals in chancery suits, admiralty causes, cases arising under the patent or copyright laws or under a bankrupt act (if such should be passed by Congress), and customs and internal-revenue cases. There would thus be one Supreme Court, composed of one or more tribunals of co-ordinate powers, each of which would hear and determine appeals in different classes of cases, according to the subject-matter involved, and the arbitrary and absurd limit by the amount of money in dispute would be avoided, and the meanest suitor could have his rights fixed and finally determined for ever, and the rule laid down in his case would be the law of the land until it was changed by Constitutional amendment or legislative enactment.

Two or three divisions of the Court in the manner suggested would at once relieve the Supreme Court without impairing its dignity, and lawyers eminently qualified by long practice in particular branches of the law would be found suitable to particular divisions of the Court, and these divisions united might form a distinguished tribunal, able to determine great political questions, such as that settled by the Electoral Commission, for which there was no provision in the Constitution.—Truly yours,

TALBOT J. ALBERT.

BALTIMORE, December 18, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your observations upon certain features of a plan to relieve suitors in the Supreme Court of the United States must commend themselves to intelligent men conversant with judicial proceedings. It seems to be clear that no court should have the power to decide when a party should have an appeal, any more than to decide when a suit should be commenced or defended. A scheme that did not practically provide for an appeal as a matter of right, would argue a want of invention on the part of the legislator. The philosophy of this matter is to regard all the steps necessary to conduct a case to the highest tribunal for judgment as mere process and pleading. Those, whatever they are, should be so provided that suitors can reasonably determine the whole course in advance, no part of which should be left to the uncertainty of judicial caprice. If this feature were to be incorporated into the system, it might be better to refer the question of leave to appeal, with all the other questions, as now, to the appellate court, instead of to the court whose decision is to be reviewed. Obviously, the right to initiate and defend suits is to be left unrestricted, as now. It is found that the number of cases which now reach the highest court is vastly in excess of its working power, and it is proposed to erect a set of intermediate courts which shall winnow out and dispose of all that would be in excess of its capacity, and conduct to it such a number only as it can deal with, and which shall be of the character and quality which, under all circumstances, and in reference to every consideration, are best entitled to be decided in that court. It is not going far to say that such a device will be found practically impossible. Restrictions and clogs can easily be devised; among them the most illogical—and yet which must in some sort be regarded—is that which depends on the value involved. This is the more apparent when it is remembered that this depends upon the nominal sum or estimate claimed by the parties in their pleadings.

Is it worthy of consideration, a scheme of duplicating or triplicating the Supreme Court itself? Increase the justices to fifteen or twenty-one, with a chief-justice and two president judges, and require them to work in three bodies, permitting each to reserve for the consideration of the whole court all such cases as a majority or even a minority may require to be so submitted. It will be easy to suggest difficulties in the working of this scheme, but certainly it will go as far to secure that necessary oneness in the body of our adjudged law as that referred to. Not one case in twenty in the Supreme Court involves any question of abstract right, and when uniformity is secured in adjudged cases, it is practically quite as important that they be decided speedily as that they be adjudged justly after a delay that renders the decision of no importance to the parties.

One matter may be mentioned of some practical importance which has attracted little attention. The Supreme Court is now practically the court of the last resort of the District of Columbia, and all its cases, when the amount claimed exceeds $2,500, may go there, as a matter of course, without any reference to the questions involved. It is safe to say that the District occupies quite as much of the time of the court, I think much more, than does the State of New York. There is no apparent reason why the District should not be placed in the same relation to this court as are the States. R.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 18, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your article on "The Proposed Relief of the Supreme Court" will be read with great interest by the bar of the whole country, and, I think, with general concurrence. But it seems to me that, in some respects, your statements stand in need of correction and completion.

1. The plan of making the right of appeal discretionary with the court which tries the case is doubtless wrong in principle, as you suggest. But do you not overrate its dangers? The right is now limited to cases involving over $5,000. There is no serious complaint that in cases under that amount, in which no appeal lies, the inferior courts act upon their own opinion in opposition to that of the Supreme Court, though the latter court has no jurisdiction to enforce any rule of law laid down by it, unless the amount in controversy in the particular case exceeds $5,000.

2. While $5,000 is quite a high enough sum for a jurisdictional limit, it must be remembered that that limit applies only to cases coming up from the Circuit Courts of the United States. There are other courts over whose judgments the Supreme Court has appellate jurisdiction, in which the jurisdictional amount is much less. I give a list of them, with the amount required in each case to give the Supreme Court jurisdiction on appeal:

Court of Claims, on the claimant's appeal, $3,000; the United States have the right of appeal irrespective of amount.

Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, $2,500.

Supreme Court of Washington Territory, $2,000.

Supreme Courts of all other Territories, $1,000.

I think there is no good reason why suitors in these courts should have a greater right of appeal than suitors in the Circuit Courts. The Circuit Courts are courts of original jurisdiction, and suitors in them have generally no opportunity for a review of the judge's rulings at *nisi prius*, short of the Supreme Court; while the courts just named (except the Court of Claims) are themselves appellate courts, in which the parties have already had the benefit of one appeal. Cases from these courts, notably from the Supreme Court of this District, involving often points of mere local interest, crowd the docket of the Supreme Court, delaying cases of great amount and importance from the Circuit Courts.

3. The Supreme Court has appellate jurisdiction in patent cases, irrespective of amount. The record in these cases is generally very lengthy, and the points involved are mainly questions of mechanical art and science, and not of law. Neither the judges of the Supreme nor of the Circuit Courts are generally appointed on considerations of scientific or mechanical knowledge. The jurisdiction should be taken away in both cases, and vested in a single court consisting of judges specially learned in *patent* laws, and holding its sessions at the seat of government, where easy and convenient access could be had to the models and other records of the Patent Office. For judges having no special familiarity with patent law to sit in review on the acts of officials whose minds have all their lives been occupied in that one department is, as was well said by the Supreme Court in a case in which it was asked to rule a point of ecclesiastical law in opposition to the opinion of a church court (I quote from memory), for the tribunal of less knowledge to review the decisions of the tribunal of greater knowledge. The effect of such a measure as this, in relieving the docket of the Supreme Court, would be very great.

4. In one respect, however, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court requires extension rather than limitation. This is in criminal cases. Two men were hung in this city a few weeks ago under a sentence of the special term of the Supreme Court of the District, which was affirmed by that court in general term, only three judges sitting out of the five who might have sat, and only two of those three concurring in the affirmance. It must be a shocking thought to every humane mind that had these men been disputing about houses or lands or stock they could have had a review of the judgment against them by the highest court of the nation, if only the value of the property exceeded $2,500; but that their lives could be, and were, taken from them without any chance for such review. No sentence of death pronounced by any Federal or Territorial court ought to be carried into effect without an opportunity for its sufficiency to be passed upon by the court of last resort. Such a provision exists in most, and I think in all, of the States,

and that the Federal system should be an exception is most discreditable. The attention of Congress was called by Senator Carpenter some time since to this blot on our jurisprudence, and it must doubtless be soon removed. A law allowing writs of error in capital cases would not only be a measure of justice to persons convicted of capital offences, but would give us a valuable and much-needed line of decisions by the Supreme Court on important questions in the law of homicide.

It is evident that some measure of reform in regard to the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court must soon be adopted, for the present delay of three years is often as ruinous to suitors as an adverse decision in the first place. No measure of reform will be complete which will not reduce the docket so as to allow a decision to be had at the very next term beginning after the appeal is taken.—Respectfully yours, GEORGE A. KING.

WASHINGTON, December 18, 1880.

[The only plans brought forward for relieving the Supreme Court which have attracted the serious attention either of the court or of the legal profession are, *first*, that of increasing the number of judges, and, *second*, that of creating intermediate appellate courts. The plan of dividing the court into a number of departments has also been considered as a branch of the scheme of increasing the number of judges. At the first blush this latter suggestion seems to be feasible and useful, but there are many objections to be overcome. Although there is no necessary connection between bankruptcy cases, or patent cases, or cases involving on the one hand the statutes with regard to customs, on the other hand constitutional law, there is no certainty that in practice questions coming under all these heads will not arise in the same case, and a permanent division into departments or branches becomes difficult for this reason. That is, the same question of constitutional law might be differently decided in the revenue branch and the constitutional-law branch. Every end that could be attained by a division into branches would, in fact, be reached by an increase in the number of the judges, for the judges would, in the natural course of business, divide their work among themselves as far as possible. This is done in all courts, and a voluntary division of business is preferable to a statutory division, because it is more elastic, and because, although each case practically falls to the share of only a portion of the judges, the decision is always the decision of the court and not of a part of it.

The most serious difficulty with the Supreme Court, however, at present is not the mere crowding of its docket, but the smallness of the salaries and the controlling influence of politics in the appointment of judges. So long as the scale of living at Washington was simple, the salary, combined with the dignity of the position and the fixity of the tenure, presented attractions to the best lawyers all over the country; and whether the selection was made from one party or the other, it was always made from the lawyers at the head of their profession. This has ceased to be the case. It is now an underpaid position which entails great labor, and lawyers who are in receipt of the best professional incomes do not care for it as they once did. The lawyers who now come prominently forward for vacancies in the Supreme Court are lawyers of the second class, who look upon the bench as a step in the road to some other preferment. A bill has been brought forward at the present session of Congress to increase the absurdly small salaries of the District and Circuit judges; but if the Supreme Court is ever to regain the position it held in the time of Marshall and Story, the salaries of its judges ought to be at least considerably more than half what is paid in this city to judges of our Supreme Court. With regard to the dangers of the discretionary right of appeal, the present pecuniary limit does not affect the case at all, for a pecuniary limit does not affect the *class of questions* which go up. Besides this, there is an enormous difference between $5,000 and $10,000. The simplest way of clearing the docket of the Supreme Court is to create a strong intermediate court; with such a court three-quarters of the cases now appealed would never go to the Supreme Court at all, no matter whether there was a pecuniary limit or not.—ED. NATION.]

AN UNOFFICIAL REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN FRAUD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: My attention has just been called to a communication of Mr. David A. Wells, published in your issue of December 2, in which he states that the following card was issued from the National Republican Headquarters in New York, namely:

"*From a Pamphlet issued by*

"THE FREE-TRADE CLUB OF LONDON.

"'Let it be understood once for all that the salvation of England depends upon the destruction of American manufactures, and that the only possible way in which American manufactures can be destroyed is by free-trade. This can only come through Democracy, and Democracy can only secure control of this Republic by the votes of Irishmen. How England must laugh in her sleeve as she sees the men who left their homes vowing vengeance serve her interests by working for a party which, if it gets control of the country, will inevitably carry out the policy she most desires.'"

It is scarcely necessary to follow Mr. Wells in his criticisms of the "wrong and immorality" of such a forgery as he declares the foregoing to be. The only answer necessary to make is, that no such card was ever written, issued, or circulated by the Republican National Committee, or by the State or any local committee, in great or small numbers. I should be glad to have Mr. Wells, who so swiftly denounces this card as a forgery, and holds the Republican National Committee responsible for its issuance and circulation, tell us who is responsible for the inexcusable blunder he is guilty of, in making so serious a charge without the slightest foundation in fact.

S. W. DORSEY.

INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of to-day there is a notice of what is sneeringly called "a Philadelphia copyright scheme," by which apparently is meant a bill creating international copyright recently introduced in the House of Representatives. The principal objection which you entertain to it appears to be the limit of two months within which English books would have to be republished here to enjoy the benefit of the measure; and it is assumed that, except in cases of authors of established reputation, this limit "is ridiculously short, and would force the author to sell his copyright on the publishers' terms." A similar view is taken in a letter to Mr. Lowell published by Mr. Charles Reade in the N. Y. *Tribune* of yesterday, criticising the projected "Suggestions for a Treaty," for which a large number of American authors have memorialized the State Department, wherein a similar limit of three months is provided. Mr. Reade characteristically calls this "a subtle suggestion of piracy" which would go far to render the whole treaty illusory, and neither you nor he seem to understand the purpose of the clause. Whether the limit be two or three months is, perhaps, a matter of comparatively small importance, but some limit, and that a short one, is an absolute necessity, unless the act of Congress, or treaty, is to be "illusory," except as regards English publishers and a few authors sufficiently eminent to command their own terms and control their publishers.

If there be no fixed limit, no unauthorized republication of an English book is possible, because no one could feel sure that an assignment of copyright might not at any time be made and entered, if only to secure the penalty. The provisions requiring such assignment to an American citizen, with manufacture in the United States, thus are rendered "illusory"; for the English publisher, so long as no assignment is entered, will practically have control of the American market, and can ship his edition here in quantities to forestall the demand and render nugatory any subsequent effort of the author to sell his American copyright. Remove the limit, and the whole framework of the bill and also of the treaty—a framework representing the harmonizing of all interests on both sides of the Atlantic—falls to the ground, and the attempt to obtain an international copyright may as well be abandoned, for I take it that this country will never consent to any arrangement which practically surrenders our market to foreign publishers, and grants them what would virtually amount to a monopoly of both countries.

As just intimated, early action on the part of English authors not so eminent as to be able to control their publishers must, under any circumstances, be the only method by which they can secure the benefit of the American copyright, as delay would enable their publishers to leave them no marketable copyright to sell. That the limitation expressed in the bill would work any hardship by compelling the author to sacrifice his work through reason of a forced sale is, therefore, a simple figment of the brain; and Mr. Reade's war-whoop that "it would turn all the publishers on both sides of the water into Lot's wives, hankering after dear old piracy, and longing to put the clock on three months" (whatever the latter operation may be), can only excite a smile in any one familiar with the business. Heretofore hundreds of thousands of dollars have been paid for "early sheets," which conferred no legal rights whatever—these "early sheets," for the most part, being of books unseen and unread by the purchasing house; and under the proposed bill, with its two months' limit, millions would eventually be paid for such sheets, when they should carry with them copyright and assured monopoly. It is not often nowadays that the republication of an English book is delayed for

so long a space as two months from the date of its appearance at home; and if there should be any difficulty in reproducing special books within the specified time, it seems to me that both you and Mr. Reade might have thought of the simple expedient which in many cases could be resorted to, of delaying the publication at home, the cable enabling the publishers in the two countries to act in harmony. Or, if the author could not secure the co-operation of his publisher in this, he would always have the resource of duplicating his MS. and negotiating with an American house exactly as he would with an English one.

It is to be observed that the question as to the interval to be allowed between publication in the two countries, so as to prevent the surreptitious supply of both markets by the holder of the copyright for one, is one of the difficulties inherent in the settlement of international copyright which has perhaps delayed, by the doubts to which it gives rise, the adoption of such a measure as much as any other feature of the subject. Many experienced publishers have held that simultaneous publication should be required; but the question is surrounded by practical difficulties, and the limits of two months and three months have been suggested respectively in the bill and the treaty as a sort of tentative compromise.

Your further criticism on the clause regarding dramatic compositions is a simple verbal question not worth much discussion. No one can dissociate dramatic works from other literary compositions, *quâ* printing and publication, for who could draw a line legally separating dramas from poems—Tennyson's "Queen Mary" from Bailey's "Festus"? The purport of the clause objected to would seem to be sufficiently indicated by the use of the words "representation."

So far from regarding, with you, the possibility of modification by Congress as an objection to the proposed bill, it seems to me a very positive advantage. What will be the influence of any form of international copyright on the many interests, public and private, to be affected by it, is, in the absence of experience, a matter of almost pure *à priori* speculation. As a single instance, take the question discussed above of the limitation of the interval to be allowed between publication in the two countries, which practice may show to require alteration, either by extending the limit or requiring simultaneous publication. Whatever measure, moreover, may be adopted will undoubtedly give rise to litigation, and its precise signification will have to be settled by the courts, whose eccentric interpretation of laws so often astonishes the legislator by converting his child into a changeling. It therefore would seem unwise to bind the country to the rigid observance of all the details of a treaty, unalterable except by mutual consent, rather than to seek the desired end by legislation, which may be modified to suit enlarged experience or unforeseen exigencies; especially as a treaty might be interpreted differently by the courts of the two countries, giving rise to gross injustice for which reparation would be tedious and costly, even if procurable at all.

At least these are the views of one who has had abundant experience in the practical working of business, and who has long sought to view the question of copyright from an author's as well as from a publisher's standpoint.

Allow me to add that when honorable men are seeking honestly to adjust complicated and delicate relations in an untried field, their efforts are not likely to be aided by either vituperative criticism or by assumptions of deliberate and predetermined bad faith.

Very respectfully,

HENRY C. LEA.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 16, 1880.

[We called Mr. Lea's bill a "Philadelphia copyright scheme" not "sneeringly," but for the purpose of distinguishing it from others. It is, as we understand it, mainly supported by Philadelphia publishers. The Book Trade Association of that city, indeed, went so far last October as to take action in favor of this bill and against the treaty scheme. We may add that we made no "assumptions of deliberate and predetermined bad faith" on the part of these publishers, but simply that a copyright scheme brought forward by publishers is naturally mainly desired in the interest of publishers and not of authors. It is a notorious fact that the present movement, whether for a treaty or a bill, is mainly supported by large publishing firms in this country, whose object is primarily to secure protection to themselves through protection to authors. That is to say, the object is to prevent piracy by small American publishers of books which the large American houses have been in the habit of securing by "arrangements" with the authors. In other words, it is essentially a movement to obtain protection for the domestic manufacturer. For this reason we think the scheme or any modification of it ought to be examined by the producing interest (the authors) with a jealous and even suspicious scrutiny, particularly so in the case of a modification brought forward with the approval of a community which has always hitherto denied the rights of authors, and insisted upon protection for American manufacturers as against all the world. It is not "bad faith," but legislation in their own interest, which may be expected of publishers.

Mr. Lea's own letter contains a curious illustration of all this in his statement that if there is no fixed limit of time, "no unauthorized republication of an English book is possible," as if the very object of the bill were to secure the privilege of unauthorized (pirated) republication. In the author's interest, and the author's interest coincides here with the interests of justice and fair dealing, the primary object of any copyright scheme should be to prevent "unauthorized republication." In the publisher's interest, as Mr. Lea very frankly says, the thing most to be dreaded is the possibility of absolutely preventing "unauthorized publication." We cannot see why the limit should not be longer than that provided either by the bill or treaty. No doubt, as Mr. Lea suggests, the author can arrange in advance for simultaneous publication in both countries, delaying his book until he has made an arrangement for both countries; and this will, of course, be done by all authors who have a name known on both sides of the Atlantic. But the great majority of books which appear in both countries every year are by unknown authors, and it is too much to ask of an unknown author that he should wait till he gets two publishers in two different countries who are willing to take the risks of bringing out his book. To take a single instance, Herbert Spencer was thirty years ago almost unknown to American readers; his books have now, we believe, a considerable sale. Does any one suppose that he could have made an arrangement to bring out his 'Social Statics' simultaneously in England and the United States?

As to the question of dramatic copyright, either we misunderstood Mr. Lea or Mr. Lea misunderstood us. There are two kinds of dramatic copyright—stage-right and book copyright. Stage-right is, by a long course of judicial decisions, the most thoroughly protected form of literary property in the world. Our courts have placed it in precisely the same position with property in houses and lands or railroad bonds. We cannot see why this should be interfered with either by treaty or by bill. Book copyright in plays, of course, cannot be made to depend on "representation."

We have before now expressed our approval of the general scheme of copyright covered by the "Harper treaty." That of the bill is essentially the same. The danger of conflicting interpretations of the treaty is not so great as the danger of Congressional alterations, for the simple reason that the courts are not influenced, as Congress is, by the continual pressure of private and sinister interests. At the same time it is only fair that it should be remembered that this is not an authors' so much as a publishers' copyright scheme, and that it ought to be closely watched. Finally, we may suggest to Mr. Lea that inasmuch as authors are simply endeavoring to protect their private property from piracy, and publishers are merely endeavoring to save the country from the danger which it might suffer from authors having the absolute right to prevent "unauthorized publication," his description of the present negotiations, as being simply the attempt of "honorable men . . . seeking honestly to adjust complicated and delicate relations in an untried field" is, to any one who knows the "bottom facts," a little amusing.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

GEO. A. BATES, Salem, Mass., will publish early in the spring a 'Botanical Collector's Hand-book,' edited, with distinguished co-operation, by Mr. W. W. Bailey, Instructor in Botany and Curator of the Herbarium in Brown University. Besides practical instructions it will embrace some account of public herbaria and museums of vegetable products.——Miss Rosina Emmet's 'Pretty Peggy and other Ballads,' certainly the best illustrated work of its kind yet produced in this country, has been converted to a second use by an edition in outlines (Dodd, Mead & Co.) This has been printed on water-color paper, and is intended to be painted according to the child's fancy in flat tints. The idea must commend itself.——Cassell, Petter & Galpin still further improve and enlarge their *Magazine of Art* with the November number. There is a new cover, of agreeable conventionality in design, a larger page, a more comprehensive table of contents, and a frontispiece etching by Lalauze after Nicol. The magazine is, nevertheless, kept well within its own sphere, which is strictly popular.——The ladies' "So-

ciety to Encourage Studies at Home," whose centre of operations has been Boston, and whose sphere has embraced every portion of the country, has suggested a "Young Men's Society for Home Study," of which Messrs. Samuel Eliot, Arthur Gilman, Samuel S. Green, John Hay, O. W. Holmes, W. D. Howells, H. W. Longfellow, W. B. Rogers, Lloyd P. Smith, Chas. Dudley Warner, and Justin Winsor are the Advisory Committee, and Mr. Frederic Gardner, jr., Cambridge, Mass., the Secretary. We cannot this week go into the details of the system, but would note that it embraces a *lending* library of the more expensive and inaccessible books. A public appeal is made for funds to form the nucleus of such a library. A programme of studies in the four courses of American and English History, English Literature, German Literature, Natural Science (Botany, Zoölogy, Geology), and Mathematics, with the Society's rules, etc., can be had on application to the Secretary.——The Massachusetts State Library has issued its fourth catalogue (the dates of the other three are 1831, 1846, 1858). It is of the "dictionary" type, with imprints and lists of the contents of collected works. It is very carefully and thoroughly made, and worthy to rank with our best American catalogues. It is worthy of note, in the present state of the discussion on female employees in libraries, that this catalogue is entirely the work, both in plan and execution, of a lady, assisted by another lady, but not by any male supervision. It is not peculiar in this respect, however, as the catalogues of the public libraries of Brookline and of Concord, in the same State, were women's work, and were both well made. The present catalogue goes farther in one respect than is customary, giving the number of pages of volumes when it exceeds six hundred or is less than one hundred. The book is fairly well printed, except that heavy-faced type has a cheap look. A work of this magnitude ought to have a really handsome type for the author's names. But this is a reproach to be addressed to the printer, not to the compiler.——The divergence of the two great English-speaking nations in selecting technical terms for the same things is always an interesting study. A recent article in the October *Quarterly Review* treats of the growth in England of "partly-printed" newspapers—the system designated among us not more accurately but more frankly as "patent outsides."——A complete German edition of Mr. Darwin's writings, in fifty weekly parts, copiously illustrated, is announced by E. Schweizerbart, of Stuttgart.

—Nothing will be lost, doubtless, to American readers if the international *Harper* is edited with more of an eye to themes of English interest than has heretofore been the case. With the editor's delicate responsibility in thus catering for our British cousins we need not concern ourselves. In the January number Mr. Conway's "English Lakes and their Genii," Mr. Whitman's "Down the Thames in a Birch Bark Canoe," and the first book of Mr. Thomas Hardy's new story, "A Laodicean," have, of course, a transatlantic aspect. Looking both ways is Mr. F. H. Underwood's "James Russell Lowell," the chief article in the number. Never before, we believe, has so much personal detail concerning this poet been given to the public, for the author of the 'Biglow Papers' is, after all, not a familiar character to his own countrymen. Mr. Underwood does not attempt to explain why, even as a humorist and a dialect poet, Mr. Lowell is the favorite not of the masses but of the cultivated; nor, among other causes of a defective popularity, does he fairly notice the break in continuity of productiveness between the first and second series of the 'Biglow Papers'—a period in which is to be sought the origin of that change of mental habit which Mr. Underwood describes as a "growing more conservative." Two Spanish sonnets of Mr. Lowell's—on Mercedes and Cervantes—precede this biographical rather than critical sketch. Mr. Conway's tour among the English lakes continues to be entertaining, and perhaps in the degree in which he treats of man rather than of nature. But for the singularity of his boat Mr. Whitman's voyage on the Thames seems to us to have stood in no need of chronicling. The bright side of an undeveloped feature of our municipal system—what the progressive Berliner calls a superseded standpoint—the old New York volunteer fire department, is well exhibited in a paper which is also much indebted to its illustrations. That we can make as good instruments in America as were ever made, is the theme of Mr. Barnet Phillips's "Some Great Violins."

—*Lippincott's* begins the new year with a new cover which is certainly not an improvement, new type, and a reduced price. For reasons doubtless satisfactory to the publishers the illustrations are retained, though we should think a new departure would have furnished an excuse for abandoning a field in which competition seems hopeless. "Gigi's: A Cosmopolitan Art-School" is situated in Rome and described by Margaret B. Wright with sufficient vivacity. "An Old New England Seaport," by Charles Burr Todd, is an account of New London. "Lilith" is a continued story to be finished in three numbers, and, in spite of a melodramatic tincture, emphasized by its illustrations, may be said to promise well. The shorter stories are of slight interest, though "The Oscultation of a Honeymoon," by Louise Stockton, is a simple and sprightly sketch. "Out-Door Life on the Rhine," by Marriot Pyne, and "Race in Brazil," by Frank D. Y. Carpenter, are casual studies of life and manners. "My Mining Investments" insinuates wisdom with a laugh. The worth of the number consists in an excellent study by John Foster Kirk of Madame de Staël. To withdraw a noted name from the hackneyed misconceptions of half-knowledge and endue it with fresh interest is always a work worth doing; and within the limits of a magazine article it is here well done. It is good enough to induce the reflection, however, that Madame de Staël is one of the figures which no one can afford to take at second-hand.

—Mr. James conducts his readers through four more chapters of "The Portrait of a Lady" in the January *Atlantic*, and though he makes far more progress, it is at some expense to the qualities we found captivating in the last instalment; we felt at the time a half-consciousness of temerity in entertaining so implicitly trustful an enthusiasm, and Miss Stackpole's inexplicability and the positive tedium of the march of events in the present number are a kind of deserved punishment. For the rest the *Atlantic* begins the year with an unusually attractive and a not more than ordinarily deceptive title-page. Professor Shaler is interesting in an account of "A Winter Journey in Colorado," and we could easily have enjoyed more of it. Miss Preston gives an expository commentary on Joseph de Maistre and his writings in "A Symposium of Sixty Years Ago." In the course of it, by the way, she takes occasion to coin the word "Poncaphiles," and as another illustration of the discursiveness a self-indulgent writer sometimes permits himself Mr. Aldrich, in several pages of facetiousness entitled "Smith" (an English "Jeems"), furnishes the following, which is both characteristic and typical enough to be quoted: "An old acquaintance of mine . . . once described an English servant as 'the valet of the Shadow of Death.' The *mot* was said not to be original with my friend, but I have heard so many brilliant things from those same lips that I do not care to go further in search of an owner for what is sufficiently characteristic of him to be his. Whoever first," etc. It is clear that there need be no limit to this sort of thing. Discursiveness is a still less valuable element of criticism, and though that of Mr. Richard Grant White's study of the effect upon his mind of Sarah Bernhardt's acting has appositeness, it will be felt as a drawback by the reader desirous of getting at the pith of the matter speedily. Mr. Whittier's "Within the Gate" is addressed to the late Lydia Maria Child, and Mr. Stedman has some happily conceived verses entitled "'Ye Tombe of ye Poet Chaucer,' Westminster Abbey." The reviews are unusually numerous. Mr. Wm. M. Rossetti begins a series on "The Wives of Poets" with Euripides, getting as far as Corneille this time. "A Look Ahead" is the anonymous political article, and prospects the Garfield administration, under which everything is to wear rose-color; the civil service receives this minimum of attention in the forecast: "Mr. Hayes leaves no rubbish for him to clear away. The public offices are filled with trained, competent, and honorable men. The machinery is clean, well oiled, and in good working order."

—In the October *Atlantic* Dr. William James had a criticism upon a certain weakness of the Spencerian philosophy, or of its current exposition, the causticity of which was alone a guarantee of a reply, and in the present number Mr. John Fiske furnishes one. Dr. James's paper was entitled "Great Men, Great Thoughts, and the Environment," and was characterized by the emphasis of apparently long pent-up emotion at the unscientific procedure of many evolutionists who account for great men by a convergence of social pressures. He quoted both Mr. Spencer and Mr. Spencer's able expositor, Mr. Grant Allen, to this effect—an extraordinary passage from the latter, especially, wherein it was maintained that the inhabitants of Timbuctoo and the Dutch would have exchanged characters by originally exchanging environments. Mr. Fiske does not find it difficult to acquit Mr. Spencer of sharing Mr. Grant Allen's belief on this point, and he offers himself as a more trustworthy disciple, who holds the latter wholly extravagant. Mr. Spencer, he says, is combating Carlyle's notion that history is merely the biography of great men, and Dr. James has failed to notice that he does not go to the lengths he imagines. The reply is a model of controversy, and the discussion is worth remark because it illustrates certain characteristics of strictly scientific controversy exceedingly comfortable to plain people. It would be difficult to find two disputants better fitted to settle an abstruse question of sociological science than Mr. Fiske and Dr. James; yet here the question is very simple, and the display of dialectics is nevertheless considerable, and only the uninitiated will imagine there is no room still for a rejoinder by Dr. James. We hope it may go on, for not only is this the only way to elucidate the most trifling problems of the kind, but when well conducted it always furnishes a high order of intellectual entertainment to neutrals and learners. Nevertheless, we suspect that in order to make satisfactory progress in such matters it is a good expedient to try and discover what your opponent really has in mind, as well as to confute what he says. The pith of Dr. James's article, for example, we are inclined to think is to be found in his contemptuous remark that certain writers "have no imagination of alternatives . . . *Aut* Spencerism, *aut* catechism!" To address himself to the answering of this reproach would not be "scientific" in Mr. Fiske; perhaps it would be difficult, but if successful it would be complete. Once prove to

Dr. James that Spencerians have great "imagination of alternatives," and his mouth would undoubtedly be closed.

—The Hamilton statue in Central Park, presented to the city by Hamilton's son, and some weeks ago unveiled with much ceremony and apparently amid a revival of Federalism, so far as oratory could compass it, is an agreeable surprise. To say this is not to praise it very highly. Nowhere in the world, probably—*pace* Mr. Wendell Phillips, who claims pre-eminence for Boston, we believe—is there such a display of unhappy designs ill executed as are presented by the enduring bronzes of the Central Park. An unfriendly critic of American institutions might, with the aid of a little imaginativeness, find his account in a tour of the Park, noting the ideas apparently entertained by Americans of the great men there imaged forth—Webster, Morse, Humboldt, Scott, Halleck, Schiller, Burns, and Moore. The statues of the last two are recent additions, and the Burns, surely the most singular mass of metal ever modelled into the caricature of an organic form, being what it is despite the lessons of warning often enough drawn from its unhappy predecessors, it was reasonable to infer the probable demerit of the statue of Hamilton. Nevertheless its mediocrity makes it almost unique amid its surroundings. It stands on the knoll to the northwest of the Metropolitan Museum, and can be fairly seen only from the drive; a path to and around it is an evident necessity. The material being granite, of course the subtlety of sharp shadows, which is in great measure the life of such a statue's effect, is destroyed, and granite has in general an inappropriate look for anything under the colossal proportions it suggests. So little have the disadvantages of the stone been felt, however, that the pedestal is granite as well, and the whole thus all of a piece. The sculptor is C. Conrads, and is apparently to be congratulated upon the satisfactory execution of a task more or less perfunctorily undertaken. The work is evidently schooled and has the school excellences; the figure is round, and "counts" from every point of view with the same respectable impressiveness; the face appears individualized into a good likeness of some one, and the attitude is easy and devoid of neither grace nor dignity. There are doubtless a score of sculptors in Munich who would have made not only as good a thing, given the commission, but a thing different from this merely in unimportant details, just as they would successfully and similarly embody the well-understood traits of Helen or Ariadne or Bacchus in fulfilment of an order to that effect. To this end a great deal of study (of which more sculptors than is generally supposed, perhaps, are rather shy) and a good deal of the facility that talent alone can give are needed. But how different it is from the execution of an original and genuine conception, one has only to look twice at this Hamilton to remind one's self. The work easily succeeds in being the best portrait statue in the Park, unless we award the Shakspere merits as portraiture; but measured by the absolute requirements of a portrait statue of Alexander Hamilton it is grotesquely inadequate. A commonplace portrait of a remarkable man is of course a contradiction in terms.

—It was three years ago, we believe, that the Salmagundi Sketch Club first invited public attention to its performances, and after showing 240 drawings last year, it now invades the Academy of Design with some 650 numbers in its catalogue, and in the extent, if not in the interest, of its display contests the Water-Color Society's title to the third place in the list of the art exhibitions of the year. Its efflorescence is certainly a sign of the art times. The work exhibited is of almost every variety of black and white work—oil, sepia, charcoal, and crayon drawings, etchings, wood-engravings, and sculpture. The rooms wear a bleak look, to be sure, of necessity, but it is, to our mind, quite as agreeable as the general effect of the water-color exhibition, and at least its paleness is honest. In detail, too, the vigor always possible to colorless drawing which does not seek an effect beyond the capacity of its materials is frequent, and the works which are least pleasing are naturally certain ambitious attempts in oil, painted with a stippling scrupulousness with which, however, the painters of them would ruin similar efforts in color. The limits of black and white, of course, prescribe more or less strictly the kind of excellence one may hope to attain by the use of them, and the most successful things here are those the authors of which have, consciously or not, most closely observed them. The literary function which resides here if anywhere in plastic art, is exercised by Mr. Abbey and Mr. Howard Pyle with great success, and they give a very picturesque and sympathetic presentation of colonial times; Mr. Abbey's range is widest, and he sometimes seems as distinctly poetic as he is always direct and genuine. Memoranda of transitory and striking effects are set down with freedom which might be less vivacious, but which is evidently not strained, by Mr. Robert Blum in his "Stage-Coach Arrival," and, in a more serious way, in a head of the actor Irving. The excellence of pure drawing—that is to say, the rendering of the form of objects—is always rare, but it is possible to find it here, and occasionally conjoined with much delicacy and grace, as in Mr. Dewing's "Young Dancing Girls," or with the distinction conveyed by conspicuous cleverness, as in "The Model," by Charles Bargue. The latter, which is foreign, we are forced to the unpatriotic expression of a preference for over almost any of the rest of the lighter work exhibited, and the lighter work is the most interesting. Undoubtedly the circumstance that most of the more elaborate drawings have already been reproduced by the magazines takes the edge off their attractions, and if one is disinclined to tarry long before such character delineation as Mr. Frost's "Honk, Honk," or such picturesqueness as Mr. Shirlaw's "Ye Goose" (of which, however, the handling is particularly interesting), and Mr. Chase's "Nubian Ganymede," it is altogether because they have been so adequately rendered by the burin. In Mr. La Farge's working drawing in charcoal for a window in the Harvard Memorial Hall there is a larger purpose evident; the design commemorates the members of the class of '60 who fell in the late war, and is a nice compromise between the logical fitness of the single figure to represent the modern tragedy concerned and the undoubted requirements of conventional classicism, the face being wholly modern and the action and drapery supplying the decorativeness. Any analysis, however, should apply to the window rather than the drawing; we presume the position to be filled must account for certain singularities in the latter, by the way. At the opposite extremity of seriousness we may mention Mr. Maynard's graceful "Titania" and Mr. Frank Fowler's "Bacchus," among many other trifles. The display of wood-engravings is excellent, and the art being the sole one in which America contests supremacy, we hope it may receive as much attention as it deserves. On the other hand, the etchers, though in a sense they seem to need encouragement, receive all they are strictly entitled to, we believe; Unger's plate after Chase's portrait of Duveneck is conspicuously unique in the West Room, and there is no original etching that suggests Whistler or Appian, of course. It is certainly not to be expected that there should be, but it is well to bear in mind that as a matter of fact there is not.

—The reason for the Exhibitions of the Brooklyn Art Association consists in the opportunity they afford to many people, doubtless, of beholding pictures which, less fortunate than other gallery visitors, they otherwise might miss. This, and possibly the opportunity of exhibiting afforded to ambitious painters of the vicinage, are entirely consistent with absurd qualiteis considered from the standpoint of exhibitions as such, and hence any pointed criticism of the latter is beside the mark. It is nevertheless pertinent to mention the unfortunate but notorious truth, that a few good pictures amid a host of bad ones are inevitably themselves vulgarized, and their educational influence, of which so much is heard within the circle of exhibition supporters and promoters, in great measure nullified; and that a hanging committee which eschews discrimination does nothing by way of compensation. The present exhibition is the best that the association has held for many years, not only because it contains several excellent canvases, but also because ripples of the general improvement in painting here, during the past three or four years, have evidently reached it. There are, moreover, fewer illustrations of vacuity, perhaps, though this will very likely seem optimistic to unfamiliar visitors. Mr. Bridgman, himself a Brooklynite, is always successfully relied upon for something to lend interest and indeed, by contrast, lustre to the display, and is this time represented by two characteristic pieces. There is an air, too, about the "Jewish Mother and Child" which gives the epithet characteristic more force than it usually would have, applied to Mr. Bridgman's work; usually it is characteristic of him to subordinate his individuality to a greater degree than is betrayed by any other of Gérôme's many American pupils. Here there is not only good painting—of the obviously meritorious kind—but some sort of a personal impression sought to be conveyed, apparently, and its presence is agreeable though it is not itself of great value. The Orchardson in near proximity to the other Bridgman mercilessly takes the color out of it, but, like the other piece of color in the gallery, Mr. Winslow Homer's "Cotton-pickers," is too well known to need further allusion. Perhaps we ought to except Mr. Tilton's "Acropolis," recently purchased for a large sum by a Brooklyn connoisseur, and his "On the Nile," both of which, it is evident, stake their pictorial existence on their claims to color; but to pursue the question they, and pictures like them, always suggest as to color, would require a good deal of space. Much more definitely a staccato landscape by Mr. Bruce Crane may be said to be lacking in color, though it has a play of light and dark that is interestingly bold, and to have "play" is after all the main thing. It is a reflection, a little blurred after the nature of reflections, of the Spanish-Roman manner, but this is plainly due to the sympathy of admiration rather than to conscious imitation, which makes all the difference in the world. The same may be said of some of Mr. Murphy's landscapes and Corot. Mr. Chase and Mr. Wyant raise the general average of the exhibition considerably.

—Musical affairs during the past week have been very quiet. The only noticeable event was a series of concerts by Mr. Joseffy in conjunction with Mr. Thomas's orchestra. The distinguished virtuoso was not heard in any new work. Besides a number of solo pieces by different composers, he played Beethoven's Concerto in E flat twice, Chopin's Concertos in F and E minor, and also repeated Henselt's brilliant Concerto in F minor, which, as regards execution, is certainly one of the most wonderful pianoforte performances ever listened to in this country. Another interesting feature of Mr. Joseffy's

programmes was Liszt's Fantasia on Beethoven's "Ruins of Athens"—a brilliant and most effective composition, which on account of its great technical difficulties is seldom attempted. Mr. Thomas performed a series of orchestral numbers in his usual admirable manner. The most interesting of these was a posthumous work by Bizet, "Roma," a suite in four movements, which has only been heard once or twice before at the Metropolitan Concert Hall, where Mr. Thomas introduced it for the first time in this country. The composition is remarkably melodious and clear in conception, while the instrumentation is brilliant, and, if not very original, always artistic and pleasing. It differs in all respects from the author's opera "Carmen," and reminds one more of Mendelssohn's simple style, with strong reminiscences of Schubert.

—No tragedian who respects himself ever fails, at some stage or other of his career, to add to his *répertoire* the rôle of *Ingomar*, but it is not so incumbent upon a tragic actress to play *Parthenia;* and we are surprised that Miss Mary Anderson should have thought it necessary to do so. The part is far inferior to that of the male character; indeed, the play was written for the sake of the latter, and *Parthenia* is introduced merely because it was impossible to represent a barbarian in love without representing him in love with some particular woman. The play belongs to the sentimental drama, and both *Parthenia* and *Ingomar* are sentimental parts. It is not probable that in real life love would produce in a barbarian the results which it effects in *Ingomar;* though we cannot say what surprising changes it might not bring about in such a barbarian as Mr. Milnes Levick's *Ingomar*. Mr. Levick is a competent actor of the militant school of tragedy, as his manner of handling his sword shows, and the cool way in which he uncovers his guard when he advances upon an enemy; he lacks, however, complete dignity, and the part is one in which dignity is absolutely essential to save the character from absurdity. Salvini's *Ingomar* is an interesting study in this respect, but Mr. Levick was not educated in the same school with the Italian tragedian. Barbarous acting of a certain kind, however, is his *forte;* he has a voice well adapted to scenes of the utmost barbarity. Miss Anderson's *Parthenia* is a creditable piece of amateur acting, for we can hardly bring ourselves to call it more. She has a good many of the natural requirements of a "star," and if she would be content to train herself in the only way that training is possible in this country, by acting with a good stock company for a few years, she might at the end of that time do very well in such parts as she now assumes. She has a pleasing face and figure, a good voice, and some variety of expression; in her love-scenes she displays a rather unusual refinement and grace. But she has no great strength or range of emotion; she does not "hold the stage" even when she plays to Mr. Levick; she has some bad tricks, and altogether, if she was not brought forward as a "star," there would be no particular reason for thinking her one. But the business of being a "star" has been brought lately to such perfection that there appears to be no reason any longer why every actress should not begin in that way, or, in fact, why there should be any regular dramatic companies at all. The characters in "Ingomar" are very few; barbarians, a father, a mother, an aged and miserly lover, a timarch and certain nondescript citizens of Marseilles serving the purpose of dramatic background for *Ingomar* and *Parthenia*. In this respect, though in no other, the drama is a classical production. At the Fifth Avenue Theatre *Polydor* is well played by Mr. John McDonald, who brings out the disgusting traits of the old man's character in a masterly way. The parts of the barbarians are made the most of by a group of virile and even fierce actors, from whom it would be unfair to single out any one as pre-eminently good or barbarous. Every savage tribe has some peculiar trait or habit which identifies it, and in the case of that over which *Ingomar* was chief the characteristic peculiarity was undoubtedly the method of expressing dissatisfaction by means of a noise suggesting at once the untamed lion and the domestic pig. This is reproduced with great historical accuracy at the Fifth Avenue by the barbarians of the company.

—The principal difference in the dramatic seasons of this winter and last has thus far been the prominence given this year to tragedy. For a number of years the tendency has been in exactly the opposite direction. The theatres seemed to be given over to farce, disguised generally as comedy, but thinly disguised. This winter, however, what with Clara Morris, Bernhardt, Salvini, McCullough, and now Mary Anderson, we have had a surfeit of tragedy, and such a play as "The Guv'nor" at Wallack's was probably all the more successful for affording a cheerful contrast to the generally sombre theatrical tone. "The Guv'nor" appears under the name of Mr. Lankester, but if he did not derive some of his ideas from the French stage we are much mistaken. The central figure of the play, the husband who suspects his wife and imagines the visits of the young man who is attached to his daughter to be those of his wife's lover, is certainly French. The Highlander is also dragged in by the neck and shoulders, as if he was not an essential part of the play, and the dialogue has a brightness, vivacity, and malice which is very French. The two parts which really made the play a success were Mr. Gilbert's *Butterscotch* and Mr. Elton's *Macclesfield*. Mr. Gilbert is always a comedian, and there was perhaps too wide a gulf between his acting and that of Mr. Elton, just as there was between the social positions of the two. Mr. Elton made his part purely farcical, but it was a capital illustration of the best kind of farce-acting. All the exaggerations were exaggerations in character, and there was running through all the absurdity the fundamental idea of representing the effect of deafness on the mind, character, voice, and manner thoroughly well carried out. The play has now been withdrawn, but not absolutely, to make way for "Forget-me-not." We trust that it will still be brought out frequently during the remainder of the winter.

—Some time ago a Vienna paper gave a list of some of the "reforms" demanded by several of the Czech newspapers in Bohemia, among which we may cite as specimens, that Germans should be excluded from all public offices; that conversation in German be forbidden in families, in taverns, and on the street; that all German signs be removed from the stores; and that German newspapers, political, illustrated, and literary, be confiscated. In a state like Austria, where parties are chiefly divided by national lines instead of the usual political divisions, constant friction of this sort is inevitable and excites no particular attention; but this friction recently kindled a blaze of indignation all over Germany when it was announced that the city authorities at Pesth had forbidden any further performances in the German theatre in that city, or, more strictly, had refused to renew the concession necessary for their continuance. The Germans were just as indignant as if they themselves had not been in the midst of an equally disgraceful agitation against the Jews. Some of the means they took to show their vengeance were not less amusing than original. Some wine firms in North Germany sent notice to dealers in Pesth that they need not count on any more orders for Hungarian wines from them. From Leipzig it was announced that the stipends would be taken away from those Hungarian students who received them from the University. A choleric writer proposed in a literary journal that German critics should forthwith abandon the habit of encouraging the literature of these nations by well-meant praise and translations, and expose its hollowness and want of originality instead. From Munich and Düsseldorf a notice was sent to the secretary for the coming art exhibition at Pesth next summer that the artists of those cities must take back their promise to forward pictures, since, in view of recent events, it seemed unlikely that German art would meet with a favorable reception there. Collections were also started by the newspapers, and special performances given by theatres, for the benefit of the unemployed company of the theatre at Pesth, the proceeds of which filled their pockets much better than their continued performances would have done. The *Deutsche Revue*, which contends that it was the Germans who gave the Hungarians Christianity and western culture, built their cities for them, and delivered them from the Turkish yoke, laments that legal measures are being taken in Hungary which will make it practically impossible for students from that country to study at German universities, and among other things calls attention to the following sentiment from the *Egyetértés:* "The Germans in Buda-Pesth must be converted into Magyars at any price. Everything that opposes Magyar interests must be exterminated, if necessary with insect powder." Even Bismarck and the German Emperor had their attention called to the matter, and, according to Vienna papers, it was due to a hint from the latter to the Hungarian ambassador at Berlin, that the *Deutschenhetze* was not compatible with the continuance of the present friendly relations between Germany and Hungary, that the municipal authorities at Pesth reversed their decision and granted Director Müller permission to reopen his theatre for a period of three years.

PREBLE'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FLAG.*

WITH the succession of moving and strongly contrasting events that compose the history of a nation's life the national flag is so closely associated as to become to men's minds the emblem and visible presence of the nation personified. It floats tranquilly over the turning points of battles which determine the nation's existence, crowning its triumphs, gracing its festivities, draping its halls of legislation and justice, drooping in its defeats, and shrouding the dead bodies of its heroes. If, like a mirror, the flag could reflect the scenes it has beheld—if it could repeat the voices it has heard, it would reproduce the history of the past, and even the prowess of individuals, in endless detail. But evidently the history of the flag is only possible with a strict discrimination. Admiral Preble digresses rather wildly in agreeable but diffuse narratives of Arctic and Antarctic exploration, of the siege of Fort Sumter, of President Lincoln's inauguration, of the outbreak of the rebellion, and similar summaries of popular history. The flag no doubt was flying during these events, but a good deal of the time it was not a prominent object of interest. An amusing plea is made in the preface to reconcile Southern readers to the names traitor and rebel applied to them not out of offensiveness but in accordance with the meaning of the words as defined in the standard dictionaries.

* 'History of the Flag of the United States of America. With a Chronicle of the Symbols, Banners, and Flags of Ancient and Modern Nations. By Geo. Henry Preble, U.S.N.' Second Revised Edition. Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1880.

The book contains many metrical extracts more remarkable for patriotic sentiment than for poetical excellence. It gives interesting fac-similes of the original manuscript draft of the most popular national songs, and also of the author's own signature. It is handsomely published; the type and paper are good, and the colored plates brilliant and instructive; but the numerous woodcuts though accurate are unusually poor, and quite unworthy of the rest of the book. There are occasional slips in the Latin mottoes. The volume contains a large amount of interesting and curious information collected with great diligence and research, ranging from the myths of the dark ages and the uncertainties of modern times to the arms of each of the United States and the varying language of flags in different positions on men-of-war and under different circumstances.

The earliest voyages to this continent have left few traces, and if any previous flags ever waved over portions of the New World, the first of which we have any authentic account is undoubtedly that which Columbus bore in his hand when, dressed in scarlet, he stepped on shore in the island he called San Salvador. This was the Castilian flag—the castles and the lions, quartering Castile and Leon—which the ships of Spain had worn from the first of her greatness. The Burgundian flag—the red raguled saltire on a white ground—was adopted after the accession of Charles V. to the kingdom of Spain. In the Armada this was the flag that was opposed to England's square flag of St. George—white with a red cross. The flag of Pizarro in 1535 was in existence in the first half of this century, and probably till 1865. The standard which Cortes bore in procession when he returned thanks to God at Cuyoacan for the capture of the City of Mexico, in 1519, is now in the national museum of that city. The author pronounces this to be probably the oldest flag in existence; but he also mentions a banner of the Douglas that was in the battle of Otterburn in 1388, which is still preserved at Cavers, in Roxburghshire, by his descendants.

There is abundant information about the banners of England, but the banners themselves are very numerous; for to the time of Elizabeth the sovereigns of England bore their family devices. Known to this day, and with their memory now established in history for ever, are Harold's winged dragon captured at Hastings, the fighting man richly wrought in gold and precious stones of William the Conqueror, the colors worn by Blake in 1653 and those opposed to him by Van Tromp in addition to his historic broom of the previous year, the banners of the great Protector and the Commonwealth, of William of Orange landing at Torbay, of the Covenanters of Scotland, of the East India Company, and of the many famous epochs of English history. The present "meteor flag of Old England," which, according to Campbell, "has braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze," in fact dates from the Union in 1801, twenty-four years after the first establishment of the Stars and Stripes. This ensign was never worn by any of the American colonies. The red cross of St. George, if anything, floated over the Pilgrims as they went on shore at Plymouth in 1620. It was in use in the Massachusetts colony as early as 1634. In this year began the singular dispute as to the godliness of employing the sign of the cross on the military banner. The result was that the king's colors were retained at his castle in the harbor, but excluded from use elsewhere in the colony. Soon after, in 1643, the union of the united colonies of New England was formed. It is not known that any common flag was adopted till Governor Andros received one from the king in 1686. This was a very brilliant and beautiful flag, consisting of the red "cross of St. George—the king's colors of the time—borne on a white field occupying the whole flag, the centre of the cross emblazoned with a yellow or gilt crown over the cipher of the sovereign James I." The cross of St. George with occasional variations continued in general use in the colonies till the union flag of James I. was appointed by act of Parliament, in 1707, for general use throughout the British dominions. A special flag to distinguish merchant ships of the colonies from the King's ships was prescribed in 1701 and undoubtedly worn, but no official mention of this use, or engraving representing it, has been preserved. "All the pictures of New England flags from 1700 to 1750 show a red or blue ensign cantoned white, with a red St. George's cross, and having a tree or globe in the upper corner of the canton." The union flags of the colonies up to the Revolution were most probably the English and Scotch union flag prescribed in 1707. At Lexington and Concord there is little probability that any colors were displayed by the Americans: it is not positively ascertained that any were even at Bunker Hill. Certainly none were captured by the British. An account given by Mr. Lossing in the 'Field Book of the American Revolution' asserts that a standard was hoisted in this battle agreeing with the New England flag as just described.

At the first mustering of the forces of the Revolution many different colors were adopted by different troops and different colonies. Among the favorite devices were the pine-tree of Massachusetts and the rattlesnake. As early as October, 1775, the subject of a common flag engaged Washington's attention, but the device he then suggested never attained much currency. Dr. Franklin and two others met at Cambridge late in 1775 and settled on a flag which was in fact the king's red union ensign with the field striped with white, so as to give thirteen alternate red and white stripes. The official establishment of this flag is involved in obscurity. Its use, however, is beyond question. It was hoisted for the first time over the camp at Cambridge Jan. 2, 1776. About the same time it was first hoisted on a man-of-war: Lieutenant John Paul Jones with his own hands hoisted it on the *Alfred*. His active and presuming temper suited his opportunity, and he was equally ready to publish the fact and secure the credit for it. The *Alfred* was one of the first men-of-war authorized by Congress as a beginning of our navy. She carried twenty nine-pounders on a single deck, having no spar-deck battery. The weight of shot thrown from both her broadsides was not equal to a single shot from a modern gun. The first success of the Continental flag was the capture of the British brig *Edward* by the *Lexington* in April, 1776. The *Lexington's* career was short but glorious: she was captured through want of ammunition after she had been in service one year and eight months. "She was the first vessel that bore the Continental flag to victory on the ocean, and in her short career had fought two severe actions under it, was twice taken and once recaptured, was otherwise engaged with armed vessels, and captured several prizes."

By act of Congress of June 14, 1777, the flag was established as thirteen red and white stripes, with a union of thirteen white stars in a blue field. There is no record of the discussion that preceded its adoption. Its origin and suggestion are completely forgotten. Nothing more on the subject will probably ever be known than is set down in this history. Paul Jones was foremost with this flag also, hoisting it on board the *Ranger* at Portsmouth. He also was the first to hoist the flag on a native-built ship-of-the-line, the *America*. No doubt this flag was borne at the battle of Brandywine, which took place eight days after the act creating it was first officially published in Philadelphia. From that time it was inseparable from the army of the Revolution in all its sufferings, successes, and final triumph. On the 13th of January, 1794, the number of both stars and stripes was changed by Congress from thirteen to fifteen. This was the flag of the War of 1812, and the "Star-spangled Banner" of Fort McHenry. Under it the brilliant victories of the navy were won and the battles of Fort McHenry and New Orleans were gained. An act of April 4, 1818, taking effect July 4 of the same year, provided that the union should contain as many stars as there were States in the Union. The present number of thirty-eight was reached when Colorado was admitted into the Union in 1876.

Disregarding the alterations in the number of stars, our flag is older than that of Germany, Italy, Sweden and Norway, Portugal, Great Britain, France, Spain, and the South American States. Congress omitted to prescribe the form of the stars or their arrangement. Custom has made the stars five-pointed, following the European heraldry; the stars on our coins, however, have six points, like the English. In the Navy flags the stars have always been arranged in parallel lines. In the Army, on the other hand, they are generally set to form a large star. In our other flags they are arranged in every possible variety. It is to be regretted, perhaps, that the flag as originally established was ever changed. There is great satisfaction in having a national flag fixed and permanent. Such frequent changes are confusing. A small proportion of people in the community could now say what the present number of stars is, and many old flags continue in use after a change has occurred. The stars are already becoming excessive in number, and the ingenuity of the future will be taxed to place them in the union when the destiny of the republic is fulfilled and they become as numerous as political orators predict.

THE INFLUENCE OF SCHOPENHAUER.*

WHEN in 1818 Schopenhauer offered his principal philosophical work to the publisher Brockhaus, in Leipzig, he described it in the following words:

"My work is a new philosophical system—new in every sense of the word; not merely a new presentation of old truths, but a closely-connected series of ideas which have hitherto never yet entered into any one's head. I am firmly convinced that the book in which I have accomplished the difficult task of presenting these ideas in a clear light to others is one of those which subsequently become the source and occasion of a hundred others."

Schopenhauer, as is well known, was not overburdened with modesty. Like all men of genius, he knew the value of his ideas, and objected on principle to the virtue just named when it could only be exercised by playing the hypocrite. His chapter on genius and modesty is one of the best he has written. For several decades it seemed as if his remarks to the publisher were to remain an idle boast. The author of 'Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung' remained unknown despite his piquant style, his clever sarcasm, bitter insinuations, and repeated attacks on the professors of philosophy, who, he maintained, had conspired to "ignore him to death" (*todschweigen*) for fear of the consequences to their lazy and dishonest habits of teaching if once

* 'Die Schopenhauer Literatur: Versuch einer chronologischen Uebersicht derselben. Von F. Laban.' Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1880. Pp. 123.

people should discover the difference between his philosophy, which alone boldly faced the truth regardless of consequences, and their *Afterphilosophie*, which was entirely based on the demands of current theology and the principles of the government that paid them for their services. "From a philosopher down to a professor of philosophy . . ." Heine once remarked, and the illustration of this malicious joke is one of Schopenhauer's favorite themes. At last he was destined to triumph over his enemies. To show how completely his prophecy about the hundred books has already been realized, an admirer of his, F. Laban, has taken the pains to catalogue the books, pamphlets, magazine and newspaper articles that treat of Schopenhauer or any of his doctrines. The list is chronological, beginning with 1818 and continued up to the middle of the current year. The idea of such a catalogue was probably suggested by a similar list of the Wagner literature published a year or two ago by Schott & Sons, of Mainz. Herr Laban's catalogue, as he is fully aware, is very far indeed from being complete, especially in foreign languages. He agrees with Vaihinger that the whole present generation is impregnated with Schopenhauer's ideas. A complete record of the Schopenhauer literature would consequently include all those innumerable treatises in which Schopenhauer's ideas are reproduced with or without mention of his name, and this would be as impossible a task as it would be superfluous. But writers of magazine articles or philosophical histories will derive much assistance from Laban's catalogue. It is prefaced by an introduction of thirty-three pages, in which the editor explains his attitude towards his author. But this is not a very important contribution to Schopenhauer literature, and might as well have been omitted.

The German *Zeitgeist*, or spirit of the times, is nowhere better betrayed than in the feuilletons, or literary departments, of the principal newspapers, for which the leading authors write among others; and here one does not need to know Schopenhauer by heart to see how deeply his influence has penetrated all classes. No philosophical author of ancient or modern times is so frequently alluded to, none so frequently plagiarized; for in regard to literary property the German conscience is as elastic as that of other nations, if not more so. Ideas are so abundant, especially in Schopenhauer, that it seems no great crime to steal a few of them. The cleverest of these literary ruminants, to use a mild phrase, is Ed. Hartmann. He played his first trump by appearing on the field as a partial disciple and critic of Schopenhauer, just at the time when the latter was rising into popularity. As people have a morbid desire always to read the latest thing out on any subject, Hartmann's diluted essence of Schopenhauer's views, his 'Philosophie des Unbewussten,' had a run of eight editions in almost as many years. Hartmann was aided on his path to popularity by his feuilleton style, which adapted itself to the comprehension of the multitude, while Schopenhauer's writings, although never obscure, yet require for their full comprehension some knowledge of previous philosophers, especially of Kant and Plato. Hartmann, accordingly, played the part of the nurse who puts sugar and water into fresh milk because it is too rich and substantial for an infant's stomach. To see how the cream of Schopenhauer, his genius, wit, brevity, and literary art, are lost in this dilution of Hartmann's, one need but compare, among others, the chapters on the metaphysics of love in their principal works, or their respective treatment of pessimism. Schopenhauer's arguments and illustrations to prove that this is the worst of all possible worlds affect the reader like a grand and awful tragedy. Amid the skill with which he modulates from one discord to another, softened by the beauty of his instrumentation, it hardly occurs to the reader that the many available concords are arbitrarily neglected and left out. In other words, his argumentation affects one less as a one-sided plea than as a work of art, an exciting metaphysical romance with a tragic background. One may, therefore, be a confirmed optimist and yet keenly enjoy and admire Schopenhauer's tirades against this world. This, coupled with the abundance of valuable incidental psychological remarks, may perhaps account for the fact that an orthodox professor at an American college who thoroughly detests the doctrines of the great pessimist should yet for years have used his work as a text-book, and never tired of praising it. With Hartmann the case is quite different. He adds his drop of sugar-water and changes Schopenhauer's formula about the worst possible world into the following: This is the best of all possible worlds, but it is nevertheless so bad that its non-existence would be preferable to its existence. He then goes to work, with a show of the scientific method of induction, to prove the excess of pain over pleasure in every sphere of life. This being done, however, in the manner of an advocate and with the style of a statistician, the one-sided and prejudiced selection of facts favorable to his argument, to the exclusion of all others, is so apparent that the reader closes the book with an expression of indignation or amusement that a conceited Berliner should imagine any such system of metaphysical bull-dozing would "go down" with the present generation. What adds to the comic side of the affair is that Hartmann, convinced that his patent method of annihilating this wretched universe (by a universal consensus of all men to "cease to will to live") can only be carried into execution after all men have become pessimists, thinks it not worth while to sacrifice himself alone to ascetic self-torture, but continues to enjoy the pleasures of life like any modern heathen, meanwhile employing his pen for the purpose of making converts to pessimism. Hartmann, however, has already had his day. He was one of the transient philosophical comets Schopenhauer speaks of, while he himself showed by the length of time his light required to reach the inhabitants of this planet that he is one of the stars that for ever remain fixed in the skies.

The fact that Schopenhauer has not had a single *prominent* pupil who swore *in verba magistri*—for Hartmann and even Frauenstädt only followed him in part—does not in the least argue against his influence, an influence which in its own sphere can only be compared with that of Darwin and Wagner in their spheres. To a great many educated Germans of the day Schopenhauer is, indeed, no less than an infallible authority on any and every subject. But of leading thinkers none has adopted his system, chiefly for two reasons. The best philosophical minds are now, and for some time have been, engaged in experimental work on the senses, brain, and nervous system, while the speculative minds have either endeavored to set up a new metaphysical principle or have been prevented from adopting Schopenhauer's by an inner contradiction which it involves, and which is similar to that which in Kant's case led to the division of his followers into two camps. Kant taught that causality, like time and space, is a mere form of the mind, which does not belong to things in themselves—the *Ding an sich*. On the other hand, he endowed things in themselves with causality by asserting that they affect our senses. This cannot be reconciled with the other assertion. Similarly, Schopenhauer assumed that Kant had absolutely proved—which he never did, by the way—that space, time, and causality are *merely* forms of the mind. Instead of agreeing with Kant, however, that the *Ding an sich* is an unknown quantity, Schopenhauer thinks that we *do* know of it as "Will," under which name he includes not only human and animal will, but all the forces of nature, from gravitation to chemical affinity. Although in general the clearest of all metaphysical thinkers, Schopenhauer yet had a blind spot in his mental retina which led him to regard this doctrine as his greatest achievement. In reality it was the greatest of all his errors. If, as he himself admits, we can only know the Will, after all, under the form of time and the form of being-an-object-of-cognition-to-a-subject-of-cognition, then we certainly do not know it as *Ding an sich*, any more than other phenomena (external objects) which we only know under the forms of space and causality, besides the other two forms just named. He makes an arbitrary distinction between the forms of cognition which cannot be approved. Instead of Will being the essence of all things, it might even be argued that there is no such thing as Will at all; that all psychic phenomena are included under intellect and feeling; that the word "will" has led to much confusion in psychology, and had better be discarded. Will can only be intelligently defined as action guided by feeling. Now, feeling is a distinct psychic phenomenon, and action is not psychic at all, but physical. Hence the word "will" becomes eliminated. To make Schopenhauer's psychological discussions intelligible one is, indeed, constantly compelled to substitute the word "feeling" for "will," just as to make Spinoza more intelligible one should, according to Kirchhoff, always read "nature" where the word "God" occurs. However this may be, the inner inconsequence of Schopenhauer's system prevented it from being accepted and forming a "school." In Kant's case the contradiction alluded to led to the formation of two schools, an idealistic and a realistic branch. This was in a metaphysical age, when such speculations were popular. But at the time when Schopenhauer became known people had become disgusted with abstruse speculations in the air, and longed for a bit of solid ground under their feet. Hence, and also because Schopenhauer's clear style more easily led to the exposure of his inconsistency than in Kant's case, where a most obscure style added to the confusion, Schopenhauer failed in founding a metaphysical school.

All this, however, as already stated, does not argue against Schopenhauer's influence. Although, as a whole, he doubtless belongs to the class of metaphysicians of the speculative type, he is by far the most attractive of them all; and in justice to him it must be stated that he marked, and even accelerated, the transition to the present period of empirical investigation of mental phenomena. With his later period coincides the time when physiology began to exercise an influence on psychology; and here we find him constantly quoting such authors as Marshall Hall, Burdach, etc. He insisted as strenuously as any Darwinist ever could that the human intellect is merely a higher development of the animal intellect, and entirely a function of the brain, from which it is as inseparable as is digestion from the stomach. His chapters are full of brilliant aperçus, in some of which he anticipated important discoveries of modern physiologists. In general, in spite of its idealistic background, the details of his system are worked out in a realistic, not to say materialistic, spirit, which has not a little contributed to his present popularity. There are several marked tendencies at the present day, and not in Germany alone, which may be said to have received their first powerful impulse from Schopenhauer. The most conspicuous is the universal horror of all metaphysical speculation on the synthetic or deductive method, which, *e.g.*, has prevented Herbert Spencer from having as much influence as he would have

otherwise had. Schopenhauer's method is the analytic, although he is by no means free from the sin he assailed. When he began his philosophical career the "post-Kantian Sophists," Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, were held in universal esteem as the wisest men of all ages, who had solved all the problems of the universe. Schopenhauer's clear intellect, sharpened by jealousy, at once saw that this overestimate was chiefly based on the deep meaning which was supposed to lie hidden beneath the incomprehensible and meaningless formulæ of these philosophers. He boldly assailed them in the most violent fashion, and Hegel in particular became the recipient of a volley of invectives such as had perhaps never been fired at any man before, and which completely overshadow the more recent efforts of Haeckel, Zöllner, and Dühring in the same direction. It was less the coarseness of some of these attacks than the wit and cleverness of the others which led to their success. Nowadays, whatever may be fabulated about certain revivals, the volumes of the post-Kantian metaphysicians rest undisturbed on the library shelves, covered with half an inch of dust, and the mention of these names excites in many minds emotions similar to those evoked by the mention of the mastodon and other monsters of an extinct geological epoch.

This may be called the destructive side of Schopenhauer's influence. On the constructive side he was no less successful. His own favorite philosopher was Kant. Although he freely confesses and criticises his errors, he never tires of praising him as highly as he denounces his successors, through whose influence for a time Kant had been more or less neglected. And what is the result at present? A most remarkable Kant-worship in scientific as well as philosophical quarters, which fully equals that of Schopenhauer. It would be too much to say that Schopenhauer alone is responsible for this change; but he gets the lion's share of it. He not only helped Kant to renewed popularity, by attacking his would-be critics and successors, but also by restating and explaining Kant's principal views in his own clear language, so that they became intelligible even to minds not systematically trained to philosophical reasoning. He deserves especial credit for explaining and improving Kant's epoch-making views on æsthetics, which for the first time tangibly and thoroughly explained the problems of the Beautiful and the Sublime. To pass from Schopenhauer's delightfully clear and suggestive chapters on subjects of art to the ordinary text-books on æsthetics, such as Vischer's, Carriere's, Lotze's, and even Fechner's, is like leaving a clear, limpid mountain stream to bathe in a pool of stagnant water. Of hardly inferior value, at least for the sake of comparison and a higher induction, are the various moral and religious notions which Schopenhauer borrowed and adapted from the teachings of the Buddhists and Brahmins. One-sided as many of these notions are, and incompatible with the spirit of our time, they yet serve as a useful antidote to the excessive, and in some respects unwholesome, Semitic influence on Aryan civilization. Working in the mines of ancient Indian wisdom is a favorite exercise of living scholars and poets; and Schopenhauer's share in promoting, if not in initiating, this movement is considerable.

We might cite various other "leading-motives" from Schopenhauer's works which a great part of our generation has learned by heart, but have only space to refer in this last paragraph to his literary skill and his influence in reforming and fixing philosophical terminology. Previous to Schopenhauer a dry, obscure, and involved style was considered in Germany a necessary characteristic of metaphysical treatises. Schopenhauer showed the error of this notion, and proved that beauty of literary form and metaphysical reasoning are not contradictory terms. His definitions of the various philosophical terms, such as *Empfindung*, *Wahrnehmung*, *Anschauung*, *Begriff*, etc., are so clear and consistent that, while previously a great confusion prevailed in this matter, there is now a general agreement in the use of these terms. And this is a matter of inestimable importance, for the chief difficulty in philosophy has always consisted in this, that no two thinkers used the same term in the same sense. Although he repeatedly insists that his aim is not to reproduce the thoughts of others, but only to furnish new ideas, his works are yet a repository of the most striking psychological sayings of all the great thinkers from Plato to Kant; and it cannot be denied that in most cases, where he does not simply quote, he has reproduced these ideas in a clearer and more elegant form than they had originally appeared in. Goethe is the only one of his countrymen who can be compared with him as a literary artist. If any one doubts this he will be convinced by reading the wonderful chapter on Genius in the second volume of his principal work. A great part of this chapter is simply a portrait of its author, but it nevertheless covers its ground completely because he could not have found a better model; and Schopenhauer, although (excepting a few insignificant pieces) he never wrote any verse, must yet, like Hawthorne, be ranked as a great poet. Poetry has been defined as thinking in images. Now, Schopenhauer says that all original thinking is done in images—"Alles Urdenken geschicht in Bildern"—and he himself not only thinks in images but he always communicates his ideas to the reader in images. In one word, we may say that since Plato Schopenhauer is the first author who has succeeded in converting a philosophical treatise into a work of art. It is a burning shame that such a work, whose influence consciously or unconsciously is everywhere felt, should have to wait more than half a century before being translated into English. Some years ago, we believe, an English publisher announced the preparation of an English edition, but nothing has been heard of it since. We hope the delay is merely due to the difficulty caused by the poetic style. A translation there must and will be before long, for if any works ever deserved to be translated into all languages of civilized countries they are those of Arthur Schopenhauer.

NEWTON'S ESSAYS ON ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY.*

THIS volume contains eleven essays, ranging in date from 1850 to 1879, which, thus collected, form an excellent manual of information concerning the recent remarkable progress of knowledge in the field of classical archæology. A more competent or trustworthy guide in this field could not be found than Mr. Newton, whose own interesting and important investigations and discoveries in the Levant, especially at Halicarnassus, between 1852 and 1859, gave him a high reputation as an archæologist, which has since been confirmed and extended by his various publications, and by his eminent services as Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum. To wide and accurate acquaintance with the sources of information, derived from the study of ancient authors and the existing monuments of ancient art, he unites a sound judgment and unusual practical experience as an original investigator. His papers on Mr. Wood's discoveries at Ephesus, on Dr. Schliemann's discoveries at Mycenæ, on those of General Cesnola's in Cyprus, and of the Germans at Olympia form probably the best summary account in English of the results of this series of extraordinary discoveries and researches. Interesting when printed separately, these essays gain in worth by being brought together, through their mutual relations and through the illustration which each affords to the rest.

The most elaborate and valuable, however, of the papers in this volume is that which occupies a quarter of it, the essay upon Greek Inscriptions. The additions made to the knowledge of antiquity during the last forty years have in no department been greater than in that of inscriptions. The number of inscriptions contained in Böckh's invaluable "Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum," published from 1839 to 1850, is somewhat more than nine thousand; the number now known, published and unpublished, "cannot be stated with certainty, but may be reckoned at from twenty thousand to thirty thousand," and this number is yearly increasing. Much has been done by various scholars, especially in Germany and France, to render accessible to the general student portions of this vast mass of historical and philological material, but there is still need of a comprehensive work that shall classify the whole store of inscriptions according to their age, country, and subject, that shall indicate their comparative importance, and shall serve as an introduction to their study. In the absence of such a work Mr. Newton has attempted in this excellent essay to sketch out a rough classification, to define the limits of the subject-matter, and to illustrate by special examples the varied interest and importance of these instructive records of antiquity. He has succeeded in presenting a clear view of this wide department of learning, and in giving, in the brief compass of little more than a hundred pages, an instructive, serviceable, and entertaining compend of information concerning many of the chief points of ancient history, customs, and language of which the inscriptions afford knowledge, or on which they throw vivid illustration.

Among the most precious of the whole series of inscriptions is one the discovery of which is due, in considerable measure, to Mr. Newton himself.† Herodotus, after describing the victory of the Greeks at Platæa, B.C. 479 (viii. 81), says that a tenth of the booty was set apart for the Delphian god, and of it was made the golden tripod which stands on the bronze serpent with the three heads, close to the altar at Delphi. On this tripod Thucydides (i. 133) tells us that Pausanias, the ambitious and arrogant general of the Lacedæmonians, had a distich inscribed in which he took to himself the credit of the victory; but at the time of his subsequent disgrace the Lacedæmonians erased this distich, and substituted in its place the names of all the cities that had united in overthrowing the barbarian, and in dedicating the offering. The golden tripod was part of the plunder abstracted from Delphi by the Phocians in the Sacred War, B.C. 354, but the bronze stand remained and was seen in the temple at Delphi by Pausanias, the traveller, in the second century of our era. In the fourth century it was transferred to Constantinople by order of the Emperor Constantine, and placed in the Hippodrome, where it has stood till the present day. Gradually a mass of earth and rubbish had accumulated around it, and in 1855, when the Western Powers occupied Constantinople, a firman was obtained for Mr. Newton authorizing excavations in the Hippodrome. After digging to the depth of rather more than six feet he came to the base of the serpent. The entire height of the monument from the plinth on which it stands is nearly eighteen feet. The portion that had been buried

* 'Essays on Art and Archæology. By Charles Thomas Newton, C.B., Ph.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum; Corresponding Member of the French Institute, and Hon. Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford.' London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1880. 8vo, pp. 472.

† In his present volume Mr. Newton does not give the account of its discovery. He tells it in his 'Travels and Discoveries in the Levant' (London. 1865).

was thickly encrusted with an earthy coating. Mr. Newton was obliged to leave Constantinople without making a thorough examination of the portion of the serpent which had been uncovered. But "in January, 1856," says Mr. Newton (in his 'Travels and Discoveries in the Levant,' ii. 29), "Dr. Otto Frick, a German archæologist, hearing that letters had been discovered on the bronze, examined its whole surface minutely. After the incrustation had been removed by acid a long inscription appeared, following the spirals of the serpent from the base upwards to a little higher than the surface of the soil removed by me. . . . After a labor which lasted some weeks, the inscription was finally deciphered." It was found to correspond precisely with what the statements of Herodotus and Thucydides gave reason to expect, save that it was not upon the tripod itself but upon its support. It contained the names of the Greek states which had taken an active part in the defeat of the Persians, and one of the coils exhibits traces of that erasure which Thucydides records of the distich originally inscribed by order of Pausanias. There is hardly a monument of Greek antiquity with a more extraordinary history or a more curious interest than this.

At the close of his paper on Mr. Wood's discoveries at Ephesus Mr. Newton says: "When we think how much history has gained by the exploration, partial and inadequate as it has been, of the ruins of Ephesus, when we review the marvellous discoveries which have recently taken place in Cyprus and the Troad, and which are actually now going on at Olympia and Mycenæ, we feel bound to ask the question, Why, in a generation distinguished beyond all previous generations for historical research, for wealth, leisure, and facilities for travelling, so little has been done for the investigation of the sites of ancient cities?" And in concluding his essay on the Discoveries at Olympia he asks, "Is it too much to hope that some other nation may come forward to emulate the enlightened spirit which has undertaken this arduous and costly enterprise, not for the advantage of the German nation alone, but for the common benefit of all to whom classical archæology is matter of interest? Many sites could be named, both in Greece and Turkey, which promise a rich field for archæological research; it seems strange that in this nineteenth century, which claims to be the 'heir of all the ages,' there should be so few laborers to gather in so ripe and abundant a harvest." The justice of this complaint and the force of this appeal are obvious. There is great work yet to be done in classical regions in recovering from the earth the precious records of the history of the most brilliant race that ever occupied any portion of her surface. The knowledge of ancient Greece still remains half buried. Melos is not the only island where a goddess has lain concealed for many centuries; nor Olympia the only site of a temple whose fragments are precious and instructive remains of the noblest art. England does not seem to have answered as yet to Mr. Newton's appeal, but in our own country the first steps have been taken by the Archæological Institute of America in the organization of an expedition for the thorough investigation of one of the sites of Greek culture, which promises to yield an abundant harvest. The expense of such an expedition is large, and the Institute deserves the support and contributions not only of professed scholars, but of men of wealth who have the interest of learning at heart, and who wish to see our country take creditable part in the honorable work of enlarging the bounds of one of the most interesting and important domains of knowledge.

Cooking and Castle-Building. By Emma P. Ewing. (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1880.)—The relations of cookery to rhetoric furnished a text for one of the dialogues of Plato; the relations of rhetoric to cookery constitute the ground-work of Mrs. Ewing's book. How to describe the preparation of an omelet so that another person may make it by following the printed directions, and so that the resulting compound shall be a real omelet and not scrambled eggs, is by no means an easy task, as the authoress shows by her own early attempts to produce the article in question. "Stir it gently with a fork," says a standard authority. What is stirring? Shall it be stirred at the top, or the bottom, or *passim?* Shall the fork be held vertically or horizontally? Stirring gently means inserting the tines of the fork horizontally underneath the omelet while it is cooking and lifting it here and there, so that the uncooked portions may reach the pan and thus the whole attain uniform consistency instead of being a mass of baked egg enclosed in leather. This is all simple enough when you are told what is really meant by stirring gently with a fork. In short, the trouble with most cook-books is that their definitions are open to the same objection which Socrates raised to Gorgias' definition of rhetoric: they admit of a great variety of interpretations. Mrs. Ewing has endeavored to furnish one which shall leave the inexperienced housekeeper no chance to go wrong in the ordinary processes of preparing palatable and wholesome food. She does not enter the domain of "made dishes," and that department of the art known as French cookery, but confines herself to bread, beefsteak, coffee, eggs, potatoes, and other things of most common use (about one hundred in number), which are most frequently spoiled before they are brought to the table—the whole thrown into the form of narrative and conversation, so as to possess a literary as well as culinary interest. The aim of the writer has been in every case to give the reasons for doing thus and so, so that the cook may become an artist and not a mere mechanic. She has succeeded so well that we must regret that she did not go one step farther and give her readers an insight into the chemistry of cooking, showing what changes are wrought in the substances by the action of heat applied in the various methods of roasting, boiling, and baking, and why it is that a mistaken use of heat as applied to a given substance renders it injurious to health. The clearness and tact which Mrs. Ewing exhibits in the particular work which she has attempted, seem well fitted for popularizing the subject in its scientific aspects.

Old Paris: its Court and Literary Salons. By Lady Jackson. (New York: Henry Holt & Co.)—There is no better period for a monograph than the century from the assassination of Henry IV. to the last years of Louis XIV. France left Austria and Spain in the rear and became the great nation. Society, manners, thought, even costume to a certain extent, assumed their modern form. Admirable dramas, essays, memoirs, novels, sermons, in uninterrupted succession, vast wars, great captains—a new world, in short, arose, over which for many years ruled Louis le Grand, Deodatus, Sol nec pluribus impar, giving law to a brilliant aristocracy and to Europe. Bayle tells a story of a Turkish ambassador who was taken to see a tournament. When asked how he liked it, he answered: "If it is for sport it is too much; if for earnest it is not enough." Lady Jackson's book as a history of the period is of little value, and for amusement there is too much unnecessary padding and diffuseness of description. We have had to submit to the invasion of literature by the newspaper reporter, but there does seem a sort of sacrilege when his method is applied to a period in which wit, neatness of expression, and polish were carried to perfection. Lady Jackson treats the famous shades of the seventeenth century with the easy and patronizing familiarity of "our own correspondent." Nevertheless, to choose a good subject is in itself half a success, and this book will probably have a run in the circulating libraries. It will please people who like to think they are improving their minds; they will imagine they are reading history. And so they are; but it is history which, as Coleridge expressed it, has not only been popularized but plebificated.

Coleridge, Shelley, Goethe. Biographic æsthetic studies. By George H. Calvert. (Boston: Lee & Shepard.)—Mr. Calvert's three essays have a certain value. Collections of the main facts in the life of a literary man and of anecdotes about him are convenient, and they have an advantage over encyclopædia notices in that they are fuller and have a greater chance of being read by those not directly interested in the men they deal with. But if these essays were put forward with a different view, as contributions to the critical estimate of these men's works or as lifelike portraits of them in their personality, they must receive scant praise. Mr. Calvert's criticism is unadulterated eulogy of a profuse and fanciful order; it throws a false color upon the facts rehearsed; its method is valueless in treating any one of these three men. Of Coleridge much remains to be said; there is no adequate account of him as a man, as a representative of that class of intellects which are mostly active in generating disconnected ideas, and especially as a thinker whose intellectual life was really lived in his disciples' work. Of Shelley much has been said, but not much well said; Mr. Calvert, however, does not contribute anything of consequence, either in the way of fact, truth, or opinion to our knowledge of these two. The essay on Goethe need not be counted. We have before had occasion to notice Mr. Calvert's style; as good an example of its affectedness (to note only one quality) as could be given is where he terms Shelley's subscription of £500 to save an embankment an "angelic extravagance."

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*	
Berry (C. B.), The Other Side—How It Struck Us	(Griffith & Farran)	
Blaikie (Rev. W. G.), Personal Life of David Livingstone	(Harper & Bros.)	
Britten (J.), Old Country and Farming Words, swd	(Trübner & Co.)	
British Painters	(D. Appleton & Co.)	
Budge (E. A.), History of Esarhaddon	(Trübner & Co.)	
Butterworth (H.), Zigzag Journeys in Classic Lands	(Estes & Lauriat)	
Christie (R. C.), Etienne Dolet	(Macmillan & Co.)	$6 00
Courtney (Miss M. A.) and Couch (T. Q.), Glossary of Words in Use in Cornwall, swd	(Trübner & Co.)	
De Witt (Mme.), Monsieur Guizot in Private Life, 1787–1874	(Estes & Lauriat)	2 75
Duffy (Sir C. G.), Young Ireland, 1840–1850	(D. Appleton & Co.)	
Emmet (Rosina), Pretty Peggy Painting Book	(Dodd, Mead & Co.)	1 00
Furnivall (F. J.) and Ellis (A. J.), Early English Hymn, swd	(Trübner & Co.)	
Gibbs (A. S.), Goethe's Mother	(Dodd, Mead & Co.)	2 00
Hudson (Rev. H. N.), Harvard Shakespeare, 10 vols	(Ginn & Heath)	12 50
Hubard (Sue W.), "As Thyself!"—a Tale	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)	1 50
Kirkbride (Dr. T. S.), Hospitals for the Insane, 2d ed	" "	
Kletke (H.), Gedichte, swd	(Carl Habel)	
Lieber (Francis), Reminiscences, Addresses, and Essays, 2 vols	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)	
Motherhood: a Poem	(Lee & Shepard)	
Nevin (W. W.), Vignettes of Travel	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)	
Osgood (Margaret P.), Book of Rhymes and Tunes	(O. Ditson & Co.)	
Palmer (E. H.) The Qur'ân, 2 vols	(Macmillan & Co.)	
Parsons (T.), Memoir of Emily Elizabeth Parsons	(Little, Brown & Co.)	1 00
Patterson (W. H.), Glossary for the Counties of Antrim and Down, swd	(Trübner & Co.)	
Payn (J.), A Confidential Agent, swd	(Harper & Bros.)	15
Payne (J. H.), Home, Sweet Home	(Lee & Shepard)	
Richards (Laura E.), Five Little Mice in a Mouse-Trap	(Estes & Lauriat)	
Sargent (Mrs. J. T.), Sketches and Reminiscences of the Radical Club	(J. R. Osgood & Co.)	2 00
Sensier (A.), Jean-François Millet	" "	3 00
Smart (J. H.), Books and Reading for the Young, swd	(Indianapolis)	
Springer (Rebecca R.), Self: a Tale	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)	1 50
Swinburne (C.), Studies in Song	(R. Worthington)	
Yonge (Miss C. M.), Love and Life, swd	(Harper & Bros.)	15

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The Week.

UP to the adjournment last week the incidental rather than the main business of Congress proved most interesting. In the course of the debate on Mr. Wood's Funding Bill, in Committee of the Whole, Gen. Weaver got the floor to express his undying opposition to any scheme of funding which took from Government the power to liquidate the national debt at its pleasure and convenience. Speaker Randall became engaged with him in the most deferential manner, but had the ill-luck to recall the Democratic opposition to the "act to strengthen the public credit"—namely, by declaring the bonds payable in coin and not in paper. Gen. Weaver improved the opportunity to read to the House a number of edifying extracts from Democratic platforms, State and national, showing the party's steady fall from grace from the time (only twelve years ago) when it wanted the United States bonds paid in greenbacks. While he himself had reached that doctrine by deserting the Republican ranks, the Democrats had gone on camping "every four years exactly where the Republican party camped four years before." Gen. Weaver's opponents had some difficulty in meeting his points, and in order to make their counter citations from Republican greenback platforms pertinent they had to charge him with treacherously playing into the hands of the Republicans during the late campaign. This led finally to his saying to Mr. Sparks, of Illinois, "The gentleman is crazy," and to Mr. Sparks's replying, "The gentleman states a falsehood"; and this again to threats of personal chastisement and exchange of "fighting weights" on both sides, and finally to—

"Mr. WEAVER:—I denounce the gentleman personally as a liar on the floor of this House.

"Mr. SPARKS:—You are a scoundrel and a villain and a liar, and if you get within my reach I will hit you."

The House, which had more or less enjoyed the fun of the debate, was in the mood for assisting in the encounter which these words provoked and nearly caused. The Speaker, indeed, had to resume his chair and call upon the Sergeant-at-Arms to appear with his mace.

Next day a fruitless effort was made to expel the offending members, but they were allowed to apologize, and the whole matter was laid on the table. In the Senate Mr. Morgan called up his resolution, offered at the last session, denying the Vice-President's right to count the electoral votes, and accompanied it with a dry rehearsal of the arguments going to prove not only the Vice-President's constitutional disability, but the absolute control of the whole matter by the two Houses, irrespective of any law passed or to be passed for the regulation of the count. Mr. Edmunds agreed with Mr. Morgan as to the Vice-President and differed from him totally as to the power of Congress, and disposed of the alleged urgency of the resolution by saying that the country would, in the present instance, see that the elected candidate was counted in.

Mr. Conkling took occasion on Wednesday week, in discussing the right of a Government employee to profit by an improved linchpin invented by him in part outside of his office hours, to make some remarks on the general right of the Government to control an employee's movements when his day's work is at an end. What he had in mind was, of course, the famous Executive order which forbade the participation of Government employees in the management of caucuses and conventions. He declared that when the Government attempts to follow the employee beyond the limits of his office hours, and tell him "whether, in hours which are his own, he shall devote his time to the efforts of inventive genius, or whether he shall attend religious or spiritual meetings, or political meetings, or shall do anything else, the Government, in his (my) opinion, is a tyrant—not a petty tyrant, as an individual might be, but a bald, insolent usurper," etc., etc. Now, these observations show that Mr. Conkling's estimable father made a mistake "in teaching him to reason and correcting his errors," for the parent's object in training his son to detect fallacies was undoubtedly to enable him to avoid them. Had he foreseen that it would have been used by the son to construct fallacies for use in his business, in order to confuse and deceive his fellowmen, undoubtedly he would have withheld the instruction which has made so deep an impression on General Grant. In the case before us the son tries, in a way that would undoubtedly have pained his logical father, to make it appear that an office-holder attends "religious and spiritual meetings" in the same character in which he attends political meetings and with the same aims, and that, if you see no harm in his attending the former, you are estopped from objecting to his attending the latter. He suggests too, but does not say, that he himself would freely permit a custom-house officer under a Republican administration to attend political meetings of any sort—such as Democratic conventions—which he knows is untrue. If any custom-house officer did so, Mr. Conkling would himself be the first to appear "as a bald, insolent usurper" and demand his removal. In fact, if we accept as true General Grant's account of the Senator's logical education, his speech about this linchpin ought to warn all parents of the danger of teaching a boy to reason before they are sure that he has an honest mind. It is only to honest minds that logic is useful. To all others it is hurtful. It is to these what a good stroke is to the fraudulent professional oarsman, or a "pleasing address" to the confidence man.

The rejoicing over what is called the downfall of Kelly has been general and cordial, but in the light of recent municipal history and of Kelly's career it seems, we regret to say, somewhat premature. He has to be sure, in losing the comptrollership, lost the distribution of much patronage, but it is by no means upon the direct control of patronage that his influence in Tammany has exclusively depended. To Tammany he is still a great leader, and his recent reverse is accepted as a stroke of bad luck in a game to the rules of which his followers faithfully subscribe. The only really efficient means of dislodging a Tammany Boss has been demonstrated to be an indictment, although that is not to be implicitly relied upon under all circumstances. Moreover, Kelly has been in precisely his present position heretofore without serious loss to his prestige. He ceased to be sheriff as he has ceased to be comptroller, and at least twice before his management has brought defeat upon his party, and in spite of everything he has not only retained but strengthened his autocratic rule. After the "Hackett campaign" there was the same talk in the Tammany ranks of procuring some other Boss, but Kelly called his "Committee on Organization" together and proceeded to "discipline" refractory clansmen to such good effect that what threatened to become a revolution ended in an insignificant revolt. He has been doing the same thing the past week, and "serious defections" are reported in various districts, but the inference from this drawn by some of the papers, to the effect that his "power" is "crumbling," is no sounder now than hitherto. It will probably be true for some years to come that the best way to deal with Tammany as an organization is to defeat it as often as possible without being too much concerned as to who is at the head of it.

Although a broken week at the Stock Exchange, it was an exceptionally active one. The speculation was given an investment character by taking up dividend shares and applying to them all the arts used in handling "fancy" stocks; several of them were run up to prices never before reached and hardly dreamed of. The reasoning used is that the interest on more than $600,000,000 United States bonds is to be reduced to 3 or 3½ per cent.; that investors will seek railroad bonds and shares; that they will buy the former up to prices which will yield 4 per cent., and the latter up to figures which will yield 5 per cent. annual income. As the leading railroads are now dividing 8 per cent. per annum, their business being profitable beyond precedent, it will be seen that the application of this reasoning to the stock market makes prices seem plausible which would otherwise be regarded as preposterous. There is no sign yet of the present speculative craze ending, and very likely the early part of the new year will witness a continuance of it. The banks are getting into stronger position; foreign exchange still

rules in favor of gold imports, but the arrivals during the week were comparatively small. The Treasury began paying out January interest on Tuesday, and the amount of its January disbursements will reach nearly $25,000,000. The January dividends of various corporations will be larger this year than ever before.

We were undoubtedly mistaken in our estimate of the immediate consequences which would follow the coinage of a silver dollar worth more than the gold dollar, and persons who are preparing letters to us on the subject may therefore save themselves the trouble. The matter has little practical importance, however, as Secretary Sherman's proposal was simply to make the silver dollar equal to the gold dollar. Apropos of this, the London *Economist* points out that the price of silver in the London market has ranged from 51 to 54 pence per ounce since 1877, so that there would have apparently to be a readjustment every year in order to keep the two coins at par.

The English Court of Appeal has just rendered a decision which is likely to cause a good deal of surprise among lawyers and unprofessional men, both in England and the United States. The appeal affirms the decision of the judges below, to the effect that a wife has no right to pledge her husband's credit unless she is duly authorized by him to do so, as in the case of any other kind of agent. The impression has long prevailed that married women were at liberty to supply themselves with all kinds of articles suitable to their position in life on their husband's credit, but it seems that the English law now is that this right is derived solely from an authority conferred and revokable by the husband. If he has been in the habit of paying bills contracted by his wife with particular tradesmen, the authority may be implied from the course of dealing, but even in such a case it may be withdrawn at pleasure. Theoretically this decision is calculated to cause a joyful excitement among husbands all over the world, and a corresponding depression and melancholy among wives, but practically we doubt very much whether its results will be serious. Among well-to-do people it is a necessity of the case that there should be an authority from the husband to make purchases and incur expenses of all kinds, and it is unlikely that this authority would be revoked or qualified except where matters between husband and wife had become seriously complicated, and in fact reached the point of an open quarrel. Among the poorer classes the right of pledging a husband's credit has at no time been a valuable privilege, the husband in most cases having no credit to be pledged; at the same time in some instances the right may be of use for the purpose of marital discipline, and may therefore be recognized as among the few remaining legal privileges of married men as such.

It is difficult to make out from the cable despatches the precise scope of the telephone decision rendered in England. The practical effect of the decision is to make the purchase by the Government of the telegraphs cover all future inventions for the transmission of messages by electricity; and since the decision the Post-office has made a public announcement that it is prepared to furnish the means of communication by telephone throughout Great Britain. The case will be appealed, but the decision of the lower court is unanimous. There would seem to be great room for a difference of opinion as to the meaning of the words "electric signals" in the act of Parliament. Electric signals are undoubtedly made use of in the telephone, but only for the subsidiary purpose of bringing the persons who desire to use the instrument into communication with each other. This having been done, the subsequent communication is not by means of signals, but is entirely oral, precisely resembling ordinary conversation, with the exception that the transmitting medium is different and the interval of space is greater. As a matter of law the decision must, unless reversed, be regarded as right, but it would be a very high handed act for the Government under it to appropriate the private telephones throughout the country, for the very plain reason that at the time of the Government purchase of the telegraphs the telephone was not an existent invention, and no purchase of it was contemplated or dreamed of by either party to the transaction. This has nothing to do, of course, with the construction of the words in the act of Parliament. It cannot be said that the result furnishes to the opponents of Government monopolies a new argument against them; it rather furnishes a new argument against the loose manner in which statutes affecting private rights are drawn up.

The South Carolina Legislature has been doing some excellent work. One of its acts provides very stringent penalties for duelling, which will be effective if juries can be got to enforce them. Another exempts immigrants from taxation for three years after their arrival. We would recommend, however, in addition to this, and as a supplement to it, the provision of a good pension for all persons maimed in "personal difficulties," and aid for their wives or children or aged and infirm parents, in case of their death. If a community enjoys or tolerates savage fights on its streets and highways, it ought in common decency to pay something for the fun. If it expects men on pain of disgrace to cut and shoot those who offend them, it ought to provide for the disabled and for the families of the fallen, just as it provides for the wounded and the families of the slain whom it forces into the army in time of war. In shooting and stabbing, South Carolina and Mississippi now stand in the same scale as Albania and Corsica. Montenegro and Sicily have, we believe, risen above them in self-restraint and respect for law. The Albanian, however, has the advantage in manliness, as he carries his weapons in a large belt on his stomach, in full view of everybody, so that any one who does not care for discussion with him can keep out of his way. In South Carolina and Mississippi, on the other hand, one may any day get into a dispute with a gentleman who in dress and other externals has the air of a minister of the Gospel, but has concealed in his pockets behind his back the full outfit of a brigand and assassin of the worst type.

The contract between Dr. Talmage and the publisher of the *Advance*, the nature of which he is accused of having misrepresented in his testimony on his trial before the Presbytery, has been printed and published. It is formal and imperative in its language. It is dated October 4, 1876, and its second clause binds Talmage to "cease his editorial connection with the *Christian at Work* in one month from October 12, if not before," and "in the next issue—*i.e.*, October 12—of the said *Christian at Work* to announce and state that he is now become editor of the *Advance*." Another agreement, made on the 9th of December following, refers to this first contract as "a contract mutually signed and agreed to" by the same parties. On the trial Dr. Talmage swore on his direct examination that when he went down to his office on the morning of the 9th of October, five days after the execution of the first contract, he "had no idea" of writing and printing the valedictory in the *Christian at Work* announcing his transfer to the *Advance*, which he did write and print on the evening of that day, and he added that not only had he "no idea" of it when he left home in the morning, but had none "at any other period." The first contract he described as "a memorandum," which was "not finally concluded until the afternoon in October 9." In his cross-examination he repeated "that the finality of our arrangement [that is, with the *Advance*] had not been reached on the 9th," but protected himself against questions as to whether he had any idea of writing the valedictory when he left home in the morning of the 9th by declaring that he "did not remember." He testified on the direct examination, however, that on leaving home in the morning "he was much impressed with the fact that something decisive might happen that day," so much so that after leaving his house he went back, ascended to the fourth story, "locked the door, and knelt down and asked God that whatever he might be called to do that day he might do with reference to the judgment, and that he might be directed in every thing." As a consequence of this he felt sure "that he made no mistake in that," for "he had the theory that if our religion is not practical enough to get direction when we do not know what to do, there is not much in religion." That is, we suppose, if it does not help a man in making a bargain it is of no great value. It seems a little hard under these circumstances to prosecute him for perjury, but perhaps his enemies have been "getting direction" also in the same manner, and feel sure they are right in following him up. It is reported that he declines to answer the charge under advice of his "counsel," another minister, Dr. Spear, which, if true, is a very droll introduction into the spiritual forum of the methods of accused officials at the City Hall. We may

hear before long of a well-to-do Catholic going to the confessional attended by his lawyer to see that he does not criminate himself too deeply.

By the way, the prosecutors must not overlook Major B. R. Corwin, the prominent member—perhaps elder—of Dr. Talmage's church through whose instrumentality the contracts are said to have come to light. This gentleman witnessed the first contract, and probably knew its contents. If so, and he now thinks Dr. Talmage committed perjury in the account he gave of it, he ought to be disciplined vigorously for sitting silent in the Tabernacle ever since April of last year, and giving the world to understand that he thought the pastor a spotless man. We also beg to direct the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities to C. H. Howard & Co., the proprietors of the *Advance*, who have laid themselves open to a similar charge on stronger evidence. The vigorous pursuit of the whole party will, *pace* Dr. Field, be a good thing for the Church and the world, and especially for the young men in the theological seminaries, whom the success of the "sensational" preachers has now for some years been debauching.

Mr. Trescott has come back from China bringing the new treaty with him, but refuses to give any sign as to its contents until it has been submitted to the Senate, or to say whether the reports about it which have appeared in the American papers are correct or not. There is, however, no doubt about one thing, and that is that the obligation to admit Chinamen to this country without let or hindrance has been abrogated, and that restrictions on their coming may now be imposed by this Government; so that if the treaty shall be ratified by the Senate, and acted on in legislation, Republicans as well as Democrats will have given their sanction to the doctrine that race *does* make a difference in men, and that all races are by no means equally well qualified to live under the Stars and Stripes. What is odd about this is, that the same men recognize the reasonableness on the part of the Californians of a view of color which when taken by the South Carolinians and Mississippians rouses them to fury.

The exhibit made by the Secretary of the Treasury of the condition and prospects of the finances of the United States, and the immense refunding scheme foreshadowed in it, has naturally made a deep impression in Europe. No such pecuniary ease has ever been witnessed on the part of a really great state in modern times. Prussia had savings in the treasury from the time of the great Frederic down to the French war, and the Canton of Berne had a considerable hoard, which, if we remember rightly, was gobbled up by the first Napoleon. Venice, too, used to be what the farmers call "forehanded"; but none of these were great states, or handled the enormous sums which flow in and out of the American Treasury. The credit of the United States now all but reaches that of Great Britain, and if it continues below it, it will be due to the creditors' fear of being paid off too soon. Probably the oddest effect of this extraordinary financial spectacle on the European mind appears in the case of the London *Spectator*, from which it elicits the reproach that so rich and prosperous a Government should do something to help struggling and oppressed peoples, but does nothing, which is shameful. This is a very extraordinary charge—leaving out of sight what the United States *does* do for the unfortunate of other climes—considering that it is only one year since Great Britain was working both by arms and diplomacy to put Christians back under the Porte, or prevent their escape, and was slaughtering Afghans and burning their villages because they refused to receive a British envoy. The whole business of succoring "oppressed nationalities" is an immense snare and delusion. To do so with effect an enormous military or naval force has to be kept on foot, which, when there are no oppressed ready for deliverance, is very apt to be used to do a little oppression just to keep the men in practice.

The trial of the Land-Leaguers opened on Tuesday in Dublin, but at this writing the proceedings have not gone beyond the impanelling of the jury. We beg to call Judge Davis's attention to the fact that Chief-Justice May has been so impressed by the public indignation over his unseemly attack on the defendants when deciding a preliminary motion for the postponement of the trial, that he has announced that he will not sit in the case. Opinions still seem to vary as much as ever about the probable result of the trial, but the chances are undoubtedly in favor of a disagreement of the jury. Jurors, even in the cities, are becoming afraid of being "boycotted"—that is, of having their business ruined by refusals to deal with or employ them. Captain Boycott himself, however, has made a good thing by his sufferings, inasmuch as $70,000 have been raised for his benefit by voluntary subscription, while he claimed only $30,000 from the Government. Mr. Bence Jones is gallantly holding his own, with the assistance of armed retainers, and will have materials before long for a very entertaining magazine article. To Mr. Forster's circular calling on the magistrates to enforce the existing law against the perpetrators of outrages and rioters and "boycotters," 700 magistrates have replied that it is out of their power to do so. They can get no evidence on which they can act. A new and very ugly symptom of the crisis is the beginning of attempts to assassinate the police, who have hitherto been allowed to pass harmless, and who, as they patrol in twos and in the night, are very much exposed. There are already thirty thousand troops in Ireland, but they are, of course, useless except against an armed outbreak, of which there is no sign. The Leaguers have hit on a more effective process than open rebellion. The question whether those defendants in the pending trial who are members of Parliament—five, we believe, in all—will be able to appear in their places in the House on the 6th of January is growing in interest as the day draws nearer, owing to the determination of the Leaguers to resist any attempt to pass a coercion bill by every means in their power, fair or foul, and the absence of Parnell, who is a master in the art of obstruction, would be a serious blow to them. He talks, it is said, of defying the court and going over to England.

But it is now positively announced that a coercion bill will be introduced as soon as Parliament meets, its leading feature and the most effective one being the suspension of the *habeas corpus*. The English and Scotch members of all parties and the majority of the Irish members will support it, and there can be no reasonable doubt that as soon as the Government has the power of arbitrary arrest the intimidation of the Land League will cease, because its directors will have to fly or go to jail, and the minor ones will fly. The Cabinet will introduce a Land Tenure Bill, it is announced, simultaneously with the Coercion Bill, and it will contain in some shape the "three f's," and probably provide for emigration on a large scale from the western coast, where the soil is so wet and the climate so bad that "fixity of tenure" would be a curse. This is all very well, but the pity of it is that it should not have been done before Parnell had plunged the country into anarchy. It teaches once more the old and bad lesson of Irish politics, that the British Parliament never takes up Irish grievances seriously until the reign of violence has begun. The land movement, apart from the violence, has spread to Ulster, and it is conceded on all hands that a radical change in the system of tenure is unavoidable.

The Powers are reported to have all agreed to settle the Turco-Greek dispute by arbitration. The Turks are apparently ready for this or for anything which causes delay, but the Greeks are not. The present Premier declares that Greece will take nothing less than the award of the Berlin Treaty as confirmed by the Supplemental Conference, and will fight for it if necessary as soon as the spring opens. Turkey offers as a compromise a considerable increase of territory, but proposes to retain Janina and Metsovo. Janina, however, is to the Greeks of prime importance, and in this she will not yield. As arbitration involves the voluntary submission of the matter in dispute by the disputants, its success in the present case does not seem probable. The only form of coercion the Powers can bring to bear on the Greeks is refusal to assist them in case they go to war, but this will probably be neutralized by the fact that the Greeks believe they can drive out the Turks themselves, and that in any case they will be aided by risings in Macedonia and Rumelia. Sir Charles Dilke asserts positively that Austria is acting in cordial union with England; but the Greeks are undoubtedly suffering from the British troubles in Ireland and South Africa. In the latter the Boers have had some slight successes, but reinforcements are hurrying out rapidly, and their independence, as they are not a warlike race, will be short lived.

THE DUTY OF THE DEMOCRATS TOWARDS THE TARIFF.

NOW that the Democrats seem disposed to provide themselves with a set of principles, and to meet the Republicans on some other ground than the desirableness of "a change," it is rather surprising that they are not giving more attention to the issue made up for them in the last canvass by the open committal of the Republican party to protection as a fixed and permanent policy. Tariff reform is not very far removed from civil-service reform, and in the latter the Democrats have begun to profess a very lively interest. Some revival of attention to the former, too, is rendered the more necessary on their part by the extraordinary abandonment of the "tariff-for-revenue-only" plank in their platform, by which they made the late campaign so memorable, and by the fact that a hostility to high tariff is now the one tradition by which the Democrats of to-day can maintain their historic relation to the Democrats of the period before the war. Everything else is gone. If the Democrats of our time can stand the present tariff with complacency, there is no more connection between them and the men from whom they have taken their name than between them and the Whigs. The crudities and absurdities of our present tariff are admitted on all sides, and every report emanating from the Treasury Department adds fresh proof of the difficulties in collecting the revenue under it. In spite of this there is no denying the fact that the universal interest which the people of this country formerly took in tariff legislation has ceased to exist.

With the great increase in the inland Western population the proportion of the people which comes into contact with the revenue service has greatly diminished and is steadily diminishing. It is now only an insignificant minority which has any personal knowledge of the inconveniences and burdens under which importers carry on their business. In the last generation, when the tariff controversy greatly occupied the public mind, nearly everybody lived within easy reach of the seaboard, and had some acquaintance with the conditions and uses of foreign trade. Now the great bulk of the population knows and cares little about it, or thinks of it simply as a process by which mischievous luxuries are imported for the rich. This growth of what may be called a powerful inland opinion has also constituted, and still constitutes, one of the difficulties of the currency question. The Eastern man, being largely engaged in the business of exchange with foreign countries, and being still strongly influenced by the traditions and experience of a time when foreign trade was a principal part of American activity, is naturally greatly impressed by the international function of money. The Western man, on the other hand, who, though he finds a market for a large portion of his commodities abroad, has little direct share in the work of exporting or importing, thinks it preposterous that foreign opinion or practice should have any influence on our monetary legislation, and, in fact, tends distinctly towards that condition of exclusiveness which Mr. Stanley Matthews expressed so naïvely when he asked, in one of the silver debates, "What have we to do with abroad?" The difficulty there has been, and still is, in procuring any legislative assistance in recovering our share of the carrying trade, is another illustration of the same preponderating influence of inland opinion and interests. The Western man cares little about the carrying trade. He feels none of the shame which fills the dwellers in the sea-ports at seeing it all done under a foreign flag, and he turns a deaf ear to the appeal for free ships or free ship-building materials. It is thus easily seen that, even putting aside the consideration of the extent to which the inland population has engaged in manufactures that owe their existence or prosperity to the present tariff, it would be no easy matter to revive the old interest which once made the tariff the battle-ground of the two great parties. It will be twenty or thirty years before the West comes again into close commercial relations with foreign countries which the mass of the people will see and appreciate.

The consequence of all this is that if the Democratic party should now take up the tariff reform as an issue—and the events of the late canvass seem to make it impossible for them to avoid it—they will have to take it up as a matter of principle as well as a matter of expediency; that is, they will have to show that tariff legislation for indiscriminate and perpetual protection is unjust as well as unprofitable and self-destructive. They will have to infuse a good deal of pure free trade into their demands for a tariff for revenue only, and they will not under the most favorable circumstances find it a subject that their orators will take to kindly at first. We are still so much dominated by "war issues," and have had so much experience of what may be called dramatic politics, that it will take some time for the public to get back to the state of mind in which the champion of a high tariff was a popular hero. The curious way in which the tariff question has now to have a sugar-coating of sentiment in order to make it useful for campaign purposes, was well shown in Mr. Blaine's appeal to the Irish last summer to stand by the high tariff, because if it were lowered they would get the goods of their English enemies and oppressors cheap. In Indiana and Ohio, too, there was little or no discussion by the Republicans, any more than by the Democrats, of the tariff theory. What the orators said was, that if the Democrats got into power they would suddenly lower the duties and American artisans would be thrown out of employment, which might be all true and yet the high tariff be a very bad thing.

In whatever way the discussion may be managed, however, nothing but a clear and decided advocacy of a "tariff for revenue only" by the Democrats seems likely to force the Republicans to admit the necessity even of tariff reform—that is, to set about the excision of the absurdities and crudities of the present tariff and to consent to a moderate reduction of duties. In a discussion between free trade and diminished protection there would be a good deal to be said on both sides, since a sudden and total abandonment of the protectionist policy is, of course, not to be thought of. No party would think of facing the financial convulsion which any such step would cause. But the indefinite maintenance of the present tariff is equally out of the question. Many leading protectionists admit this, and are prepared to submit to extensive modifications of it. The real reason why these modifications have not been made before now is, besides the lack of popular interest in the subject in the interior, which we have above described, that no political party has asked for them. The Democrats have now for so many years neglected the real work of an Opposition that the Republicans have really been left to correct their own extravagances and errors at their own time and in their own way, and self-correction by a political party is, as every reader of history knows, a very slow and uncertain and imperfect process. Considering how the Democrats have behaved, the wonder is that the Republicans have done so much, and what they have done has had somewhat the air of a sovereign grace. That worst feature of the war tariff, the moiety system, and the monstrous machinery of coercion by which it was supported and executed, went on for years in this city without being taken up by the Democrats, until the Republican officials went too far and publicly pillaged a leading Republican merchant. It was then reformed. The revision of the tariff, too, will have to be brought about by its being made the Democratic "main question." There will very little if anything come of keeping tariff reform on hand as part of a "miscellaneous assortment" of issues, to be displayed now and then in platforms, like the silks and shawls in the window of a dry-goods store, and it will have to be advocated by men who are really interested in it and understand it. It is a question which cannot be successfully handled by men-of-all-work. There are, unfortunately, but few of the Democratic orators of later years who have given much attention to it, but younger men are coming forward and can be had whose advocacy will have the ring of conviction.

MUNICIPAL AND FEDERAL REFORM.

MR. EDWARD COOPER, after having, by the aid of a combination in the Board of Aldermen, succeeded in making certain appointments of city officials which two years ago it was expected he would make immediately upon his election, will go out of office at the end of this week. It cannot be disputed that in many respects the new men are better than the old, nor that Mr. Cooper has by means of this "deal" given the city a chance of better government than it has had of late; but neither Mr. Cooper nor those who united in securing his election can feel overjoyed at the way the thing has been accomplished. It is rather instructive to compare the publicly-announced expectations of the supporters of Mr. Cooper two years ago with the results. He

was nominated by a union between anti-Tammany and Republican politicians, but he was supported by that large body of voters which has for some years fluctuated between the contending factions, as the cause of municipal good government seemed to make it for their interest to do. One of their chief organs has always been the New York *Times*, and in the fall of 1878 the *Times* had a great deal, naturally, to say about Mr. Cooper and the probable results of his election. Notwithstanding the many disappointments it had had to endure at the hands of former mayors, its hopefulness had never been greater, as a few extracts from its columns will show. Two weeks before the day of election it pointed out that Mr. Cooper's "thorough acquaintance with the details of municipal affairs" would "render him incapable of being used by men who are ready to turn to questionable account their knowledge of the intricacies of local administration." A few days later it returned to the subject in these words:

"Apart altogether from the very rigid scrutiny which a reform mayor would be expected to make into the way in which the work of heads of departments has been done during the last two years, and the removals he might possibly find it necessary to recommend, the new appointments falling within his term involve an all but complete reorganization of the city government."

This was followed by one or two predictions and friendly warnings:

"If we can elect Mr. Cooper and a majority of anti-Tammany aldermen we put an end to the corrupt and extravagant policy which the dictator of the local Democracy has imposed upon the city. . . . It is but seldom that such an opportunity presents itself for ridding New York of the incubus of incapacity and corruption which is working its ruin. Those who fail to turn the opportunity to good account will demonstrate their unfitness to exercise the rights of American citizenship."

On November 5 the *Times* addressed a few "Last Words to Republicans," reminding them that "the Republican who hesitates about voting for Edward Cooper, the candidate of the people," as against Schell, "the candidate of John Kelly," on account of the connection between Cooper and Tilden, "debases partisanship to the level where it winks at corruption and apologizes for fraud." It took occasion at the same time, rather comically, to warn the reform candidates against "selling out" their associates.

On the 6th, Mr. Cooper having been elected, together with a majority of four in the Board of Aldermen, the *Times* announced the result as a complete triumph for reform, and expressed its gratification as follows:

"There is hope for free institutions even among the uneducated and half-Americanized mass of New York voters when the arrogant dictation of a would-be political despot has been met by a protest so unmistakably emphatic."

It also proceeded to draw a glowing picture of the blessings in store for the city:

"No mayor since Mr. Havemeyer has had such an opportunity to confer the blessings of good government on New York as will be enjoyed by Mr. Cooper. That he will prove as conspicuously equal to the opportunity as his predecessors have been unequal, we do not entertain the slightest doubt. He has been chosen mayor unhampered by a single pledge, untrammelled by either personal or partisan obligation. He was the people's candidate and he is the people's choice. To them alone belongs his responsibility, and their interests, we feel assured, will be his sole standard of duty."

During the same period the *Tribune* was more lukewarm in its support of the Reform ticket; but it devoted itself with considerable success to one of the topics always supposed to be intimately connected with municipal reform, and succeeded in getting not only Mr. Cooper but John Kelly and Augustus Schell also to pledge themselves in favor of an absolutely non-partisan Police Board, so that on the 2d of November it was able to announce as the result of its efforts that "we are thus secure from any successful effort to handle the police as a partisan machine."

We think we are speaking within bounds when we say that not only have the predictions not been verified, but they have been reversed. Mr. Cooper's thorough acquaintance with "the details of municipal affairs" has not, in fact, rendered him incapable of being used by politicians. He has never been able to institute any rigid scrutiny into the work of the heads of departments, and so far from being "unhampered by a single pledge" or being "untrammelled by either personal or partisan obligation," his whole official career has been a fulfilment of pledges and obligations. As for security from the use of the police as a "partisan machine," his term of office has been mainly marked by the fiercest partisan efforts on both sides to get control of the Police Board—efforts which no sensible man believes will come to an end even through the recent bargains. That he has had the interests of the public and the city at heart we have no doubt, but the means employed by him to advance them have been solely a series of intrigues by which he has attempted to get, and after two years has finally succeeded in getting, a majority of the Board of Aldermen to confirm his appointments. Most of his nominees have been obscure politicians who have been selected by him, not on account of their fitness for the positions offered them, but for the sake of getting the support of their friends for other nominees of the same class.

In this respect there is a curious resemblance between the careers of Mr. Cooper in New York and Mr. Hayes at Washington. There are, of course, many points at which the parallel would not hold good. Mr. Hayes is President of a nation of fifty millions of people; Mr. Cooper is merely mayor of its largest city. Mr. Hayes, in his efforts at reform, has had to deal with the Senate, a very powerful legislative body, the members of which hold their offices for a longer term than his own, and divide among themselves the patronage which in theory belongs to him. Mr. Cooper has found opposed to him a mock legislative body composed of small city politicians, whose power consists in the opportunity they enjoy of refusing to confirm his appointments. Allowing for these differences, however, what was expected of these two reformers was very much the same. They were both expected to promote efficiency of administration; to see to it that fitness should be the sole test recognized in appointments; and that Boss government, or government by senatorial "groups" (which are essentially the same thing), should be brought to an end. Both were supported and elected by a body of voters who were comparatively independent of party, and mainly interested in reform. In Mr. Hayes's case, exactly as in Mr. Cooper's, the most liberal promises were made by his friends of what he was going to do, and most extravagant hopes were expressed of the benefits likely to flow from the administration of so good a man. It must be confessed, even by those who take the most cheerful views of what Mr. Hayes has done, that he has effected no more towards eradicating the evils of the system at Washington than Mr. Cooper has effected in New York, and for precisely the same reasons in the two cases. Instead of recognizing the fact that good government, like any other good thing, must be fought for, and that what they should have done at the outset was to declare open war not only upon the abuses which they meant to break up, but upon the men who were the living embodiment of the abuses, they apparently made up their minds that the true way was to secure reform through precisely the same kind of intrigue and bargain which have made the abuses so strong. No man in any position can in our time effect any reform without public confidence and support, and this is only won by appeals to public opinion.

Now, reform through intrigue and "dicker" does not appeal to public opinion, or touch the popular imagination, or rouse the popular conscience, or stimulate popular hopefulness. It is essentially a secret process, and essentially a process which involves much base, or seemingly base, compliance, and much seemingly close association with the men who are themselves "part of the thing to be reformed." The way to reform is to reform. The way to purify the civil service, whether municipal or Federal, is to begin by trying to purify it, and to keep trying, and by making every attempt so plain and conspicuous that the dullest man in the country can see what you are aiming at. It may be that the system of reforming by the aid of a little corruption, to which the Mayor and the President have resorted, has merits and sometimes attains its ends. But, even if this be true, the system is open to the fatal objection that the public cannot understand it and is discouraged by it, and that it therefore cannot lead to any radical or permanent improvement. Mr. Hayes, by his concessions to the Boss system, not only has not conciliated the Bosses or destroyed their power (he might have failed to do this under any circumstances), but he has weakened public confidence not simply in his own sincerity but in the practicability of the reform, and strengthened the confidence of all the enemies of reform in the permanence of the abuses by which they live and prosper. In like

manner, when Mayor Cooper disregarded the appeals made to him to nominate a fit and proper person for the Commissionership of Charities and Correction, and nominated a German butcher who knew and cared nothing about either charity or correction, he did not increase his own influence for good over the corrupt classes; on the contrary, he satisfied them that he was weak and that they could use him, and he did dishearten those who elected him in the hope that he would prove the broom of reform which the *Times* described him to be. When a man in President Hayes's or Mr. Cooper's position makes even one conspicuously bad nomination, he destroys all interest in the subsequent good ones he may make. The public, feeling that it has been deceived once, feels that it may be so again, washes its hands once more of "politics," and turns to money-making and barren grumbling. The Senate and the Board of Aldermen find a ready escape from all responsibility or odium in the undeniable assertion that the chief executive officer is just as ready for a "bargain" as they are, and that it by no means follows that they are guilty of obstruction because they do not act readily on his nominations.

The only way in which the system of administration, whether in a city like New York or in the country at large, can be permanently improved is by men in the positions occupied by Mr. Hayes or Mr. Cooper making up their minds that they will rely for support in their efforts for reform solely upon the merits of these efforts; that they will secure the confirmation of their nominees not by means of bargains but by the excellence of the nominations themselves, relying on public opinion to force the politicians to come round to their side in the long run. No one who watches the signs of the times with any care can doubt that the public was never so ready as it is at the present moment to come to the support of any intelligent, independent, and fair attempt to break up the system which throughout the country has brought politics to a dead-lock and made intrigue and favoritism the road to power. There has been no time since the war when party ties have been so loose, party passions so feeble, and the general desire for good government as good government so widespread. But the resolute opposition of the politicians themselves must always be counted upon, and any one who attempts to improve matters by resorting to their tricks may see in the results of such well-intentioned efforts as Mr. Hayes's and Mr. Cooper's exactly how much and how little they are likely to effect.

GEORGE ELIOT.

MANY qualities doubtless contribute to render George Eliot a unique figure in English literature, but among them the most conspicuous is the absolute absorption of her personality in her work, so far as the interest of her public is concerned. To have made so marked an impression upon the literary history of her epoch, and yet to have made so little stir in the world in which she passed a life of sixty years, at a time when nothing that happens goes unchronicled, implies a curious contradiction. It is partly due, of course, to the fact that her life was comparatively uneventful. Probably there was little in it upon which the curiosity felt by the romantic concerning the private life of authors of distinction could feed had it been permitted. Unlike other famous writers of her sex, she did not move in society at all; she neglected it too completely as Marian Evans to be charged with compulsory seclusion as Mrs. Lewes. And though correspondents who, it afterwards appeared, were confident of their ability to divulge inoffensively all they had learnt, were made welcome at Combe Priory, they learnt, as a rule, little to divulge. The lady was small, plain-featured, intelligent-looking, observant rather than animated—in short, a well-bred Englishwoman. Everything else was hearsay. Such a "portrait" of her as Sainte-Beuve used to paint of eminent women, or such a book as Mr. Trollope recently made upon Thackeray, would be impossible in the case of George Eliot. But what is still more singular is that not one in twenty of her readers would probably care for a "portrait" or biography of her, or be interested in sifting the chaff and wheat of the meagre hearsay concerning her. Marian Evans is to readers whose interest in George Eliot is intense a vague and, by comparison, wholly unattractive personality, which it is possible, of course, for a reader to fancy this or that, but only by a kind of speculation proverbially (and here peculiarly) liable to error. Our own notion of George Eliot, for example, which is that of an exceptional but pure mentality, is obviously inapplicable to Marian Evans. In fine, not only was the life of the latter placid to a degree unsuspected, perhaps, before her marriage testified to what could excusably be called an unconquerable serenity of character, but the former is characterized by an objectivity almost unexampled. This is a quality well known long before systematic critics insisted on it as a necessary element in all art, and is doubtless older than Homer, but surely it was never before illustrated to a degree which not only disguises but eliminates interest from the corresponding subjectivity to which it owes its origin.

It is obvious that this is overdoing the matter, and the fact not too unreasonably stimulates speculation. Obviously Shakspere's impersonality is less uncompromising and saner. Is it not possible, one is inclined to ask himself, that Miss Evans was affected by that part of her environment connected with her sex to a degree and in a way not generally set down in sociological textbooks, but recognizable enough to George Eliot, had she met with it in any one; that she more or less consciously proposed to herself to obliterate the sex distinction not by the vulgar method of aping masculinity in specific performances, but by aiming to make of herself an intelligent force rather than a person with idiosyncrasies? What is certain is that George Eliot strikes an attentive sense as being not so much masculine as sexless. One speaks of her masculine strength, her masculine this or that, correctly enough if "unfeminine" is meant, for no writings betray less the feminine point of view in dealing with questions in discussing which other literary women of genius inevitably do betray it. Explanations after the fact are easy, but we doubt if a candid reader would discover anything vital in George Eliot to indicate the author's sex. The femininities are, to be sure, unmistakable; but they are all detail—phases of a pedantic elaborateness which no man of equal gifts would risk writing, for example, but wholly superficial beside the general treatment of character and emotion, which is often far beyond the reach of feminine intuitiveness. Her treatment of sex itself, whenever it is in point, is, speaking with precision, masterly. Any one can illustrate this to himself very vividly by thinking of the contrast presented by George Sand. Take the Tessa episode in 'Romola' as an example of many easily found, and reflect how George Sand would have treated it, how much more we should have been moved by it in that event, but how certainly we should have felt the necessity of supplementing the picture by various unideal but important touches inspired by reflecting on the constitution of society as it exists outside of George Sand's world of passion. In 'Romola' these have all been thought of with masculine prevision and sobriety.

This is unquestionably a great merit. The more enthusiastic of the admirers of George Eliot have this in mind doubtless when they speak, as they never tire of doing, of her masculinity. But evidently this has corresponding disadvantages. Whether or no it has the disadvantage of being unnatural, it is perhaps idle to discuss, the feminine disposition being a subject upon which there is great difference of opinion just at the present day; but axiomatically it may be said to have a tendency hostile to strictly feminine excellences. As a matter of fact, in George Eliot's writings many qualities generally associated with the softer sex, but by no means incompatible with the other, are exhibited up to precisely the point at which a masculine mind would take them, but there dropped with almost automatic definiteness. The result is that in certain directions there is an evident limitation of effect. One has never quite the sense that the matter in hand has been carried to the utmost limit, and that every consideration in the world unconnected with its development has been thrown aside for the moment. There is plenty of reserve, and reserve with suggestiveness is always in some sense more effective than explicitness, but nowhere an absolute abandonment guided solely but securely by the original force of artistic rectitude, which after all is the finest thing. The result is less charm and less power. We are not, of course, content with being profoundly moved by a novelist, but require to be moved rightly as well, before the effect upon us is in any degree the measure of an artist's merit. But to be moved is the first thing, and, as a rule, George Eliot is content with interesting us. The entertainment she provides is in general of a high order. Sometimes, as in the chapter introductions of 'Romola,' drenched in the commonplace, it is tolerably dull; sometimes it is alternately wearisome and exasperating, as in the elaborate inanities of 'Daniel Deronda.' But when she eschews didacticism and teaches philosophy by examples it is of the first class. To the alert-minded and curious reader few pleasures can be greater than that of being taken by the hand, as it were, and conducted through the gallery of George Eliot's character-portraiture by the artist herself. She is then far more attractive than when she is elaborating those sententious epigrams which modern compilers of "elegant extracts" collect with equal ardor and awe. There is too much exactness in this figure, however; admirable as is the portraiture, one seems to be listening to a lecture upon it, which is enjoyable but should be needless, after the fashion in English fiction "ever since"—to use the words of a writer once mistaken for George Eliot—"fiction has taken a turn, for better or worse, for analyzing rather than depicting character and emotion." 'Daniel Deronda' is the jejune exaggeration of this; it tinctures all the predecessors of that book, and the germ of it is plain in the first sketch the author ever made. To carry such a load requires a genius as robust as Thackeray's, and Thackeray is at his best when he fails to encumber himself with it. But whereas with him it is incidental, it becomes with George Eliot, owing to the predominance of a turn for philosophical subtlety over a turn for art, the warp and woof of her

weaving, the thing she most insists on, and finally, with a fine irony of retribution, the thing her fanatical admirers most admire her for. How fatal it is to the depiction of passion, to dramatic movement, to the picturesque play of the natural emotions of man engaged in active warfare with the restraints of a highly developed artificial civilization—which is the modern novelist's topic, as it is the theme of the modern poet—one needs only, as we say, to think of the other extraordinary woman of the century to appreciate.

In the case of a writer felt to be so indisputably important as George Eliot, we may be sure that she is at her best somewhere else than where she has successful rivals. Her truest note—indeed her only true note, one may almost say, so conspicuously is it her own—is struck in a sentence of her first story, in which she says: "Depend upon it, my dear lady, you would gain unspeakably if you would learn with me to see some of the poetry and the pathos, the tragedy and the comedy, lying in the experience of the human soul that looks out through dull grey eyes and that speaks in a voice of quite ordinary tones." To call 'The Sad Fortunes of the Rev. Amos Barton' George Eliot's best and most truly characteristic work would be to provoke the derision of the eulogists of 'Daniel Deronda,' but slight as it is we believe it could be so called more truthfully than the more celebrated story. Its personages are drawn with a firm hand, and the "pathos in their very insignificance," of which the author speaks, is affecting enough. The 'Scenes of Clerical Life' were published when George Eliot was nearly forty, and they are as mature—fully as mature—as 'The Impressions of Theophrastus Such.' The low-toned picture, with its grey lights and deep shadows alternating across a wholly unremarkable scene, was followed by others of the same sort in 'Adam Bede,' 'The Mill on the Floss,' and 'Silas Marner' successively. 'Romola,' with all its Florentine mellowness, 'Felix Holt, the Radical,' and 'Middlemarch' are not essentially different. The element of fate pervades them all as distinctly as it does the Greek drama, and it is a force conceived in the spirit characteristic of a century at the birth of whose literary movement the influence of Byron outweighed that of Shakspere. The drear and gloomy strain in George Eliot's novels, which some critics notice with regret and ascribe to the unfortunate influence of Auguste Comte, we believe is nothing but the melancholy which for some reason or other in the more serious work of the Victorian age has wholly excluded the blitheness of the Elizabethan. The finely conceived though somewhat laboriously elaborated character and career of Tito Melema, in 'Romola,' is an admirable embodiment of a phase of it. The fortunes of the brother and sister in 'The Mill on the Floss,' where, on her native heath, the narrator is unencumbered with the *impedimenta* of erudition, are another. One writes glibly of George Eliot's manner of dealing with the character she can conceive but cannot vivify, of her deficiency in dramatic movement, of her appeal to the mind exclusively, but 'The Mill on the Floss' asserts itself a triumphant exception to very nearly all that one can say of deficiencies. It is unquestionably its author's highest reach, and its power is unmistakable in plot, situations, and characters. The spirit of the sociologist gives place to that of the true romancer in the portrait of Maggie Tulliver; the subtlety often awkwardly evident elsewhere finds a fitting subject for its exercise in that of her brother; the subsidiary portraits, too, are gems, notably Mrs. Glegg; and the elopement and the climax are not only tragic, but tragic with a poetic truth in comparison with which the tragedy of 'The Spanish Gipsy' is purely rhetorical, and that of 'Daniel Deronda' false and hollow. Yet, if we were to select from its various excellences the masterpiece of the book, measured not by the keenness of emotion excited but by a real standard, we confess we should fix upon the character of Tom Tulliver. And as her grey-toned picture is her best, so her colorless characters exhibit her finest art. Tom may stand for the archètype of colorless character. None of Trollope's personages are to be compared with him, which is almost reckless praise. Rosamond Vincy is nearly his equal, and a dozen rivals readily recur to the mind in the various novels. In depicting them—one may begin with the Rev. Amos Barton and verify the statement—the truth that moral character is composite is accepted as elemental, and starting with this goal of an inferior artist the author's skill is expended in exhibiting the multifarious mosaic as it exists in obedience to its own law, rather than as arbitrarily conceived by herself.

The difference between the perfection of such art as George Eliot's, however, and that of which Shakspere is the highest example is one of kind, and to ignore it is to darken critical counsel. It has been said that Maggie Tulliver and Dorothea Brooke are the product of keen introspection, and whether or no the character they share is that of their author, it is clear that here, as elsewhere, their author's faculty is observation rather than divination. Perhaps observation was never before carried so far; it is small wonder that George Eliot has been called the romantic interpreter of the Spencerian philosophy, as this is commonly understood. In keenness it has certainly been equalled by such writers as Mr. Thomas Hardy and Mr. Henry James, jr., but in range it has never been approached. What is surprising is that so admirable a faculty so remarkably developed should have been so widely misconceived, and that her critics should claim for George Eliot imaginativeness and high poetic power. There never was a work less marked by these qualities than 'Romola,' unless it be 'The Spanish Gipsy,' and in each the theme protests vigorously against the lack of them. Everywhere one notices the curious mind, the examining, critical, discriminating, scientific spirit, with the extremity of analysis for result. The style itself betrays this, at its best as at its worst, and owes to this the fact that it is so often at its worst. Its viciousness in 'Daniel Deronda' is evident, both because it is exaggerated and because it clothes meagreness, but any one who takes the pains to refer to 'The Sad Fortunes of the Rev. Amos Barton' will see that it is inherent. And at its best it frames sententious "saws" rather than gospel truths. Further confirmation might be drawn from the deliberateness of her composition, and despite the perfection to which she brought the method, we suspect it will never be found a wholly satisfactory substitute for the ideal synthesis of the imagination, and that this is why George Eliot will, after the dust of controversy is laid, be assigned not to the second rank of novelists, but to a position in the first after Fielding, Thackeray, Balzac, George Sand, and Turgeneff, whom alone one thinks of associating with her, and who share with Shakspere the inner method, one may say. Whether or no, with all her remarkable success, she would have done better to have relied less upon a woman's empirical observation of life and the world, and more upon the natural force of an uncommon genius, it is, of course, idle to guess. 'The Mill on the Floss' occurs to one's mind, and provokes profitless surmises.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF VICTOR HUGO'S GENIUS.

PARIS, November 25, 1880.

THE bibliography of Victor Hugo's works, to which I alluded some time ago, is not as easy a task as might be supposed. The débuts of our great poet are now well forgotten; they took place in a magazine called the *Conservateur Littéraire*, of which Asselineau, who published the first bibliographic details on the "romantiques," gives the following description: "*Le Conservateur Littéraire*, Paris, Le Normand, Pichard, Pélicier, Porthieu, 1819–1820, 8vo, in thirty livraisons, forming three volumes." This review, which has become excessively rare, was founded by Eugène and Victor Hugo, and chiefly written by Victor; their brother Abel, the eldest of the family, also wrote some articles in the third volume. The other collaborators are now well forgotten, with the exception of Alfred de Vigny, of Émile Deschamps, of Alexandre Soumet (these last two are stars of the smallest magnitude). Victor Hugo was only seventeen years old when he began to write. There are in the *Conservateur* twenty-one articles signed V. These articles are critical essays on the 'Sicilian Vespers' of Casimir Delavigne, on Lamartine's 'Méditations,' on Walter Scott's 'Ivanhoe,' on Moore's 'Lalla Rookh,' on Madame Desbordes-Valmore's 'Poésies,'—on many other works, poetical and historical, which have lost their importance. Each number of the *Conservateur* opened with a few pages of poetry, and these the founders regarded as the most important of their work. Victor Hugo had this department to himself, but the poet of 1819 was very unlike the poet of the following years. Victor Hugo has, nevertheless, introduced seven of the poetical fragments of the *Conservateur* in the successive editions of his 'Odes'; he has left ten other poems buried in the *Conservateur*, thinking them probably unworthy of himself. These ten "péchés de jeunesse" are political satires, translations from the Latin, and various poems. The political satires have for their titles "L'Enrôleur politique" (signed V. M. Hugo), "Épître à Brutus," "Les Vous et les Tu" (signed Aristide). The various poems are entitled "L'Avarice et l'Envie: Conte" (signed D'Auverney*); "Les derniers Bardes" (signed V. M. Hugo); "Ce que j'aime, vers faits à un dessert" (signed D'Auverney); "Le jeune Banni, Raymond à Emma," an elegy (signed D'Auverney); "Les Deux Âges," idyl (signed V. M. Hugo). The translations from the Latin, chiefly of the 'Æneid,' are all signed D'Auverney.

The novel of 'Bug-Jargal' appeared without a signature in the second volume of the *Conservateur*. It was composed in 1818, and was Victor Hugo's first work. He made many changes in it in the edition of it which came out in 1826 ('Bug-Jargal, par l'auteur de Han d'Islande.' Paris: Urbain Canel. 1826. 1 vol. 18mo), with a drawing by Deveria representing "Hadibrah cherchant à entraîner Léopold d'Auverney avec lui dans l'abîme." Victor Hugo afterwards collected many of his first prose articles in the *Conservateur*, under the title of 'Journal des idées, des opinions et des lectures d'un jeune Jacobite.' This 'Journal' formed the first part of a work, 'Littérature et philosophie mêlées' (1834), in two volumes, published by Renduel, in what is called the first "collective" edition of his writings. Is it worth while to mention 'Le Télégraphe,' a satire of a few pages published in 1819 by Delaunay; 'Le Génie, ode à M. de Châteaubriand, par Victor-Marie Hugo' (1821)? 'Buonaparte, ode' (1822) is better known, as well as the 'Ode sur la naissance de S. A. R. Monseigneur le Duc de Bordeaux, suivie d'une ode sur la mort de S. A. R. Charles Ferdinand d'Artois, duc de Berry, fils de France, par Victor-Marie Hugo, de l'Académie des Jeux Floraux' (1822). This ode was read on the 3d of May at a sitting of the "Société des

* Auverney is a village near Chateaubriant, where the mother of Victor Hugo had a small estate.

Bonnes Lettres," presided over by Viscount Chateaubriand. Victor Hugo was then a Jacobite, as he had called himself in the *Conservateur*. It was his first manner.

In this same year, 1822, appeared a small 18mo volume, now very rare, entitled 'Odes et poésies diverses, par Victor M. Hugo' (Paris: Pélicier, place du Palais Royal). It was offered to King Louis XVIII., who opened it and said: "C'est mal fagoté." The paper was grey and bad, the types were thin and worn out. Louis XVIII. was very hard on the modest little volume, which had in its preface these lines: "There are two intentions in the publication of this book—one political, one literary; but in the author's conception the former is the consequence of the latter, as the history of men offers nothing poetical if it is not judged from the height of monarchical ideas and of religious belief." *Quantum mutatus ab illo!*

The novel 'Han d'Islande' appeared in 1823. It was published by Persan, a ruined marquis turned bookseller. It was not signed by Victor Hugo, and the publisher could not pay the author; the paper of the four 12mo volumes is miserable, and the types are what we call "têtes de clous." Victor Hugo had a quarrel with Persan, and they exchanged letters in the papers called *L'Éclair* and *Le Miroir*. Persan pretended that he had still five hundred copies unsold of 'Han d'Islande,' the half of the original edition, when Hugo, who had not been paid, announced a second edition. Persan had published the second edition of the 'Odes,' which is now very rare—'Odes, par Victor M. Hugo; seconde édition, augmentée de deux odes nouvelles.' Two years afterward appeared the 'Nouvelles Odes, par Victor M. Hugo,' having Ladvocat's imprint, and a frontispiece by Deveria, "the Sylph." Ladvocat published the third edition of the 'Odes' in 1829, with a frontispiece by Deveria, "the Bat." One day, says the author of 'Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie,' Victor brought to his betrothed a paper well pinned and tied. She thought there was in it a precious flower, and opened it cautiously: a bat came out of it. She was much frightened, and only forgave the poet when she read on the paper the ode on the bat. This ode is one of the first in which the true Romantic spirit is shown, a spirit which cannot be well defined, but which became so singularly apparent in the following 'Odes et Ballades.'

Victor Hugo was still a Jacobite, and in 1825 he published at the "Imprimerie royale" an ode on the coronation of Charles X., full of royalist enthusiasm. The epigraph of this poem is:

"Os superbum conticescat;
Simplex fides acquiescat
Dei magisterio."

This ode is now one of the rarest of his productions. In 1826 appeared the 'Odes et Ballades' (Ladvocat). The frontispiece by Deveria is very characteristic of the times. It represents a sailor in a boat tossed by a tempestuous sea. This sailor contemplates Napoleon standing on the rock of St. Helena, dressed in the legendary *redingote*, with the "petit chapeau." The Bonapartist vein, which was now showing itself under the Jacobite surface, is even more apparent in 'La Colonne de la Place Vendôme,' published in 1827. The poet was approaching what may be called his poetical zenith, and he became very sensitive. Napoleon struck a chord, the Greeks struck another; and in 1829 he published, through Gosselin & Bossange, 'Les Orientales,' first edition, 8vo. The frontispiece presents a "clair de lune," with a young woman in oriental dress looking at the moon, and on the front page there is a coarse wood engraving representing "the Djinns." The 'Orientales' are perhaps the most extraordinary poetical effort in all our modern literature; all the old traditions are lost; the Victor Hugo who was in a modified form still an imitator in his first poems, is now himself. The 'Orientales' are a divination; they not only speak of the East, they are the East, full of fanaticism, of heroism, of cruelty, of passion, of sun. Even now I cannot read them without having a sort of physical sensation; they are warm, they make my blood run quicker. The poetical form, the rhythm, the wild play of passion, are all admirable. The language is marvellous in its richness; the novelty of the images is almost amazing. It seems as if the poet had drawn a veil from our eyes, or shown us nature in a new and more splendid form. This new literature was called Romantic, in contradistinction to the Classic; but nothing can be more classic than some of the 'Orientales,' if you understand by the term a form which is in such perfect harmony with the thought that you feel in it something definitive. In the old poets, in Corneille, in Racine especially, you meet occasionally with expressions and images which seem borrowed from the Romantics. Can anything be more Romantic than "Cette obscure clarté qui tombe des étoiles" ('Le Cid')? Can there anything be more classic than the complaints of the "captive"?

"Si je n'étais captive
J'aimerais ce pays,
Et cette mer plaintive
Et ces champs de maïs;
Et ces astres sans nombre,
Si le long du mur sombre
N'étincelait dans l'ombre
Le sabre des spahis."

Has the music of poetry ever found anything more melodious than the end of the same piece?

"Mais surtout, quand la brise
Me touche en voltigeant,
La nuit, j'aime être assise,
Être assise en songeant;
L'œil sur la mer profonde,
Tandis que, pâle et blonde,
La lune ouvre dans l'onde
Son éventail d'argent."

Can we wonder if such verses were received with the warmest enthusiasm, if the poetry of the 'Odes et Ballades' and of the 'Orientales' seemed like a new spring, like the flowering of a divine mind?

Strangely enough, what I may be allowed to call the monstrous side of the genius of Victor Hugo was developing at the same time as the charming and the beautiful side. In this same year, 1829, when the 'Orientales' were published, appeared 'Le Dernier Jour d'un Condamné.' This gloomy, awful, monstrous analysis of a convict appeared first anonymously. It seems as if the author of the 'Orientales,' living in the rays of Olympus, was ashamed to enter into the dark cell of the convict. In the 'Orientales' and in 'Le Dernier Jour d'un Condamné' we have already all Victor Hugo—the painter, who cares only for surface and for light, and the minister of the soul, who delights in the dark abysses of conscience; the light-hearted poet and the dismal humanitarian; the lover of beauty for the sake of beauty, and the conscious admirer, or rather advocate, of ugliness, of crime, of monsters. The two sides of his nature will from this year 1829 go on developing themselves simultaneously and almost independently; and in the poetical drama this double nature will find a single expression. "Hernani" and "Ruy Blas" represent, in the highest form, the double character of Hugo's genius; the two deities of good and evil of the Persian mythology. Ormuzd and Ahriman are united in this new dramatic school in a manner unknown to the ancient dramatists.

Correspondence.

THE ARISTOCRACY OF OFFICE-HOLDERS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The most interesting feature of your suggestion respecting the aristocracy of office-holders is the introduction of an appeal to experience instead of *à priori* theory in discussing a political question. The best way to determine whether permanence in office will make an office-holder indifferent to public opinion, and discourteous in his treatment of those with whom he comes into contact, is to investigate whether this is really the case where persons do actually hold their offices in permanence. You allude to several instances of this sort, but not to one which is well known to all who have occasion to transact public business—namely, that of officers of the Army and Navy. All the bureaus and many of the subordinate offices in the War and Navy Departments are presided over by men whose tenure is more permanent than any yet proposed for the civil service. On the theory of those opposed to civil-service reform these men ought to be the least attentive to the requirements of the public and the least courteous in their demeanor to those who have occasion to meet them. It is hardly necessary to state that such is not the case. N.

Washington, Dec. 24, 1880.

INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In my communication of last week upon International Copyright I ought, perhaps, to have rendered it clearer than I did that my remonstrances against the "assumptions of deliberate and predetermined bad faith" were intended for Mr. Reade and not for the *Nation*. The quotations made from the two sources would, I thought, have sufficiently enabled you to apportion my remarks between them.

At the same time allow me to express my regret that you should, in your comments upon my communication, continue to ridicule the efforts and impugn the motives of those whom I described as "honorable men . . . seeking honestly to adjust complicated and delicate relations in an untried field." As you repeat a former expression of "approval of the general scheme of copyright covered by the Harper treaty"; as that scheme differs in no essential principle of morals from the "Philadelphia copyright scheme"; as the principles involved in both have received the approbation of the leading authors of England and America, and of all the publishing houses here who favor international copyright, it is, to say the least, a little inconsistent, as well as unfortunate, that you should declare my calling all these gentlemen "honorable men," etc., "a little amusing." The settlement of the question heretofore has not been advanced by the similar exhibitions of lack of tact and lack of courtesy—or rather of justice—to which all those who have advocated a practical measure of international copyright have been exposed, and I am sorry to find the *Nation* inclined to continue the same objectless warfare.

I must protest, moreover, as utterly unfair, against your perverted use of

my phrase concerning "unauthorized republication," and your assertion that "in the publishers' interest, as Mr. Lea very frankly says, the thing most to be dreaded is the possibility of absolutely preventing 'unauthorized republication.'" Now, Mr. Lea said nothing of the kind, whether frankly or otherwise. He pointed out that, in the interest of authors other than those of pre-eminent reputation, it was desirable to prevent the publisher in the home country from surreptitiously securing both markets, and that this could only be accomplished by fixing a limit after which "unauthorized republication" would be legal if the foreign copyright had not meanwhile been perfected by an authorized reprint. To wholly prohibit "unauthorized republication" without providing that authorized republication shall take place within a specified time, is simply to surrender both markets to the home publisher in the case of little-known authors. All this was clearly enough set forth in my previous communication, and to represent me as urging it "as if the very object of the bill were to secure the privilege of unauthorized (pirated) republication," is simply a specimen of perfectly immoral dialectics.

The theory of the "Harper treaty," of which you approve, and of the "Philadelphia bill," of which you seem to disapprove, is that each country shall manufacture its own books, and this theory is accepted on all hands except by the London publishers, who appear to desire no international copyright that shall not confer upon them a monopoly of both markets. This theory can only be reduced to practice by imposing a limit of time within which the authorized republication must appear. What that limit ought to be is a question about which people may honestly differ without having their motives impugned after the fashion of the *Nation* and of Mr. Charles Reade. No limit can be so adjusted as accurately to suit each and every case. You assert that sixty or ninety days would be a hardship to the "unknown author." I consider that I have already proved that it would be a benefit to the "unknown author," but if in this I be mistaken, I add that the "unknown author" is not the chief factor in the problem, to which all the rest should be subordinated; that but a small percentage of the voluminous works of the "unknown author" receive, in the absence of copyright, the compliment of even "unauthorized republication," and that the "unknown author" is usually content if his early efforts can reach the public without expense to himself, counting upon the reputation which he expects from them, and the profits to be derived hereafter from that reputation. It is so rare for the "unknown author" to develop into a Herbert Spencer that the use of that gentleman's name by you as an illustration is hardly justifiable, but it leads me to suggest that if Herbert Spencer's early works had been protected by international copyright without limit of time, it is not likely that they would have been reprinted at all, and that the growth of his reputation, which I believe was considerably stimulated by the American circulation of his books, would have been correspondingly retarded.

As regards the comparative merits of the "bill" and the "treaty" methods of reaching the objects sought for, I may add to my previous remarks that I am a sufficiently strict constructionist to believe that what is specifically assigned to Congress by the Constitution should be strictly confined to Congressional action. I am opposed, as a general principle, to legislation by the Executive, and as the subject of copyright is among those specially enumerated in the Constitution as delegated to Congress, it seems to me one in which settlement by treaty is peculiarly improper. Besides this, the secrecy under which, by law or usage, all diplomatic negotiations are carried on, is a very serious drawback to the arrangement by diplomacy of questions such as this, with which the diplomats have no practical familiarity—nor, for the matter of that, the Senators appealed to for ratification—while those who could advise or guide them are, by law or usage, kept sedulously aloof, and even the ubiquitous newspaper reporter is not allowed to keep the public informed of what is going on. The "Harper treaty" may be laid in a very satisfactory shape before Sir Edward Thornton and Mr. Evarts, but who knows what its shape may be when it shall come before the Senate? Who, in fact, will have a right to know until it is proclaimed as the law of two hemispheres, to be obeyed by English subject and American citizen? This is not a mode of legislation which befits a free country, and I, for one, protest against it.

Before this communication can appear I expect to be at sea, beyond the reach of the *Nation* for some months, so that you will have the privilege of the last word. Use that advantage, I pray you, without abusing it; and believe, at least for once, that I speak truth when I say that I regard the interest of authors and publishers as identical in all general questions of legislation, however antagonistic and competitive they may be in specific and individual transactions. Whatever legislation benefits one class will, in the long run, benefit the other; and while I would, with you, invite the closest scrutiny of authors into all measures proposed by publishers affecting their common interests, I would not, with you, do so in a spirit of unworthy suspicion on either side.—Very respectfully,

HENRY C. LEA.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 25, 1880.

[Mr. Lea has by this time sailed on a yachting voyage for the restoration of his health, which has been impaired by labors the value of which to literature as well as to the country can hardly be rated too highly. We therefore offer him the highest mark of editorial esteem and good wishes by letting *him* have the last word.—ED. NATION.]

THE GERMAN PRESS ON AMERICA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your Berlin correspondent makes but too true a remark when, in his November correspondence (in No. 804 of the *Nation*), he says that "the editors [of the German papers] are quite ignorant of American constitutional and political history, that they do not even look into the written Constitution, and consequently have no idea how the election takes place, how and when the result is ascertained or the President officially declared elected." To this pungent remark permit me to give you some curious illustrations, taken from the foremost German newspaper, the *Koelnische Zeitung*, a weekly issue of which, dated Nov. 5, is before me at this writing. In this number an editorial treats of the Presidential election in the United States, and tells its readers that the electoral ballots are *opened* by the *Congress* and that the President-elect enters upon the duties of his office on the *first* of March! If poor Tilden had had this editor for an expounder of our Constitution he would surely have been the happy or unhappy inmate of the White House during the last four years. Further, the article in question suggests that the Democrats do not expect to carry the election *this* year, but they do "build their hopes upon the extraordinarily large German-Irish immigration of *this* year, which will, of course, be able to turn the scale in the Presidential election of 1884." The editor of the *Koelnische* must certainly have a strong belief in the coffee-pot naturalization power of Mr. Senator Wallace. He is also of the opinion that the campaign this time was exclusively a party, not a personal question, as in 1876! But he thinks there is something else, "that sounds a little curious for America and, according to current views, would be far more in place in a military republic, like France. Hancock and Garfield"—I translate verbally—"are both generals, but as if this show of military glory were not enough, there stands behind each of them, as the first star of the party, a still higher military authority—behind Garfield Grant, behind Hancock McClellan. This military side is the most prominent peculiarity of the present Presidential election"!

Sapienti sat. If the leading newspaper of Germany, which has a regular correspondent in New York, displays such ridiculous ignorance of American politics, what can be expected of the smaller fry of German papers, which look upon Americans as nothing better than Indianized barbarians?

Your correspondent, however, ascribes this ignorance to an alleged lack of able correspondents on this side of the ocean, because the immigrants of '48 are dying out or returning to the old Fatherland. It is a mistaken idea (though largely entertained in Germany, and with a certain kind of infallibility) that all the wisdom of German-Americans is confined to the exiled revolutionists of '48. But the truth is that there has never before been such a large influx of educated Germans as during the last decade. They have also tried to serve the German press. In fact, it is almost their first business here to correspond for one or other German paper. But they invariably drop such correspondence after a short time, for two reasons: first, it does not give them steady enough employment, as on an average only a monthly letter is required. Consequently they turn to other pursuits, which, in most cases, take them entirely out of the field of journalism. And, secondly, they become in the course of time too good Americans to be further available as correspondents for the German "reptile-press." It is not nor can it be the policy of a servile press to make its readers too well acquainted with the advantages of a republican form of government, which guarantees every individual the utmost freedom and equality. To blackguard our institutions is what they expect of their correspondents. It has therefore become a general experience that whenever a German savant has crossed the ocean to milk his countrymen here, the first thing he does when he returns home is to libel America in general and the German-Americans in particular. The latest exhibition of this kind has been that made by Mr. Bodenstedt, whose observations on this country, after having been feasted here to the full extent of his poetical merits, are almost entirely concentrated in ridicule of our large—spittoons!

I. S. E.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Dec. 17, 1880.

REORGANIZATION OF THE SUPREME COURT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I trust that in the discussion now flagrant in your columns concerning the proposed relief of the Supreme Court one anomaly in our judicial system which has not yet been alluded to will not be wholly lost sight of. This anomaly is the co-existence throughout the Union of two courts of first instance, held for the most part by the same judge, and yet in some matters subordinated the one to the other, so that the same magistrate, sitting to-day

in the same room where he sat last week, is called upon to review the alleged errors of his judicial action on the former occasion. The State of New York, for example, is divided into three districts. In each district there is a District and a Circuit Court, each having wholly distinct original jurisdiction. Every suit for the infringement of a patent must be brought in the Circuit Court; every libel in admiralty must be filed in the District Court; and so eighteen paragraphs of the Revised Statutes define the classes of cases of which the latter courts take jurisdiction, and twenty paragraphs declare the jurisdiction of the former.

Now, how are these courts constituted? Every State is at least one judicial district; and as several States are divided (and divided with much less regard to the requirements of litigants than to the successful urgency of some Senator or Representative at the time of the division), there are fifty-eight districts in the thirty-eight States. Each district has its district judge who alone (except when another district judge is called in upon some exigency) can hold its District Court. Each district has also its Circuit Court. But the Circuit Court is held either by any two, or any *one*, of these three judges—the district judge for the district, the circuit judge for the circuit, and the justice of the Supreme Court assigned to the circuit; the whole country being divided into nine circuits, each having a circuit judge, and the nine justices of the Supreme Court being distributed among them by assignment of the Chief-Justice. As matters of actual practice, I think it is but seldom that the justice of the Supreme Court descends from his Olympian heights to hold a Circuit Court, and then too often as a *Deus ex machinâ* for some fancied exigency, as when Mr. Justice Hunt came to Canandaigua to *order* a verdict of conviction of Susan B. Anthony for illegal voting. It is hardly more often that two of the three are seen together on the bench, for the judicial economy cannot afford such an expenditure of material. And in most districts, I venture to affirm, the Circuit Court is held more days by the district judge alone than in any other way.

Now, I submit that when the congestion of the Supreme Court docket is the subject of a clinical consultation, the doctors should not overlook the abnormal condition of the extremities in their anxiety for the brain and heart, lest they "heal the hurt" but "slightly." No one can pretend that the system which I have described is anything better than an absurd anomaly, utterly unfitted for the needs of our existing communities; and it would be unfortunate if the present opportunity for substituting for it a reasonably convenient and adequate system should be wholly lost.

In such a system, too, it is thought by many lawyers who have had experience of intermediate appellate courts that they might well have a place. No New York lawyer would think for an instant of dispensing with that primary review of the courts of first instance which in that State is always interposed before the Court of Appeals is invoked. Not only does it operate to satisfy litigants, in innumerable instances, that further litigation is hopeless, but it greatly lightens and shortens the labors of the ultimate court, in many of the cases which actually go there, by narrowing the contention to the really vital questions. Nor does any one in that State doubt that, if that barrier were removed, the Court of Appeals, which is now coping successfully with a greater annual number of appeals than have utterly overslaughed the Supreme Court of the United States, would instantly and hopelessly succumb.

This comparison indicates, too, another radical reform which the federal judicial system demands, and that is that the justices of the Supreme Court shall be relieved of all other than appellate work. They are two more in number than the judges of the New York court; they are not less competent for their proper functions; the questions submitted for their action are not more various or difficult than those passed upon by the other court, yet they are unable to dispose of a smaller number of appeals than the State court decides, upon the whole, with eminent honor to itself and satisfaction to litigants. The last docket of the Supreme Court shows, of cases brought up in 1878, 282; in 1879, 326. The Court of Appeals calendar shows, of cases brought up in 1879, 386; of *remanets* from former years, 41; it received during the year very numerous appeals from orders as well as from judgments in cases having a preference, all of which were entitled to early hearing; and the court has adjourned before the day fixed, having heard every cause upon its calendar that was in readiness. It is very certain that this could not have been done if the members of that court had been compelled to spend part of the year in holding circuits in different parts of the State, from Essex to Chautauqua, nor, it may added, if they had been in the habit of devoting their Monday sessions to the reading out of their own opinions (which the bar could perfectly well get in printing from the reporter), instead of hearing the argument of two or three more causes.

Without taking more of your space (I am already asking for more than I intended) to support the suggestions offered, I submit them as a crude but earnest contribution to the discussion.

1. Abolish all original jurisdiction of the Circuit Courts; give the District Courts universal jurisdiction in the first instance, whether of actions originally brought in federal courts or removed from State courts; increase the number of districts, or of judges in each district, until they shall be indisputably adequate to the business; or establish additional courts for special subjects, as admiralty courts in the great maritime and lake ports, and patent courts in the principal cities.

2. Let there be a Circuit Court in each circuit, of two or three judges, sitting by turns in the several districts, having only revisory power. But give the right of review in this court to *every* litigant, civil or criminal, and without regard to the amount in controversy, subject only to such moderate penalties by way of costs as shall discourage frivolous appeals.

3. Relieve the Supreme Court justices of all service except in that court. Allow the right of review of the Circuit Courts down to the limit of $2,500, as well as in every case where there has been a dissent in that court, and in such constitutional or certified cases as might be provided for.

4. Establish such temporary tribunal as could dispose of the existing docket of the Supreme Court, and give the new organization a chance to "start fair."

5. Pay the judges as much as the bailiffs of their courts get; it would be extravagant to pay them the income of their clerks! But give the Supreme Court justices $12,000; the Circuit, $8,000; the District, $6,000. And don't shirk the first duty a government owes to its citizens—that of establishing private rights and determining private controversies in the surest and swiftest manner—on the ground that it will cost too much. T. B.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Dec. 25, 1880.

THE LIBRARY QUESTION IN CONGRESS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: During the last seventeen years the United States has been accumulating material for a National Library, the bulk of which, under a well-matured policy, is increasing in an annually advancing ratio. Should this policy be sustained for another equal period—and no disposition to abandon it is yet apparent—the nation will possess a larger mass of literary material than is now held by any library in the world.

The collection is yet, theoretically, but a development of the reference library provided in the Capitol for the two Houses of Congress and the Supreme Court. Mr. Spofford, the librarian, is recognized to be so signally fitted for his position as to be independent of the fluctuations of parties, and his judgment in all matters of the Library is generally accepted as decisive. Yet it is nine years since he reported the space now as then given to the collection to be inadequate for it. Since then the number of books on his hands has considerably more than doubled. The mass of pamphlets, maps, engravings, and other materials is increasing more rapidly than that of books, and space for anything like an orderly, safe, and convenient disposition of the collection in the Capitol has long since been exhausted. The larger part of the rooms assigned to the Library are used simply for storage, books being stacked in them like bricks from floor to ceiling, or packed in bins. Much of the unbound material is thus stowed away in the cellars of the Capitol. Not half the present stock in hand is available for reference. The condition of things was last year spoken of by Senator Voorhees as "a shame and reproach to the Government." It is certain that, after orders shall have been given for the purpose, it will be years before it can be substantially remedied. But though Mr. Spofford has every succeeding year implored Congress to act, the first step toward relief has yet to be taken.

But, after all, so much will be dependent upon the first step, and it is so important that it shall not be a false step, that this delay, so far as it means deliberation and not neglect, is a matter for congratulation rather than regret. The debates on the subject in Congress have been direct and sincere; no unworthy purpose has been apparent in them, and they have had the legitimate result of honest debate in the gradual submergence of hasty, crude, and short-sighted notions and the spread of sound convictions. The most formidable stumbling-block has been the impression, naturally fixed by the circumstances under which members of Congress have chiefly acquired their knowledge of the Library, that the entire collection is an adjunct of the halls of legislation, from which has followed the conviction that if the Capitol is inadequate to contain it, the Capitol must be enlarged. Several schemes for this purpose have consequently been proposed and much time has been given to a discussion of their several merits. The opinion of experts, both bibliothecal and architectural, has constantly tended strongly to the conclusion that anything that could be done in this respect, not of a simply temporizing and futile character, would be obtained only at unjustifiable cost and by unwarranted sacrifices.

The conclusion seems to have been reached by the present Congress, at its last session, that a distinct National Library building is a necessity; that it must be so planned and placed as to stand well clear of all other buildings, must be in some degree protected by distance from street noises, and must admit of enlargement by the addition of successive sections as the accumulation of material increases.

At the close of the session a joint committee was appointed, with directions to consider and report upon the questions of site and of plan. Three

plans have been prepared by architects selected by the committee and studying the problem under its instructions, and it is understood that one of these will be recommended for adoption by Congress soon after the holiday recess. The question of site has been narrowed to a choice between two positions, one being the nearest private property to the Capitol on the east, with a face toward the present grounds on the carriage front of the Capitol, the other a public square, owned by the Government, lying about midway between the Capitol and that part of the city where at present most members of Congress and visitors have their lodgings. Each has advantages sufficient to secure strong partisanship, but neither such certain, permanent superiority on the whole over the other that a difference of opinion as to which is the better should be allowed to prevent a conclusion from being reached this winter. Failing this result, the matter will go over to a new House, with a large proportion of members fresh to the subject. This will be an indefinite postponement of it, and an indefinite postponement at this stage is equivalent to an order abolishing the Library of Congress for most practical purposes, and substituting for it at an early day a sumptuous warehouse for the storage in bulk of a great, idle, heterogeneous mass of printed paper. F. L. O.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22, 1880.

THAT "UNOFFICIAL" REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN FRAUD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of December 2, I called attention to a card headed,

"*From a Pamphlet issued by*
"THE FREE-TRADE CLUB OF LONDON,"

as having been issued from Republican headquarters in New York City and Brooklyn, and characterized the same as a forgery, which it was. In the *Nation* of December 23 Mr. S. W. Dorsey denies that any such card "was ever written, issued, or circulated by the Republican National Committee, or by the State or any local committee, in great or small numbers." And he adds further:

"I should be glad to have Mr. Wells, who so swiftly denounces this card as a forgery, and holds the Republican National Committee responsible for its issuance and circulation, tell us who is responsible for the inexcusable blunder he is guilty of, in making so serious a charge without the slightest foundation in fact."

I am most happy to give Mr. Dorsey at once the information on which I based what he is pleased to term my "inexcusable blunder." The card in question was sent to me, in the first instance, by a young gentleman of Brooklyn the day after election without comment. Seeing at once that the publication was untrue and a forgery, I immediately wrote for information concerning its origin, and received in reply the statement that my correspondent obtained the card himself at the rooms of the Republican headquarters in Brooklyn, and also a package containing numerous duplicates of the same card, and of various other cards of similar character, printed in colors, and all obtained at the same place. These other cards, entitled "Hullo, there! What's that you say?" "Here we are again," "Keep this in your mind," and the like, although not open to the charge of being forgeries, are to that of ridiculous untruth, as is shown by the following quotations from one of them:

"The Democratic party will by their free-trade policy empty your workshop and your pocket, break up your happy home, and fill your poorhouse."

"The Republican party will protect your employer, so that he can sell his goods and keep you at steady work, with good wages."

And this from another, addressed to "Workingman":

"KEEP THIS IN YOUR MIND, AND DON'T YOU FORGET IT.

"Republican protection means plenty of work, with good wages, and empty poorhouses.

"Democratic free trade means closed workshops, starvation wages, and crowded poorhouses."

Another card contained in parallel columns comparisons of the wages received by bakers, blacksmiths, bricklayers, carpenters, joiners, laborers, porters, plasterers, painters, shoemakers, and plumbers in Europe and the United States, and attributed the wage difference in favor of these occupations in the latter country to the agency of our protective tariff, when the merest tyro in economic studies knows that these occupations are not and cannot be protected except by imposing restrictions on the importation of individual laborers, porters, bricklayers, etc. I refer to these other cards, since they were circulated with the card of which Mr. Dorsey knows nothing, and embody internal evidence almost amounting to demonstration that all were the work of one and the same agency, and emanated from a common source.

My Brooklyn correspondent further informed me that on the day after election all of these cards were strewn in abundance, with other campaign documents, on the floor of the Republican Committee-room in that city, and could be picked up in quantity. A day or two afterwards I showed the card in controversy to a leading publisher (and a Republican) in New York, when he remarked: "Oh! yes; I know about it. I sent one of my clerks to the Republican headquarters for documents relating to the tariff proper for distribution among workmen, and received in return a package of these same cards," at the same time taking from a shelf in his counting-room all the cards I have referred to, including several duplicates of "The Free-Trade Club of London" card. Before the publication of my communication of December 2, I was also assured by a gentleman holding a well-known public position in New York City that he was cognizant of the circulation of these cards by Republicans, and had contemplated writing to the press on the subject.

The names of the several persons I have referred to as the sources of my information I have communicated to the editor of the *Nation*, and if Mr. Dorsey desires to have an investigation I am ready to co-operate with him. I also send duplicates of the cards mentioned with this communication to the office of the *Nation*, where they can doubtless be inspected by those who desire to do so.

When counterfeit money in considerable quantities is traced in two separate instances, by separate witnesses, to the private apartments of one and the same person and into the custody of his agents, it may not be wholly justifiable to charge knowledge of and participation in felony on such person; but, at the same time, the individual who makes public the facts in question is not usually regarded as having laid himself open to the charge of being "guilty of an inexcusable blunder" in so doing, and as having "not the slightest foundation in fact" for his statements.

DAVID A. WELLS.

NORWICH, December 27, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Dorsey goes too far in his criticism of Mr. Wells's letter, published in your issue of December 2. The card which furnished Mr. Wells with his text, and of which I enclose a specimen, was freely distributed in Brooklyn from the rooms of the campaign committee on Pierrepont Street. When I visited the rooms I found a number of them side by side with other standard campaign documents, such as "The Tariff Question," "A Talk with Business Men," "Why the Mechanic and Laboring Man Should Vote the Republican Ticket," and others of like character. There is not the slightest doubt that this card was as freely circulated as the above-named documents, and was intended to play an important part in intimidating laboring men into voting the Republican ticket by placing the tariff question in a false light. Mr. Wells is perfectly justified in speaking of it as he did.

Respectfully, WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

BROOKLYN, 97 Clark Street, Dec. 22, 1880.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Senator Dorsey writes to the *Nation* of December 23 to say that no such cards as those denounced by Mr. Wells were issued by the Republican National Committee or from its headquarters, and there was, therefore, no foundation for Mr. Wells's statement concerning such distribution. The Senator is in error on this point, for copies of the card in question certainly were issued from the Republican headquarters. I was myself heartily interested in the success of the Republican ticket, and hearing from Democratic friends that these bogus cards were being distributed by the Republicans, I maintained that this distribution was doubtless carried on by certain manufacturers on their own responsibility, and that it was not likely the party committees had anything to do with so petty a piece of business. To convince my friends that such was the case, I sent a messenger a few days before the election to the headquarters of the Republican National Committee, requesting to have sent to me supplies of any cards they were distributing for campaign purposes. I received, among others, a batch of the card quoted by Mr. Wells, a copy of which I enclose herewith. My Democratic friends had the satisfaction in this instance of being in the right, and as this happened to them so seldom during the campaign I was obliged to forgive them. Requesting, as a matter of justice to Mr. Wells, the publication of this confirmation of his statement, I am, yours very truly,

GEO. HAVEN PUTNAM.

NEW YORK, December 28, 1880.

Notes.

ESTES & LAURIAT, Boston, have published an authorized edition of Madame De Witt's 'Monsieur Guizot in Private Life—1787–1874,' translated by M. C. M. Simpson. Our readers are already informed, through our Paris correspondence at the date of the original publication, of the character of this interesting work.——Ginn & Heath, Boston, have brought out ten of the twenty volumes of their "Harvard edition" of Shakspere, edited by

the Rev. H. N. Hudson, and most tastefully printed and bound. A less glossy paper is the only desideratum which we can indicate, and this can yet be supplied. By lamp-light the page will be somewhat trying to the eyes. The introductions and notes are commendably brief and unpedantic. The series will be completed within three months.——G. P. Putnam's Sons have added to their "Advanced Science Series" the "Practical Plane Geometry and Projection" of Mr. Henry Angel, of London, a work intended to conduct the student through the higher departments of mathematical drawing. It presupposes some acquaintance with the elements of geometry and a knowledge of the proper use of drawing instruments. An octavo volume of 351 pages contains the text, admirably illustrated with a great number of figures. A second volume, 4to, contains 81 plates too large for an 8vo page. The range of the work is very extensive, covering the courses of the Royal Military Academy, the Royal School of Mines, and, speaking generally, of the schools of engineering and art, and the number of examples for practice is unusually large.——A. C. Armstrong & Son have issued another edition of Dr. Doran's comprehensive historic-biographical 'Monarchs Retired from Business,' in two volumes. A similar work on 'Presidents Retired from Business' would be apt to find a ready sale at this time.——The Messrs. Appleton publish, as a companion volume to 'American Painters,' a work of the same size, printed from English plates and copiously illustrated by English wood-engravers, called 'British Painters.' The text is anonymous, and apparently by different hands, and, like the illustrations, of ordinary quality but satisfactory as exposition. The work begins with Turner and Constable, and ends with Frederick Walker and Frank Holl.——Lee & Shepard issue in holiday dress 'Home, Sweet Home', by John Howard Payne, illustrated with designs by Miss Humphreys, engraved by Andrew. They are in general prettily conceived, but occasionally executed with what, in the case of a less experienced designer, we should call ingenuousness.——The main attraction in the *American Art Review* for December is perhaps Mr. Cole's rendering of Wiertz's rather uninteresting "On se retrouve au ciel." The second paper on the Wiertz Museum at Brussels considers its fantastic contents temperately, with a wisdom which a print of "The Genius of War" plainly enough confirms. Mr. McLaughlin concludes his notes on artists of a Cincinnati origin, and a striking head engraved by Juengling after Strobridge deserves mention among its accompanying cuts. A reproduction of a portrait by Mr. Vinton may also be singled out from the remaining illustrations of the number as of special interest.——The Peabody Academy of Science, at Salem, announces that its Memoirs will be resumed at an early date, after a forced suspension for six years.——A memorial volume relating to the late Professor Benjamin Peirce will be published next month from the office of the *Harvard Register*. The *Register*, by the way, has an assured existence for another year. In the December number will be found biographical sketches, with portraits, of James Russell Lowell and Alexander Agassiz.——The current issue of the *Magazine of American History* contains miniature aquatint portraits of Governor George and Lady Clinton, from the original coppers of St. Mémin, a French artist who in the last century made a surprising number of crayon likenesses in this country, and was in the habit of "throwing in" with each one a reduced engraving. The *Magazine* now proposes to print from as many of these plates as are still preserved, and asks that they may be sent to the editorial rooms at No. 69 Bible House, New York.——A society for the encouragement and promotion of the study of Dante's works is in contemplation, and, if formed, Mr. Longfellow will accept the presidency. An annual assessment of five dollars will be the condition of membership. Some of the objects of the Society are "the obtaining a copy of Benvenuto da Imola's comment; the publication of a good collated comment on the 'Divina Commedia'; the translation into English of Dante's prose works," etc., etc. The secretary is Mr. John Woodbury, 2 Gray's, Cambridge.——Lectures on 'The Duties of Woman,' by Miss Frances Power Cobbe, will make a book to be published by George H. Ellis, Boston.——Drs. Fothergill and Wood's 'Food for the Invalid, the Convalescent, the Dyspeptic, and the Gouty' (Macmillan) meets a standing want. A concise introduction is followed by a goodly number of recipes which even the well may profit by.——The advance sheets of the forthcoming third volume of Von Holst's 'Constitutional History of the United States' have reached the American translator.——'Books and Reading for the Young,' a pamphlet reprint from a report of Mr. James H. Smart, Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Indiana, contains a number of lists of books fit for children by different hands, and otherwise will repay reading (Indianapolis).——Part XII. of Dr. Grove's 'Dictionary of Music and Musicians' (Macmillan) opens with Palestrina and ends with Plain Song. Passion Music and Piano-forte are the principal topics; Palestrina, Parepa-Rosa, Pasta, Patti, and Pergolesi the principal biographies.——Dr. Koolman's slow-moving 'Wörterbuch der Ostfriesischen Sprache' (Norden: Hermann Braams) is still, in its eleventh number, in the letter K.

—We called attention some months since to the incorporation of the New York Free Circulating Library, expressing the belief that notwithstanding its small beginnings it was destined to render important aid in the enlightenment of the poorer classes of this city. The first annual report of the Society has now been published and it shows that the work done by it is steadily increasing. The number of books given out has risen from 1,653 in April to 4,212 in October and 5,335 in November. The number of applicants for books has also increased from 712 in March to 3,117 on the first of this month. This growth is natural and spontaneous; no efforts of any kind have been made to force the library upon the attention of the class upon which it relies for support, the managers preferring to have the demand for books itself determine the supply. The most remarkable discovery connected with the enterprise thus far has been the fact that the class inclined to make use of a circulating library of this kind in New York is entirely honest; only two volumes were lost between March 1 and November 1 out of 22,558 given out. The expenses have been kept down to the lowest possible limit; but it is found that about $5,000 annually are needed for the purpose of maintaining it, and the managers are desirous that it should be placed upon a permanent basis. For this purpose the managers ask that contributions be sent to the Treasurer, Hon. L. P. Morton, at 25 Nassau Street. There ought to be no difficulty in raising a fund of $100,000, or even a larger one, for this purpose. There are several reasons why an appeal from the managers of the Free Circulating Library should be received with more than ordinary consideration from persons able to contribute to the support of public objects of this sort. It is the only free circulating library in the city, all the others being restricted to certain limited classes, or not being free; it is in the hands of a very excellent board of managers, and from the very fact that it extends its sphere of operations only as the demand for books presses upon it, there can be no doubt that its continually increasing circulation amply proves the wisdom and necessity of its foundation. It is entirely non-sectarian and has no connection with or dependence upon city politics. Besides all this it has not been set on foot, as so many libraries and other institutions are, partly for a public object, and partly for the honor and glory of the founder; but its existence is solely due to the unselfish benevolence of managers who have nothing but the interest of the experiment to promote.

—A final clearance of the children's books on our table will be made when we have noticed Mrs. Laura E. Richards's 'Five Little Mice in a Mouse-Trap,' and Mr. Hezekiah Butterworth's 'Zig-Zag Journeys in Classic Lands,' both published by Estes & Lauriat, Boston; and Mr. John D. Champlin's 'Young Folks' Cyclopædia of Persons and Places,' published by Henry Holt & Co. The first is a voluble and slightly bewildering performance, utterly formless, and apparently made to fit the illustrations. We cannot congratulate the child who is set to read it. Equally defective in form is the 'Zig-Zag Journeys,' of which the intent is at least serious, and which contains a good deal of information and entertainment not remotely suggested by the full title. Who, for example, would expect to find "in classic lands" a negro story about a possum, or a homily on smuggling in Boston harbor, or instruction in legerdemain, or a comic translation of the Dido episode in the 'Æneid'? Mr. Butterworth threatens to go on, but there are still some corners of the earth which ought to be spared this treatment. Mr. Champlin's Cyclopædia is supplementary to the same compiler's useful 'Cyclopædia of Common Things,' which it considerably exceeds in bulk. In spite of its limitation to persons and places, it admits two historical titles—Seven Years' War and Thirty Years' War—and perhaps by way of compensation omits Westphalia. Like the companion volume, it is deficient in cross-references. The greatest number are from the tribal names to the general article on American Indians, but Mr. Champlin is not consistent. From Seven Pines we are referred to Chickahominy, but there is no Pittsburgh Landing with a reference to Shiloh. "George Sand, see Dudevant" calls for "George Eliot, see Evans," but in the latter case the pseudonym takes precedence. Cognizance is purposely taken of a certain number of writers of books for children, though so prolific a story-teller as the late W. H. G. Kingston is overlooked. The selection is almost equivalent to a literary judgment, and cannot be very highly approved. Some attention to educators might have been looked for under the circumstances, but no place was reserved for Horace Mann, S. G. Howe, Froebel, Pestalozzi, or even Locke, while Rousseau (whose career is wretchedly summed up) is dismissed without a word as to his epoch-making 'Émile.' There is an obvious endeavor to lay stress on the boyhood of celebrated persons, with, of course, not seldom a very disproportionate effect. Perhaps the worst instance is in the case of Dickens. On the other hand, Farragut's characteristic exploit on board the *Phœbe* in the harbor of Valparaiso, in 1814, is suffered to go to waste.

—The weakness of the American portion is hardest to excuse. The biographies of the Presidents are commonly very bald, without so much as the significant events of their administrations; for instance, Mr. Champlin is silent about Jackson's suppression of nullification. But again, to say, however truly, of Jackson that he was "one of the most popular of all our Presidents" is nearly equivalent to holding him up as an example. It is, of course, a nice question how far the professional neutrality of cyclopædists

should be departed from here, but it is remarkable how completely the reformers of the present century are ignored. Take the abolition agitation, for instance—not one of its prominent leaders is mentioned; nor is John Brown described for the benefit of the rising generation, anxious to learn *why* "his soul's marching on." Sumner is recognized, but not Josiah Quincy; and Caleb Cushing is likewise left out in the cold. Among orators Edward Everett and Wendell Phillips are both missing. Mrs. Stowe is favored above her father or any of her brothers. Mrs. Lydia Maria Child is passed over, perhaps to make room for Mrs. Harriet Prescott Spofford. Heredity is properly illustrated by admitting four generations of Adamses, but Alexander Agassiz is not alluded to in connection with his distinguished father, though much inferior naturalists are remembered. Dr. F. V. Hayden is not offset by Clarence King or J. D. Whitney—to mention no others. Graham Bell is excluded, while Edison is credited with improvements of the telephone. Charlotte Cushman has the stage pretty much to herself, neither Forrest nor the Booths nor Joseph Jefferson being "called." A singular liberality is shown towards artists, especially the living, but neither the sculptor Crawford nor the painter-engraver Durand has been retained in Mr. Champlin's drag-net.

—The authorship of the article on "London Theatres" in the January *Scribner* is anonymous, and for that reason we withhold a conjecture in regard to it on which we should be willing to stake our reputation for discernment. The style is much above that in which theatrical gossip and criticism are generally clothed, and it would require a long residence in the British metropolis to acquire for one's self half the information conveyed by this article. Mr. Mayhew's "In Albania with the Ghegs" is unsubstantial in comparison with his previous paper on Montenegro, and does not proceed from a rich or profound experience. The second of the series called "Glimpses of Parisian Art," on the contrary, maintains its interest, and is still abundantly illustrated autographically. The Life of Millet is concluded, being carried on from the point at which the late Alfred Sensier dropped it by Paul Mantz. As striking as anything in it is the sentence from a letter of 1863, in which the painter says: "The reading of Theocritus proves to me that one is never so Greek as in painting naïvely one's own impressions, no matter where they were received; and Burns proves it also." Millet had just begun to make the acquaintance of these two poets, the former of whom he undertook to translate. Dr. Charles Robinson's "The Bible Society and the New Revision" opens up some interesting questions. For example: If the revised version of the New Testament is to be a monopoly of British manufacture, would it not be "nobly jealous" in our publishers and Bible and Tract Societies to deny the claim of "moral copyright" in this case; and would it not be "exceedingly foolish" in our cheap "libraries" not to "catch up the New Version the moment it is put in type"? To pave the way for the acceptance of the new version, "it has been deemed necessary to parade somewhat conspicuously the exigencies of the case" by making "a detailed exhibition of the blemishes in the King James Bible." In the market contest between new and old, will these criticisms go on indefinitely, and provoke in retort a search for faults in the new version? The charter of the American Bible Society confines its distribution of Bibles to "the Version in common use." Does this debar it ("moral copyright" apart) from manufacturing and circulating the revised version; and if so, can the charter be amended, or must there be a new Bible Society? Dr. Robinson rehearses with a good deal of feeling the causes of the withdrawal of the superficially amended Scriptures put forth by the Society in December, 1856, and the part which the Rev. A. C. Coxe and the late Dr. Hodge more especially had in bringing about a return to the time-honored "twenty-four thousand discrepancies," a small portion of which had been rectified.

—As bearing on the review of Redfield's 'Homicide,' which we print on another page, we subjoin the following extract from a private letter which accidentally reaches us at this time. The writer is a resident of Missouri:

"We generally agree with your conclusions, but not always. For instance, on page 386 you quote Mr. Lanier's statement about his personal difficulties (which, by the way, we have seldom seen equalled for force and at the same time modesty of statement). Mr. Lanier may be a bad man—we are prepared to believe that he is, since the *Nation* says so; but the fact that a man has personal encounters by no means proves that he is either 'turbulent' or 'quarrelsome,' but in the South only proves that some one thinks he can get glory by an assault. Civilization is a different word in the South from what it is in the North. The writer, a little over ten years ago, in this very place, while 'enjoying' that scourge of the West, a felon, and almost sick as well as crippled, was set on by a bully in the presence of several men, some of them church members, and it was only by using the remaining fist to the best of his ability that he escaped a mauling, for not one of the bystanders said a word. This could scarcely have happened among reputable men in the North; but even piety in the South means something else than the Northern signification. It was my duty and pleasure to assist the bully latterly to bread as he slowly worked downwards, and finally brought up in the State prison."

—The success of "Forget-Me-Not" at Wallack's is mainly attributable to the interest of the plot and the acting of Miss Rose Coghlan. There is no change of scene in the three acts, and there are only four principal characters, for *Barrato*, the Corsican, has very little to say, while *Prince Malleotti* and *Mrs. Foley* are comic characters whose parts are very loosely connected with the main plot. This in itself is simple enough: *Stephanie*, Marquise de Mohrivart, is an adventuress who, with her husband, at one time kept a gambling hell in Paris, in which she acted the usual part of decoy. Her son, the *Vicomte de Brissac*, married *Rose Verney*, an English girl. By Article 148 of the French code this marriage was unlawful and its issue illegitimate, unless the consent of both parents was obtained within the year. At the time the action of the play begins but six weeks of this year remain. In the meantime the viscount has died, leaving his wife with a child but just born. *Stephanie* has never given her consent to the marriage of her son, and having formed the desire to make herself a respectable woman determines to do so by means of the hold this fact gives her upon the sister of *Rose Verney*. To this sister *Alice* she reveals the fact that she is the mother of the late viscount, and that without her consent his marriage is still null and void. She promises, however, to give her consent at the end of six weeks, if meantime she is received as a relative and given a proper position in society by the *Verneys*. Her character, it should be said, is so notorious that *Alice Verney* shrinks in horror at the mere thought of being in the same house with her. *Sir Horace Welby*, who is in love with *Alice* and at the same time an old acquaintance of *Stephanie's*, is staying with the *Verneys* at Rome. He, of course, knows her history thoroughly and determines to get her out of the house. The main action of the play consists in the struggle between *Sir Horace* and *Stephanie*. *Barrato*, a Corsican, who had formerly been one of the many victims of the Mohrivart household, appears on the scene. He had, in revenge for his wrongs, murdered the marquis and very nearly succeeded in killing his wife, and had then been sentenced to the galleys; *Stephanie* well knows that her life is not worth a moment's purchase if she is in the same city with him, and she is finally driven from the *Verneys'* palace (having first signed her consent to the marriage of her dead son) under the influence of physical fear of this Corsican enemy. There is nothing very interesting about the character of *Stephanie* except her audacious wickedness. The career of a gambler's female decoy can hardly, except in very exceptional circumstances, furnish any materials for genuine tragic interest, but Miss Coghlan gets all out of the part that there is to be got. Since her first appearance at Wallack's she has never made so distinct a hit. The part is well written, and there is more opportunity for the display of her talents than the bare outline of the plot we have given may suggest, as in the scenes with *Sir Horace* and the prince she has a very wide range of either real or feigned emotions to represent. Her alternate pathetic appeals to and brazen defiance of *Alice's* lover, her coquettish encouragement of the prince, struck us as showing more real variety of talent than Miss Coghlan has ever before given proof of possessing. Miss Boniface is hardly equal to the part of *Alice Verney*, who occupies the really tragic position in the play, and Mr. Tearle does not make his *Sir Horace* as good a part as the authors of the play gave him a chance to do. The dialogue has the brightness which always characterizes the plays in which Mr. Merivale has a hand. There is perhaps a little too much of the melodrama in the Carmelite chorus, the sudden appearance of *Barrato*, and the escape of *Stephanie* in the last act; but in the great feat of sustaining the interest to the end the authors have succeeded admirably.

—It is gratifying to learn from high authority that, despite the contrary assurances of those who are disposed to look upon Franklin's experiments as mere "scientific diversions," the lightning-rod may still be considered as of essential service in protecting life and property from electric destruction; and no less comforting is it to know that the space protected by a given rod may be accurately determined through direct mathematical computation. In a paper communicated to the London and Edinburgh *Philosophical Magazine* (Dec., 1880), Mr. W. H. Preece, Electrician to the General Post-Office, London, than whom there is probably no higher authority living in the field of electric and telegraphic engineering, demonstrates this protected space to be in the form of a cone, whose height is equal to the length of the rod, and whose base is a circle, the radius of which is also equal to the length of the rod in question. The side of this conic space "is the quadrant of a circle whose radius is equal to the height of the rod." These results, obtained from mathematical and physical data, appear to find striking confirmation in the known facts elicited through direct investigation, for, as Mr. Preece informs us, in all the test cases that came under his own immediate observation the accident invariably took place in a region exterior to the conic space:

"I have carefully examined every record of accident that I could examine, and I have not yet found one case where damage was inflicted inside this cone when the building was properly protected. There are many cases where the pinnacles of the same turret of a church have been struck where one has had a rod attached to it; but it is clear that the other pinnacles were outside the cone; and, therefore, for protection each pinnacle should have had its own rod. It is evident also that every prominent point of a building should have its rod, and that the higher the rod the greater is the space protected."

—It is not widely known, perhaps, that the first impersonator of *Mephistopheles* at Weimar is still among the living, and, at the age of eighty-six, one

of the brightest ornaments of the famous Burgtheater of Vienna. Karl La Roche came to Weimar in 1822, and remained there until the death of Goethe, under whose influence and guidance he established his fame as an actor. The story of the first performance of "Faust" at Weimar and La Roche's share in it is now graphically and authentically told by K. I. Schröer in his 'Faust von Goethe, mit Einleitung und fortlaufender Erklärung' (Heilbronn: Gebrüder Henninger), La Roche having thrown doubts on many of the statements contained in an older publication on the same subject—Enslin's 'Die erste Theater-Vorstellung des Goethe'schen Faust.' Goethe's aversion to the representation of his "Faust" on the stage was well known and for many years respected. In the winter of 1828-29, however, Von Müller, Riemer, Eckermann, and La Roche—probably on learning that Brunswick contemplated a performance of "Faust"—resolved on its representation at Weimar. When they called on Goethe to acquaint him with their project, and Herr von Müller unguardedly used the expression "we have determined," Goethe flew into a passion and indignantly exclaimed: "Do you think that if I had been willing to see 'Faust' on the stage I could not have had it performed myself? Is it right to dispose of my works without knowing my intentions?" etc., etc. However, he gradually relented, chiefly through the interposition of his daughter-in-law, to whom he said, "Well, let it at least be performed as I want to have it, and not as they think proper." Accordingly he invited the members of the theatre and some friends to his house, and read to them the entire first part of the tragedy. La Roche still speaks of the overpowering effect produced by the incomparable voice of the reader. He read the part of *Faust* in a bass voice, changing into the most sonorous tenor after the rejuvenating draught. La Roche studied subsequently the part of *Mephistopheles* under Goethe's direction, who instructed him in every detail and weighed every word. The performance finally took place on the 29th of August, 1829. Goethe, however, did not attend it. Not the least interesting feature of the connection between Goethe and La Roche is the latter's personal resemblance to the poet in his old age.

—The Brahmo Somaj, the theistic church in India, has excited considerable interest by its emancipation from the polytheistic beliefs prevalent in India, and also, though in a less degree, by its opposition to some native customs—caste, for instance, and the subjection of women. Though theistic at its foundation in 1830, by Rammohun Roy, on the basis of the assumed infallibility of the Vedas, under Keshub Chunder Sen the exclusive use of the Vedas was given up and a liturgical service from the books of various religions adopted. But Roy's successor, Debendra Nath Tagore, objected to any attempt to abolish caste, and when Sen, though a Brahmin, after celebrating a marriage between a Brahmin and one of another caste, joined the feast at which the married parties ate, and women were also present, there arose a breach in the society, and in 1865 a new organization was formed—the Brahmo Somaj of India, of which Sen became the leader. The old society was called the Adi Somaj. The new movement, unfortunately, took a turn towards mysticism instead of practical work, and though, like the old, it rejected all mediators between man and the Supreme Being, it has lately begun to use such devotional and ecstatic expressions towards the Deity as members of some Christian sects apply to Christ as the second person of the Trinity. So far, under Sen's leadership, did this proceed that the philosophical and literary studies of the sect, as well as the institutions for social reform, began to be neglected in behalf of the contemplative life, after the manner, on a small scale, of the mystics and the hermits. In 1877 the Brahmo Niketan, a sort of boarding-school for young Brahmins, was closed, and a few months later the normal-school for girls had the Government subsidy withdrawn on account of lack of attendance.

—In 1878 an event occurred which caused a new division in the society. Sen had been one of the principal workers for the Indian Marriage Act of 1872, which was passed expressly for this organization in order to legalize marriage by their rites, Anglo-Indian law having previously recognized only marriages according to the ritual of the older religious bodies of the country. By this act the legal age of men was fixed at eighteen and of women at fourteen. It was now (in 1878) announced that Sen's daughter was to be married to the Rajah of Couch Behar; the rajah was fifteen years old, Sen's daughter thirteen. The marriage was, in fact, performed, Sen's conclusive reason for his assent, though overriding principles and rules which he had advocated, being the rajah's assurance that, if the marriage did not take place at once, it must be postponed till after his return from England. The details of this episode in the Brahmo Somaj, and also the general history of the sect, may be found in an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for September 15, by the Count Goblet d'Alviella. Remonstrances against Sen's conduct in the affair came up from all India. Resolutions were adopted at a meeting in Calcutta of three thousand Brahmoists declaring that he had forfeited the confidence of the Church, and demanding that he resign his secretaryship. A new organization resulted from this revolt against his authority, the Sadharan Somaj, or Universal Union or Society. The three divisions of the sect are all in existence. The creed of the new organization denounces inspired prophets and mediators between the believer and the Deity, and is aimed at Sen's pretension, which he has put forward of late years, to be *adesh* (inspired). He defended his conduct in regard to his daughter's marriage on the ground of a special inspiration. Sen appears to have removed somewhat from his position at the time of his visit to England in 1870, when he declared that, "If purity, truth, chastity, renunciation, self-denial are Christian virtues, then wherever they are found Christianity is present, whether they appear in Christian, Hindoo, or Mohammedan." Although this relapse of the reformer into native customs for the sake of a desirable match appears to us Westerners unwise and cruel, and is to be deplored, yet the agitation on the subject throughout India seems to show that the native unchristian usages are in a state of disintegration as well as the old polytheistic doctrines. Monier Williams, the Sanskrit professor at Oxford, said ten years ago that in the matter of religious belief all India is in much the condition of the Roman world at the time of the dawn of Christianity. Whether Christianity as a religious system is likely to acquire much of a hold in India is perhaps doubtful. A German deacon has called the Brahmo Somaj "a limit to missionary activity," and it appears to be certain that the straiter Christian sects entertain no theological doctrine that India has not already held in vital counterpart.

—An important branch of German mediæval literature has recently been treated at length by R. Cruel in his 'History of German Preaching during the Middle Ages' ('Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter.' Detmold. 1879). He divides his subject into two periods. The first, extending from 600 to 1200, is marked by the unoriginal and unorganic character of the sermon, which borrowed its materials from the earlier collections, and, except the double classification into homilies and sermons (the former mere explanation of the text, the latter the treatment of some abstract subject with or without a text), offers no systematic arrangement of topics. The sermon of the second period, reaching to the Reformation, is distinguished by originality of contents and logical disposition of materials. The first part of the work treats of the missionary (600–900), the episcopal (900–1100), and the parochial (1100–1200) sermon, with a special chapter on the delivery of the sermon, liturgy, and singing in the German language, addresses at festivals and funerals, homiletic aids, and the condition of the clergy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The chief sources of the sermon during this period were the collections of Latin and German sermons, which the author examines at length; besides these, examples or anecdotes were furnished by the popular 'Vitæ Patrum,' the 'Dialogue' of Gregory the Great, the 'Dialogus Miraculorum' of Cæsar of Heisterbach, and the 'Physiologus,' one of the oldest *Bestiaires*. The second period is marked, of course, by greater individuality, and contains such well-known names as Berthold of Ratisbon, Albertus Magnus, Dr. Tauler, Geiler of Kaisersberg, etc. The third chapter contains an interesting account of the sermon-books of the fifteenth century, which are valuable for the *Culturgeschichte* of the period, and also to the student of comparative storiology, as throwing a flood of light upon the mode of diffusion of mediæval tales. The most valuable single conclusion arrived at by the author is that "the language of the public sermon in Germany from the beginning and at all times was German." The mass of interesting anecdotes and citations from rare sources will incline the scholar to overlook the author's lack of a strictly scientific method, especially as one is informed in the preface that the present work is intended only to pave the way for a more complete treatment of the subject.

DUFFY'S YOUNG IRELAND.*

TO those who remember the career of the author of this book previous to 1850, and have heard little or nothing of him since, his appearance on the title-page as Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, a knight of the British Order of St. Michael and St. George, will seem one of the oddest of transformations. Between 1840 and 1850 he was one of the most prominent and most formidable enemies of English rule in his own country. In 1848 he fell, with many of his coadjutors, into the clutches of the law, and was tried for "treason-felony," but acquitted. After his liberation he tried politics once more as a member of the British Parliament, but had the good sense to see that that was not an arena in which a man of his antecedents could hope to accomplish much either for his own fame or his country's good. So he emigrated to the colony of Victoria, in Australia, and threw himself into political life there with such success that he was for some time Prime Minister, and only this year resigned the Speakership of the Parliament in order to come to England to superintend the publication of his book. What is most remarkable in his colonial career is that, though it lay among Englishmen mainly, and though he began it with the taint of being an "ex-rebel" resting on him, and though he never for one moment professed anything like repentance, he secured the confidence and esteem of both colleagues and competitors, and received the highest honors with which the Crown recognizes colonial eminence. During

* 'Young Ireland: A Fragment of Irish History, 1840–1850. By Sir Charles Gavan Duffy K.C.M.G.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.

his absence Ireland has undergone much change. Concessions, such as the disestablishment of the Protestant Church and the ballot, which were in O'Connell's day scouted as wildly impracticable, have been made. The population has much diminished, but what there is is much more comfortable and prosperous. The English conscience, or at least the conscience of the English Liberals, has become far more sensitive about Irish grievances than it was in his day. Coercion is not so lightly talked of, much less resorted to, by Englishmen as a means of meeting Irish discontent. A new element, too, and a very serious one, has appeared in the Irish problem, in the shape of Irish-American sympathy. The sympathy of native Americans with Irish political aspirations is, it must be confessed, gone or greatly reduced in strength, but it is for all practical purposes more than compensated for by that of the two millions of Irish who now live on American soil, and are prosperous enough to aid their friends at home with money as well as with instigation to revolt. Sir Charles Duffy, however, does not find in these things reason for regretting anything he ever said, or regretting anything he ever did, as an Irish agitator, although, as he explains in his preface, "a larger experience of mankind, the responsibilities of public office, and leisure for reflection, have, he trusts, enabled him to scrutinize them [the events which he has undertaken to record] from a new point of view, and to revise whatever was rash or ungenerous in earlier judgments." In fact, although long absence from the country may incapacitate him for forming a correct judgment on the actual situation in Ireland, it probably has done much to strengthen his authority as an exponent of the causes which, apart from the land question, make Irish hostility to English rule so deep and bitter and lasting.

He could hardly have thrown his exposition into a better shape than the history of the "Young Ireland" movement between 1840 and 1850. It and the Volunteer movement of 1782, which resulted in securing the independence of the Irish Parliament, are the only two episodes in Irish history which can really be called brilliant, and which contained the seeds of real political promise. The former was, however, simply the victory of the Protestant colony over the mother country; the conquered Catholic sons of the soil had no share in it. The Young Ireland movement was, on the other hand, thoroughly national. It was the first sincere and able attempt made on Irish soil to dissociate politics from religion, and, to use Chief Baron Wolfe's words, which formed the motto of Duffy's paper, the *Nation*, "to create and foster public opinion in Ireland, and make it racy of the soil"; to find in Irish history some materials for healthy national pride; and to support the movement for the restoration of Irish legislative independence by such a display of Irish political capacity as mere journalism would permit.

It has been ever since 1848 the common opinion that the Young Ireland movement was due to a revolt of the young men of the repeal party against O'Connell's policy of peace and moral suasion, and that the disastrous result furnished a fresh proof of his wisdom and moderation. Sir Charles Duffy produces ample proof that this is a mistake; that O'Connell was himself committed to physical force in the last resort, before the projected Clontarf meeting and his trial, and that the Young Irelanders simply carried out a programme for which failing health and courage, and divers defects of character, left him no heart. In fact, the account of O'Connell's faltering is one of the most interesting and instructive portions of the book, and there seems to be little doubt that he, before the impairment of his powers, was just as well satisfied as the Young Irelanders were then, and as the Land Leaguers apparently are now, that Irish agitation, as long as it contains no threat of violence, produces no effect on English opinion. That they by no means ignored the land question is shown by the following remarkable passage from a manifesto of principles published in Duffy's *Nation*, now more than twenty-five years ago. The prediction with which it concludes is, in view of what is now occurring in Ireland, very striking:

"On the Tenure Question our course has been an open and decided one.
"We seek to secure to the peasant land at a just rent.
"A just rent would leave him comfort and some leisure.
"We seek for him the value of all the labor or money he spends in improvements.
"And we seek prospective laws, which shall tend, by a natural and easy change, to reduce the great estates and create a body of small proprietors in fee throughout every part of Ireland.
"But we are not ready to jump into a servile war for this purpose.
"On the contrary, we shall do our best to make the landlords recognize that the postponement of the tenure settlement, or the decline of the political agitation, would lead to an anti rent movement, which might end in a disastrous rebellion, but would begin by reducing them to beggary, and could not be quelled by the defeat of insurgent armies."

The Young Ireland movement was essentially, as its name indicates, a movement of young men. Few if any of those who started it were over thirty, and they began and carried it on mainly through the *Nation* newspaper, which Duffy founded in 1842, and edited until its suppression after the rising in 1848. They were men of both races and belonged to both creeds; and there is nothing more remarkable in the history of journalism than the versatility, the fire, and the force which they brought to their work and the tenacity with which they maintained such excellence as it possessed. It was the first Irish newspaper on that side of politics which made a distinct impression outside Ireland. English Conservatives acknowledged from the start that it was the most dangerous weapon with which English supremacy had ever been assailed in the field of either oratory or literature. Nor did the members confine themselves to newspaper work. A "Library of Ireland," consisting of a series of small volumes devoted to Irish biography and the elucidation of Irish history, was also issued by them and had a great circulation, ten or eleven volumes in all appearing before 1848. They worked the poetic vein, too, with considerable success, and a collection of the songs and ballads which had appeared in the *Nation* was very respectfully treated even by hostile English critics. The most remarkable man of the group was undoubtedly Thomas Davis, a young Protestant barrister, who was one of Duffy's coadjutors in establishing the paper, and we believe first tried his hand at writing in its columns at the age of twenty-eight. His contributions, both in prose and verse, during the ensuing three years were not only full of great promise, but had a power and brilliancy which probably did more than anything else to give weight and fame to the movement, and to command respect for it both in England and Ireland. He died in 1845 at the age of thirty-three, and there is in his literary remains plenty of evidence to support the belief that Sir Charles Duffy's tribute to his memory is not extravagant when he says:

"Judging him now, a generation after his death, when years and communion with the world have tempered the exaggerations of youthful friendship, I can confidently say that I have never known a man so nobly gifted as Thomas Davis. If his articles had been spoken speeches his reputation as an orator would have rivalled Grattan's, and the beauty and vigor of his style were never employed for show, as they sometimes were by Grattan; he fired not rockets but salvoes of artillery. If his programmes and reports, which were the plans and specifications of much of the best work done in his day, had been habitually associated with his name, his practical skill would have ranked as high as O'Connell's. . . He was singularly modest and unselfish, but the phrases employed to express modesty and unselfishness are weak and absurd when applied to him. In a long life I have never known any man remotely resemble him in these qualities. The chief motive power of a party and a cause, laboring for them as a man of exemplary industry labors in his calling, he not only never claimed any recognition or reward, but discouraged allusion to his services by those who knew them best. Passionate enthusiasm is apt to become prejudice, but in Davis it was controlled not only by a disciplined judgment, but by a fixed determination to be just. He brought to a political controversy a fairness unexampled in Ireland. In all his writings there will not be found a single sentence reflecting ungenerously on any human being. He had set himself the task of building up a nation, a task not beyond his strength had fortune been kind."

The Young Ireland movement came to an untimely end in 1848, through causes which are still operative in Irish politics. O'Connell was openly hostile to it as a sort of revolt against his authority, but this would not have injured it seriously if he and his following had not managed to bring it into disrepute as an organization of infidels. In 1846 the priests were arrayed against it as hostile to religion, so that its hold on the popular mind was seriously weakened before the final outbreak. The news of the success of the French Revolution in 1848 precipitated the attempt at revolt which ended so ludicrously in the cabbage-garden at Ballingarry. It was called for in the *Nation* by an announcement that "Ireland's opportunity, thank God and France, at last has come." The defeat of the troops in the streets of Paris by the mob had evidently turned the heads of the Irish leaders, and blinded them to the real nature of the military problem which any Irish insurrection involves. They had neither officers, arms, organization, money, commissariat, nor a general. Any one who looks in Duffy's book for an explanation or palliation of the immense folly of the appeal to arms will be disappointed. In fact, the sanity and clearheadedness which he shows only deepen the mystery which surrounds the events of 1848. That so rational a man should have been mixed up in such a harum-scarum adventure seems now incomprehensible. But his tale is, nevertheless, not only both graceful and touching, but full of instruction regarding the existing situation in Ireland, and is told in a style of remarkable simplicity and clearness.

HOMICIDE, NORTH AND SOUTH.*

MORE men have fallen in personal combat at the South since 1840 than were killed in battle on both sides in the rebellion (p. 120); in the same section there have been more homicides since the war than there have been deaths from yellow fever (p. 196)—this number is at least 40,000 (p. 10). In Texas there were more *assassinations* in 1878 than homicides of all kinds in Massachusetts in 1877–78 (p. 64), and always there are more manslayers at large than in confinement (p. 77). In South Carolina there were three *duels* in 1878, against none among the more than thirty millions of the Northern population (p. 90); and of a single affray in Edgefield, which "leads us into accounts of seven different homicides," all the survivors were acquitted on

* 'Homicide, North and South. Being a comparative view of crime against the person in several parts of the United States. By H. V. Redfield.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880. 12mo, pp. 207.

trial (p. 91). The number of homicides along the route of the Cincinnati Southern Railway from Cincinnati to Chattanooga, "during its construction through Kentucky and Tennessee, I believe to be equal to half the length of the road measured in miles—that is, for every two miles of road there was a man murdered in the vicinity of the line" (p. 167). The population of the three sample Southern States—Texas, Kentucky, and South Carolina—is less than that of New England by half a million, but the homicides are eighteen times as numerous (p. 15); there are often more in Kentucky in a month than in Massachusetts in a year, and as many in South Carolina in two as in Massachusetts in ten years (pp. 14, 18), though the Northern State has much the larger population in each case. In Massachusetts, the ratio of killing has decreased with the increase of population—ten per cent. against eighteen per cent. in 1869–78 (p. 154); in South Carolina, crimes against the person show no diminution under Hampton as compared with those committed under Chamberlain and Scott (p. 105). In Mississippi, according to the Vicksburg *Herald* of May 25, 1879, there is an average of a murder a day (p. 152). At the South the highest ratio of homicide is in the country, at the North in the cities (p. 31). The foreign element forms less than two per cent. of the population at the South (p. 15), and in Mississippi, for example, "so far from the foreigners being the cause of so much murder, it is more probable that so much murder accounts for there being so few foreigners" (p. 153).

Such are some of the multifarious forms in which Mr. Redfield strikingly illustrates the difference, as regards the sacredness of human life, between the South and not only the North but any civilized country on the face of the globe. His work, though systematic in its way, is still an endless variation of one theme. If he treats of Ohio by itself, the conclusion is: "Draw a line through the State, east and west, so as to divide population equally, and a very much larger number of homicides will be found south of this line than north of it"; while "the very lowest per cent. of homicide to population is found where those who have investigated such subjects would expect to find it—in the agricultural counties of the Western Reserve, settled very largely, in fact, almost entirely, from New England and New York." If Indiana and Illinois are under discussion, it appears that in the former State, "in 1878, there were eighty-four prisoners in the Southern prison charged with murder and manslaughter, and but forty-nine in the Northern," these two penitentiaries being recruited from nearly equal divisions of the population; and that Illinois shows a similar excess of bloodiness in the counties bordering on Kentucky and largely settled from the South. In short, this conscientious study of a great social evil, based almost without exception for the North (because it was possible) upon official records, and without exception for the South (because there was no alternative) upon unofficial records in the newspapers—often in a single newspaper in a State—and therefore necessarily defective, involves such a contrast between the two sections as to suggest the enquiry (p. 19), "Have we not here two civilizations?"

Now, nothing is more noticeable in any discussion, however moderate, of the feelings which the North does actually or ought to entertain towards the South, than the offence taken by Southern writers at the assumption that there are two civilizations in this country, and that the higher exists at the North. It is a part of the disease which Mr. Redfield seeks to eradicate by exposing it in its hideous deformity, that representative Southerners fail to see in the spirit of violence which gives the tone to their section an essential distinction, to which Northerners have a right to point deprecatingly on the one hand and with justifiable self-righteousness on the other. And yet—

> "There is nothing that so distinguishes the Southern civilization from the Northern as this one matter of homicide. Murder there is everywhere, but the fact that it is so very much more frequent in the Southern States than elsewhere should put the Southern people upon enquiry as to the cause and the remedy. To do this is the object of the book."

It is no longer an abolitionist who speaks these words, but one closely acquainted and allied with the Southern people, who has words of admiration for many of their qualities, and whose sincerity is attested on every page. No political motive whatever inspired this laborious investigation, which was prompted by an unusually wide experience and a philanthropic and patriotic desire to wipe away what is something more than a sectional stain. The fairness of Mr. Redfield's statistics, estimated as they too often have to be, will not be questioned by anybody. The least skilful part of this tract, if we may so call it, is its discussion of the cause of the Southern evil—in fact, formally there is no such discussion. The nearest approach to it is the final chapter, on carrying concealed weapons, as to which Judge Guild, of Tennessee, is quoted as saying, "More than half the homicides which occur grow out of this debased practice," and the author himself asserts that seven-eighths of the homicides in South Carolina grow out of it. It is therefore clear that the effective suppression of this practice would do more than anything else to assimilate the Northern to the Southern civilization. But why is it not attempted? Is it because the black population is dangerous and threatening? On the contrary, Mr. Redfield shows that in Texas, South Carolina, and Kentucky, in 1878,

434 whites were killed by whites,
16 " " " " blacks,
109 blacks " " " whites,
98 " " " " blacks.

And while there is no adequate punishment for white killing of blacks, there is a surety that either by court or by mob the black murderer will meet his reward. It is, however, but a short time since society in the South rested upon a war basis—for that is the constitution of every slaveholding community; and if it was only exceptionally, after some Nat Turner rising, that, as Mr. Broadnax said in the Virginia House of Delegates, men would "lock their doors at night and open them in the morning, to receive their servants to light their fires, with pistols in their hands," this was but the open manifestation of a perfectly normal relation between master and slave. Out of this grew inevitably the "code of honor" among the ruling class and lynch law among the mob of poor whites; hence the resort to the pistol or the knife in "personal difficulties," the most prolific source of life-taking, and hence the absolute indulgence of public sentiment for any standard of "self-defence."

"There are very many instances in the Southern courts where men are acquitted of manslaughter when their only justification was a blow from a cane or even the fist. Indeed, in some instances this is carried to the extent of acquitting for murder when the murderer killed his enemy in revenge for an insult by words, and when he was in no bodily peril whatever."

Mr. Redfield continues (p. 160):

"One wonders why murderers are so often acquitted by juries in Mississippi. Not many years ago, in one of the counties of that State, a murderer was being tried. An ex-sheriff of the county told me that the defendant would be acquitted. He spoke with confidence. I asked why. He replied that he was acquainted personally with every man on the jury, and that a majority of them had been engaged in what he called 'killing scrapes' themselves. Having been sheriff of the county he was personally cognizant of each case."

Any general and successful movement at the South to put down the carrying of concealed weapons would mark the first voluntary act in condemnation of the moral code which sheltered slavery. Before that comes about there is perhaps more hope for a subordinate but by no means trifling reformation intimately related to the subject under review.

"Probably one-half of the homicides in the Southern States," says Mr. Redfield, "are to be attributed directly or indirectly to whiskey. One who has lived long in the rural districts South, and having previously been acquainted with communities where there was less disorder, enabling him to draw comparisons, could hardly fail to be impressed with the prevalence of whiskey-drinking and the frequency of fighting with deadly weapons. . . . Often these deadly difficulties arise from very trifling causes, and parties are drawn in to help their friends who had nothing to do with the beginning of the affray. Originating in whiskey, they usually end in blood."

Pending the beneficent operation at the South of the American Peace and National Temperance Societies, we shall watch with interest the reception given to Mr. Redfield's book in that quarter. Will the Southern press quote largely from it? Will it praise or will it controvert and condemn it? Whatever may come of it, his appeal is one for which every Southern family, already bereaved by homicide or liable to be at any moment, ought to be profoundly grateful to him.

MISS BIRD'S JAPAN.*

THE beaten tracks in Japan have been well travelled by women as well as men during the last decade. Miss Weppner, Miss Gordon Cumming, Mrs. Ayrton, Mrs. Carrothers, have told the story of their rambles in books or periodicals. Many other foreign ladies, guiltless of the pen, have made themselves familiar with the highroads; and honeymoons spent on Fusiyama are not unknown. Miss Bird, however, resolutely sought the sequestered vales and bridle-paths, and in every case chose the worst of two roads. She went out in quest of an unhackneyed view, and found it. Her method of studying Japan reminds us of the American tourist who, tired of hearing of Britain's glory, went to London, and visited only the slums and Billingsgate market. Miss Bird did indeed see Tokio and Kioto, and travelled famous highroads, but the letters which treat of the most charming portions of the Mikado's domains are suppressed, as they relate to her pet aversion—"beaten tracks." A score or two of Americans, if not more, may be disposed to quarrel with the title which the English lady has given to her book. It reads like a challenge. Several American ladies and many gentlemen have traversed the major part of Miss Bird's journey. Still, in gross and in detail, no foreigner of her own sex has preceded Miss Bird on her route.

This lady on horseback is a skilled traveller. She spent 'Six Months in the Sandwich Islands,' and has told from experience 'A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains.' She is an excellent observer, and her wide and accurate knowledge of botany and natural history, as well as of people, gives her an

* 'Unbeaten Tracks in Japan. By Isabella Bird.' New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1880. Two vols. 8vo.

unusual sweep of view and freshness of style. As a woman, too, she notices many particulars that escape a man's eye. The evidences of culture are seen on every page of her narrative, and her accuracy has the quality of a sweet perfume. It is a positive pleasure to find the names of places and things spelled correctly, even when repeated several times. By this mark of care words otherwise uncouth and empty of suggestion soon become full of individuality, and stimulate and refresh the memory instead of jading it. Her itineraries are carefully made out, and will bear verification from native maps. Her statements are almost invariably trustworthy as they stand, though others supplementary might be added with advantage. Added to this, she has read her proofs conscientiously, so that printers' mistakes are creditably few. One funny oversight, however, occurs on page 201, vol. ii., by which one might suppose that the favorite iris-gardens of the capital received their name from the old punctilious code of suicide, instead of artificial excavation: Hari-kiri should be Hori-kiri. Miss Bird also clings to the spelling Tôkiyô for the simpler Tôkiô, even to mangling the name of the sprightly but now defunct *Tokio Times*, conducted by an American journalist of some reputation.

The style of the book leads one to suppose that the author actually saw the most of what she writes about, during the six months spent by her in Japan, and that what she records is the fruit of her observation. This, however, is not the fact. The indefatigable lady did, indeed, accomplish a prodigious amount of sight-seeing and reflection during her stay of half a year; but her method does not differ from that of the German father of books on Japan. Engelbert Kaempfer is popularly supposed to have acquired his amazing knowledge of the Japanese and their country by direct personal investigation. In reality, the manuscript of Camphay, the superintendent of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki, which was given to Kaempfer to bring home, furnished the famous author with most of his material. So Miss Bird has plucked her grapes liberally from various vines, not always labelled, though the wine and its flavor are her own. We do not think that her account of the great temple at Asakusa, of household superstitions, of children's plays, of proverbs or of woman's studies could have been presented in the form she gives them without well-remembered, but usually unacknowledged, reading of a well-known work on Japan, written by an American.

Miss Bird first caught a glimpse of Japan's supreme landmark, Fusiyama, on the 20th of May, 1878. She gives an impossible sketch of the peak (or is it an old cut?) such as is not seen in any of Hokusai's 'One Hundred Views of Fusi,' and states its height to be 13,080 feet. The average of two weeks' observation on the summit by Herr Knipping proves the height to be 12,235 feet. After a short rest in Yokohama, she goes to the capital, called, by "the pathetic conservatism of the British Legation, 'Yedo,'" but by the Japanese Government and people, since 1868, "Tokio." As a rule, Miss Bird prefers the more euphonious native names of things to the hybrid Chino-Japanese terms of the pedants who affect the purer archaic Chinese pronunciation, *e. g.* "Tokei"—to the mystification of Americans, who wonder whether Jeddo, Yeddo, Yedo, Tokio, Tokiyo, are all one place, or parts of a place. For jin-rika-sha she substitutes *kuruma*; that is, a "wheel" for a "man-power carriage." We are sceptical in regard to her statement that the eighteen-mile railway between the port and the capital "earns $8,000,000 a year."

From first to last Miss Bird freely vents her conviction that the Japanese are a degenerate race, possessed of a miserably poor physique. She calls the men "manikins," and ridicules their concave chests, bow-legs, and lack of complexion. The women's faces have an inane, vacant expression, with an obvious lack of soul.

"Physically, they look below par, as if the race was wearing out. . . . They look as if a girl passed from girlhood to middle age almost at once, when weighted with the cares of maternity. . . . The men don't look much better. They impress me as the ugliest and the most pleasing people I have ever seen, as well as the neatest and most ingenious" (p. 79, vol. i.)

"After the yellow skins, the stiff horse hair, the feeble eyelids, the elongated eyes, the sloping eyebrows, the flat noses, the sunken chests, the Mongolian features, the puny physique, the shaky walk of the men, the restricted totter of the women, and the general impression of degeneracy conveyed by the appearance of the Japanese, the Ainos make a singular impression" (p. 75, vol. ii.)

Old Japan, with its picturesque glories and horrors, exists now only on the boards of the theatre, and a rather sarcastic account is given of the "Reformed Theatre," in which the actors make their bow in a travestied "evening dress," with tight boots, white kid gloves, and black clothes supposed to fit. In the capital, old Yedo is represented by the grandeur of the castle walls, banks, moats, and esplanades. Even these are kept linked in association with the old régime by an occasional assassination of a cabinet minister. Tokio is architecturally represented by the public buildings in debased Europeanized style, noted chiefly for their superabundance of oblong glass windows. Glass, however, was a great curiosity two decades ago. From Tokio Miss Bird sets out to Nikko by the meaner of two roads, and thence, after studying the art lavished on the mausoleum and shrines of Iyeyasu, she leaves comfort behind and strikes across the island to Niigata. Her entire outfit is limited to one hundred and ten pounds. Her only companion, interpreter and guide, is Ito, a characteristic specimen of modern young Japan. This youth hates Christianity, loathes the missionaries, eagerly learns English, affects to despise foreigners, is a radical when away from officials and a cringing slave in their presence, is not an inborn liar because he has no instinct of truth, is a polished gentleman in his manners and an unscraped savage at heart. Under the eye and will of the English spinster lady he serves faithfully for twelve dollars a month, having already broken faith with and deserted another master who paid him but seven.

Our traveller's opinions of the native horse are severe, and her constant inveighings against its moral character are rather monotonous. She herself was obliged to force open the mouths of the sorry brutes, because "no Japanese horse ever opens his mouth except to eat or bite." She describes his three only movements—a drag, a roll, and a scramble. Travelling in summer, she beholds a vast and startling area of human cuticle; for in hot weather the women strip to their waists and the costume of the men consists mainly of a long handkerchief knotted round the body from front to rear. The villagers were all agog to see the stranger, and she ate her staple diet of boiled rice and eggs under the concentrated glare of eighteen pair of black eyes. Privacy is next to unknown in a Japanese house, and the lone lady discovered an eye at every crack and hole of the paper partitions of the yadoya. Her minute accounts of the smells, the discomforts, the fleas, the general meanness and vileness of the inns and villages of the Tsu River valley are tediously realistic. Miss Bird's journal in some respects reads strangely like the mediæval *Nikki* (diaries) of the Kioto noble travellers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These native authors poured contempt on "the boors of the East" and North, considering Japan above the thirty-sixth parallel as purgatory, and Kioto as heaven in comparison. Nevertheless she notices the redeeming features of modern Japan—the hospitals, equipped in scientific style, the silk-filatures having improved machinery, the public schools and educational conventions, and the missionary work at Niigata; and though her narrative abounds in condemnation of the vices of heathenism, she emphasizes the fact that the national reform proceeds *from within*.

The contents of volume second, which open with her arrival in Yezo, are, in our estimation, much more valuable than those of the first. Her tracks are here less unbeaten and her matter less strange to print. Her account of the Ainos is by far the most detailed, systematic, and readable yet written. She actually installed herself in an over-inhabited Aino hut for several days, questioning and taking notes. These irreclaimable savages are rude, dull, dirty, fond of drink, but well-formed, Caucasian in feature, not overhirsute in body, as is popularly believed, and exceedingly gentle in manners. Nothing, however, in her observations goes to disprove the possibility that the Ainos were formerly the aborigines of northern Japan. She visited the shrine of Yoshitsuné, whom the Ainos have deified, but is not, as she supposes, the first European who has done so. She does not mention the theory, first propounded by Mr. E. H. House and elaborately investigated by Mr. Suyematsu, which makes it highly probable that the great conqueror Genghis Khan was none other than the Japanese hero Yoshitsuné.

Chapters on Kobé and Kioto, with favorable notices of the Christian missions at these places, a chapter on public affairs, and a not irreproachable index conclude this itinerary—for Miss Bird objects to its being classed as "a book on Japan." As a traveller's diary, then, it is vastly superior to, while fully as entertaining as, Hübner's sparkling narrative. Nevertheless, the book leaves on the mind an impression of unfairness and onesidedness. To record in full the defects of a nation in its transition stage from orientalism to modern civilization without the relief afforded by the background of antique virtues—the loyalty, patriotism, filial love and self-sacrifice for which old Japan was noted—seems as much opposed to the canons of truth as of art.

PROGRESSION AND RETROGRESSION FROM AN EVOLUTIONARY STANDPOINT.*

IT has been generally contended by evolutionists that, as a necessary consequence of the operation of the laws of natural selection, a universal system of progress must have marked the advance of life from its earliest dawn to the present day, and that, correlatively with such progress, the more complex and more perfect organism must have arisen as an outgrowth from the less complex and less perfect. The doctrine of progressive development has met with but little opposition from the professed followers of Darwin and Spencer, and, in fact, it is only very recently that any formulated attempt has been made to show that a converse development could likewise be produced as the result of natural selection. Retrograde development or degeneration, as Professor Lankester aptly urges, truly forms a chapter in

* 'The Past in the Present: What is Civilization? By Arthur Mitchell, M.D., LL.D.' Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1880.
'Degeneration: A Chapter on Darwinism. By Professor E. Ray Lankester, F.R.S., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.' London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1880. "Nature Series."

Darwinism; through its teachings we are led to understand much that has hitherto appeared unintelligible, and facts seemingly antagonistic to the principles laid down by the doctrine of transformism have thereby received an explanation in conformity with that doctrine. The two authors before us treat the general subjects of progression and retrogression, to which their works mainly refer, from widely varying standpoints; the one from the more or less historical, the other from the purely biological.

Dr. Mitchell is manifestly no thorough Darwinist; he believes in the efficacy of natural selection as far as the lower animals are concerned, but denies its action, whether for his mental or physical development, on man, or, at least, on man as we know him through history and archæological enquiry. He thus falls considerably behind Wallace in the estimation of the operation of nature's forces, since that naturalist, while denying the probability or even possibility of man's environment effecting any material alteration in his anatomical structure, still recognizes in the expansion of his mental capacity the equivalent of physical expansion or development in other animals. But Dr. Mitchell fails to find any evidence tending to prove that man's mental capacity "has actually been favorably influenced by evolution," any more than his bodily form, and concludes from his premises (p. 175) that "the skulls and brains of the fossil man, that is, of the earliest man we know anything about, appear to have been as good as, if not better than, the skulls and brains of the latest, belonging to individuals living in the highest state of civilization." The latter part of this rather naïve statement is probably due to a passage contained in a late address by Virchow, cited from the 'Freedom of Science in the Modern State,' to the effect that the "troglodytes, pile-villagers, and bog-people" have heads so large that many a living person would be only too happy to possess such.

Dr. Mitchell's chief arguments as to the non-applicability of the laws of natural selection to man are based mainly on considerations set forth by Wallace sixteen years ago in the *Anthropological Review*, namely: that isolation, involving a lack of community of action, and of consequence the necessity of self-dependence, is the primary condition of animate objects being brought under the controlling influence of nature's laws, and that so long as this condition of things is maintained there will be a general struggle for existence and a resulting survival of the fittest. The more absolute this condition the more marked and varied will be the effects of natural selection. But man, Dr. Mitchell maintains, nowhere exhibits such a state of complete isolation, or condition necessitating independence of action, action in concert being one of the characteristic traits of the human species. He has everywhere and always, so far as we know, combined with man to combat that universal law, which, through the exercise of his mental power, he alone has succeeded in overcoming. In his case, therefore, there will be no such *individual* struggle for existence (with attending modifications of structure) which we observe among other animals, and for this reason, it is contended, he holds a position in relation to external forces apart from all other animate beings. Man, in other words, has become civilized; for, in the opinion of our author, "civilization is nothing more than a complicated outcome of a war waged with Nature by man in Society to prevent her from putting into execution in his case her law of Natural Selection" (p. 170). It will be readily perceived that all existing nations of men are civilized, or possess civilization, since "the measure of success which attends the struggle of each band or association so engaged [in defeating the law of natural selection] is the *measure* of the civilization it has attained." Our author, while admitting the existence of a struggle for existence between the various tribes, races, or nations into which mankind has united itself, denies any possible effect of natural selection upon such associations beyond that of raising them (*by elimination of the less powerful*) to a uniform level, since the law, which, it is assumed, must necessarily operate first upon the individuals composing the aggregates, could effect nothing where, as is alleged, there has been no change in the environments, and where, consequently, no powers have been called into operation which (otherwise little used or needed) might if developed produce "men altered in structure either for the better or the worse." We fail, however, to see the force of the argument, or to detect, as far as the evolutionary process of natural selection is concerned, the essential difference between the conditions which in the one case determine the exercise of the physical powers, and in the other that of the mental powers. An association, it appears to us, holds precisely the same *evolutionary* relation to the individuals composing it as that which the complete organism holds to its own anatomical parts. It is not the individual requirements of the various tissues of the body which call forth certain modifications of structure in conformity with the law of natural selection, but the requirements of the organism itself which they subserve, and of which they form integral parts. And so in like manner with an association. We are now no longer directly concerned with the respective wants or conditions of its different members—there being no *individual* struggle for existence—but with the wants and conditions of the association as a whole or unit. Here, as Wallace has so clearly shown, natural selection will react, not upon the physical but upon the mental qualities.

It may with propriety be asked, since we are all civilized, what constitutes the criteria of a high civilization? or, in the language of the author, what are the data which enable us to ascertain when we have most thoroughly overcome the great law of nature? These are furnished, according to Dr. Mitchell, by the possession of leisure, "that most important of all steps in the history of the march of civilization." But, it may further be asked, has it ever been proved that the savage (in the general acceptation of the term), although he be compelled to hunt and fish for his own sustenance, does not enjoy an amount of leisure equal to that enjoyed by the average civilized man? and may not, consequently, his civilization be fully equal to our own? We believe there are few who will admit this last proposition, yet if the author's interpretation of the term civilization be the correct one we do not see how such a conclusion could readily be avoided.

The early portion of the work, devoted to an account of the primitive manners and customs of the Scotch islanders, their implements, houses, and superstitions, is an attempt made on historical grounds to prove the futility of the reasoning which attaches to archæological finds an immense antiquity, and to demonstrate the existence already in the Stone Age of an intellectual culture perhaps equal to that of the present day. Although the conclusions arrived at may not generally be accepted, the chapters will, nevertheless, be found worthy of careful reading, and ought, from their suggestive reasoning, to merit the attention both of the specialist and of the reading public generally. Part II. is an examination, in some of its more important bearings, of the question of civilization, and is that to which we have mainly confined our remarks. In Lecture III., in discussing the possibilities of a general advancement, the author expresses himself in decided antagonism to Herbert Spencer, whose views on social evolution he considers a mere speculation. Dr. Mitchell favors the theory held by many that most, if not all, savage races are the degraded remnants of a more civilized people, and from this circumstance argues that "we may safely accept the occurrence of retrogressions as a reality, and the theory of a universal progression as untenable."

Professor Lankester recognizes in an organism three conditions as the result of natural selection: elaboration, balance, and degeneration. The doctrine that, in general, all existing forms of life were maintained in one or other of the first two conditions, was, until lately, considered as one of the foundation-stones of evolution, and it was not until Dr. Dohrn clearly pointed out the wide applicability of the laws of degeneration, as explaining certain anomalies in the way of Darwinism, that any special attention was paid to this third condition. By degeneration, as Professor Lankester defines the term, we are to understand the condition of an organism which, as "the total result of the elaboration of some organs and the degeneration of others," is lower (the animal being "fitted to less complex action and reaction in regard to its surroundings") than that of the ancestral form to which it may be compared, whether "actually or in imagination." The author instances as the immediate antecedents of degenerative evolution: 1, parasitism; 2, fixity or immobility; 3, vegetative nutrition; 4, excessive reduction of size; and arrives at the general conclusion that "any group of animals to which we can turn may possibly be the result of degeneration," and that "accordingly, whenever we can note that a group of organisms is characterized by habits likely to lead to degeneration" (such as above enumerated), "we are justified in applying the hypothesis of degeneration, even in the absence of any confirmatory evidence from embryology." From these premises, Professor Lankester argues, we may safely look upon the sponges, polyps, corals, moss-polyps, and star-fishes as examples of true degeneration, no less so than the tunicate mollusks, which the recent remarkable embryological researches of the Russian naturalist Kovalevski have proved to be nothing but degraded vertebrates. Viewed in this light, certain supposed irregularities in the chronological succession of life, a circumstance forcibly insisted upon, among others, by Barrande, as destructive of transformism, such as the occurrence of the cephalophorous mollusca in strata more ancient than those characterized by the oldest known species of the *Acephala*, receive their explanation, for, as in the present case, we are justified in concluding that these lower types are only the degenerate representatives of the more perfect types that preceded them. The importance of this method of palæontological interrogation has been pointed out by Professor Perrier, in his recent address to the biological section of the French Association.

Primer of French Literature. By George Saintsbury. (New York: Macmillan & Co.)—The readers of Mr. Saintsbury's admirable sketch of French literature in the ninth edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' will be glad to have their attention drawn to this shorter and more general outline, which should be in the hands of every French student. In the brief compass of one hundred and thirty-eight 16mo pages the author has, in his own words, "set before the learner such a general view of the outline of French literary history as he may best be able to fill up for himself afterwards. No writer of importance has been omitted, and the literary tendency of all such persons has been indicated, though of necessity in a kind of shorthand." This task has been very satisfactorily accomplished; the older literature has been fairly dealt with, and in spite of its necessary condensation the work has a literary value of its own, being singularly free from the perfunctory tone of such

manuals. We have noticed an occasional slip of the pen, as on p. 18, where 'Le Castoiement d'un Père' is spoken of as translated or adapted from the Arabic, whereas it is a translation of the Latin 'Disciplina Clericalis,' which was compiled from Oriental sources; and we cannot agree with all the author's judgments, that on George Sand, for example, hardly laying emphasis enough on her style. Indeed, the final chapter on "Contemporary French Literature" is much the weakest, and if it were not that its predecessor on the "Romantic Movement" is one of the best, we should be inclined to think that Mr. Saintsbury had tired of his task toward the end. His treatment of the drama is at all times a little inadequate (excepting only the clear and simple and altogether admirable account of its genesis), and especially unsatisfactory is his criticism of the dramatists of our own day. To describe Scribe as "the most prolific of recent French dramatic authors, but distinguished from the Romantic school by a loose and careless style and by vulgar and unpoetical thought," is to miss entirely the characteristics of the man who first made play-making as easy and as intricate as watch-making. The two or three lines given to M. Émile Augier, the foremost French dramatist of our generation, and to M. Sardou, the most popular, are in the first case insufficient and in the second inaccurate. And quite out of proportion is the space given to the patriotic but feeble dramas of M. Henri de Bornier. The entire absence of bibliographical references is to be regretted.

La Sociologie d'après l'Ethnographie. Par Charles Letourneau. [Sixth volume of the 'Bibliothèque des Sciences Contemporaines.'] (Paris: Reinwald; New York: F. W. Christern. 1880. Pp. 581.)—After briefly discussing the number and distribution of the human races, the author divides his volume into five books, treating respectively of the nutritive, sensitive, affective, social, and intellectual life of man. In the first book unusual importance is ascribed to the discovery of the art of cooking. Not only the physical but the social condition, especially that of women, was improved, and the art of pottery was developed when man became comparatively omnivorous by learning to boil his food. The habit of drunkenness, although implying much skill in the preparation of beverages, was acquired very early, to check hunger and appease pain. The second book begins with a long account of the sexual instincts of primitive tribes. The instinct of ornamentation shows itself as soon as sight is well developed. Up to this point man is only an animal, and the affective and intellectual life is an "epiphenomenon." A fundamental assertion of the third book is, that reflex-action is vastly modified by race and civilization. The cerebral equilibrium is very unstable, at the mercy of the slightest and most manifold incidents of life in higher races or in individuals. Politeness and ceremonious forms are at first copies and at last survivals—often fragmentary and distorted enough—of reflex-action, which are as native to our physiological constitution as the wagging of a dog's tail or the pricking of a horse's ears. From a study of burial customs our author concludes that most races believe in only a temporary duration of the soul after death. They are so intoxicated by the fever of life that they cannot readily accommodate their mind to the fact of death as it really is, and hence their faith is not in immortality but in a delayed mortality.

From his survey of the customs of inheritance M. Letourneau is convinced, as Lassalle was, that the child's right to the father's property is an acquired one, and argues, as J. S. Mill did, for a "modest maximum of heritage," to be gradually diminished till most, if not all, individual property is reduced to usufruct. Family ties, he thinks, are relaxing; the authority of the parent has become almost inversely as the obligation of the child to him. As the hold of the head of the family upon its members decreases, the duties of society to them increases. It must teach them better, and ensure, at least, that a life of honest and useful labor shall not end in misery. While the affective side of family life is thus diminishing, and the family is being absorbed in the state, the scientific spirit will continue to occupy itself more and more with heredity and consanguinity, direct and collateral, with results of great practical significance for the more remote future of the race. The author lays great and redoubled stress upon the assertion that morality is very tardily and feebly developed; that high character is a common cause of failure; and that Europe, "while justly proud of her mechanical and industrial civilization, is not yet good or honest." The conclusion of the last book is that the division of labor has caused such disparity of knowledge and goods that unless vast reforms are soon wrought we must look forward to a future of social convulsions which will imperil our civilization.

The plan of the book is extremely comprehensive, and the author's reading has been wide; but, while complaining of Spencer for forcing sociological facts into accordance with the laws of biology which he had previously expounded, M. Letourneau, who has also written a biology, reverts often in the second, and still more in the third book, to his own biological formulæ. This is, of course, to a great extent just and necessary, and perhaps our objections ought, after all, to rest more against his reproach of Spencer than against his own practice. His book is well written; and, while the author contributes comparatively little that is new in matter or method, it is quite worth reading.

The Great Navigators of the Eighteenth Century. By Jules Verne. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.)—This work covers a period of maritime enterprise that will never lose its charm, comprehending as it does the achievements of Cook and his predecessors, the voyages of the French, explorations in Asia and Africa, together with observations by sailors and savants in North and South America. The list extends from Selkirk to Humboldt, while a preliminary chapter gives an account of "The Astronomers and Cartographers," and an estimate of the work done by them during a century that witnessed so many interesting and important ventures on land and sea. As respects dramatic interest and style, this volume, which is the third of the author's series devoted to the exploration of the world, has little or no advantage over the better class of English and American books having the same scope; yet an improved method has been pursued, inasmuch as care has been taken to indicate precisely the results accomplished within a given period. This is done, in part, by the aid of maps indicating to the eye the exact progress of exploration. The author clearly shows a disposition to meet the growing demand for more thoroughness in treating the entire department of historical geography. The portraits and views add to the interest of the work; but it is necessary to call attention to the fact that both the translator and the printer show too much haste in the effort to make an early market.

La Reliure Française, depuis l'invention de l'imprimerie jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle. Par MM. Marius Michel, Relieurs-Doreurs. (Paris: Damascene Morgand et Charles Fatout; New York: J. W. Bouton.)—MM. Marius Michel have furnished for the connoisseur of book-binding an elegant monograph. The subject needs, for such connoisseurs, no apology; the story is interesting even to those who have never given to book-binding a serious thought; and the book itself, even without being bound and gilded at the hands of its authors, is already an *objet de luxe*. The illustrations do not all exhibit the art of the heliogravist, if that is what he calls himself, to special advantage, but they do high honor to the art of the book-binder, and that is their main purpose. The text is just long enough, full of information about persons and things, and written in a style at once serious and light, as becomes the serious discussion of so trivial a subject. The curious technical processes of binding, and especially of gilding, are rather illustrated than explained, and the raw material of history—the dates, anecdotes, and genealogies which would have encumbered the text—forms an appendix for which the amateur of book-binding may well be grateful.

Beginning with the time of Charles VIII., and continuing the history to the outbreak of the French Revolution, the book celebrates the triumphs, first, of the monkish book-binders, and then of the famous Les Eves, Le Gascon, Pasdeloup, De Rome, and Dubuisson, and of an unknown artist who, at the end of the reign of Louis XV., promised for a season to revive the glories of a better day. But this delicate art, which had barely been kept alive by the fostering enthusiasm of fastidious connoisseurs, flourishing most in the cool shade of private patronage, perished outright in the full sunshine of popular favor brought upon it when Madame Du Barry, who could hardly read, brought handsomely-bound libraries into fashion. Of a sudden the art became a trade, and the race of original artists was pushed off the stage by the crowd of imitators who sprang up on every side to supply the new demand. The graceful fashions in design which for a few years gave distinction to the reign of Louis XVI. came too late to revive an art which of all others was perhaps best adapted to profit by their influence. Long before the time of Fay and Salembrier the art of the *relieur-doreur* had, if we may believe our authors, ceased to live.

Brief and unimportant as is this chapter in the history of art, it is by no means devoid of interest and value. It furnishes on a small scale a perfect example of what is meant by decorative art, and capitally illustrates the influences to which all decorative art is subject. In the first place, the gilding of designs on the outside of books is decorative art pure and simple, without a trace of useful motive. The study is as much a study of pure form as any the history of art can offer, and the best results, as here shown in the work of the half mythical Le Gascon, whose masterpieces, dated during the middle half of the seventeenth century, mark the culmination of the art, are as purely ideal as the decoration of Greek vases or of Indian rugs. Here, as everywhere in the best decoration, the imitation of natural forms is conspicuous by its absence, the few examples of it to be found in these plates proving the rule by their exceptional position. It is interesting to notice, also, here as elsewhere in the history of these arts, how they borrow from each other, the earlier examples deriving their patterns from mediæval manuscripts and wall-paintings, the next from Oriental faïence, the last from laces and embroideries. Throughout, their beauty is owing not to the worship or the study of nature, but to the grace and balance of form and harmonious composition of line, to which the beauty of nature itself is due.

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Page 46, col. ii, line 21 of Notes. For "*Literary*" read "*Library.*"

Page 103, col. i, line 28. For "Tony" read "'Long.'"

Page 250, col. i, line 13. For "Morley" read "Murray."

Page 279, line 11 of first *Week* paragraph. For "20" read "5."

Page 309, col. i, line 4 from bottom. For "1836" read "1834."

REGISTER OF BOOKS RECEIVED

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Theology, Metaphysics, and Ethics.

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